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September 1, 1780–February 28, 1781

Paul H. Smith, Editor

Gerard W. Gawalt and Ronald M. Gephart
Associate Editors

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Editorial Method and Apparatus

In its treatment of documents this edition of delegate letters strives to achieve a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization. The original spelling and grammar are allowed to stand except where editorial changes or insertions are required to make the text intelligible. Words omitted through oversight, however, have been supplied at appropriate places in italic type in brackets, and obvious slips of the pen and inadvertent repetitions are usually silently corrected. Capitalization and punctuation have been standardized according to certain conventions. Each sentence begins with a capital letter, as do all proper and geographic names as well as days of the week and months of the year. Doubtful cases have been resolved in favor of modern usage; otherwise the usage of the original texts has been followed. Generally, abbreviations, contractions, and monetary signs are preserved as they appear in manuscript except when they are ambiguous or misleading. On the other hand, the thorn and the tilde are consistently expanded. "Ye" always appears as "The," for instance, and "rēcvd" as "received." Likewise, "pr." and tailed *p*'s are always expanded to "per," "pre," or "pro," as the case demands. Finally, superscript letters are always lowered to the line.

Gaps in the text are indicated by ellipses in brackets for missing words and by blank spaces in brackets for missing numbers. Conjectural readings are supplied in roman type in brackets, and editorial insertions in italic type in brackets. Material canceled in manuscript but restored to the printed text is included in italic type in angle brackets ("square parentheses"). Marginalia in letters are treated as postscripts if not obviously keyed to the body of the document, and postscripts which appear without explicit designation are supplied with a *P.S.* in brackets. Documents are arranged chronologically, with more than one document of the same date arranged alphabetically according to writer. Documents dated only by the month or by the year are placed at the end of the respective month or year. Place-and-date lines always appear on the same line with the salutation regardless of their position in the manuscript.

A descriptive note at the foot of each entry provides abbreviations indicating the nature and location of the document when it was copied for this project except for privately owned manuscripts whose ownership is explained. The descriptive note also contains information on the document's authorship if explanation is necessary, and endorsements or addresses are quoted when they contain more than

routine information. Other editorial practices employed in this work are explained in the sections on editorial apparatus which follow.

TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used in this work to clarify the text.

[. . .], [. . . .]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[. . .] ¹ , [. . . .] ¹	More than two words missing; subjoined footnote estimates amount of material missing.
[]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible.
[] ¹	Blank space in manuscript; explanation in subjoined footnote.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter; question mark inserted if reading is doubtful.
[<i>italic</i>]	Editorial insertion in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter crossed out in manuscript but restored.

DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in this work to describe the kinds of documents drawn upon. When more than one symbol is used in the descriptive note, the first to appear is that from which the main text is taken.

RC	recipient's copy
FC	file copy
LB	letterbook copy
MS	manuscript
Tr	transcript (used to designate not only contemporary and later handwritten copies of manuscripts, but also printed documents)

LOCATION SYMBOLS

The following symbols, denoting institutions holding the manuscripts in the present volume, are taken from *Symbols of American Libraries*, 13th ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1985). Each volume of this edition will contain a revised list.

CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven
DLC	Library of Congress
DLC(ESR)	Library of Congress, Early State Records Collection
DNA	National Archives and Records Administration

IMunS	Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.
InU-Li	Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington
M-Ar	Massachusetts Archives, Boston
MB	Boston Public Library
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MdAA	Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MiDbEI	Edison Institute, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village Library, Dearborn, Mich.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
MnHi	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
N	New York State Library, Albany
NCooHi	New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNC	Columbia University, New York
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
NRom	Jervis Library Association, Rome, N.Y.
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Nh-Ar	New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, Concord
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
NhHi	New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord
Nj	New Jersey State Library, Trenton
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjR	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
OCIWHI	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHarH	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia
PPRF	Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia
PSC-Hi	Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence

RHi	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence
ScHi	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield)

Butterfield, Lyman H., et al., eds. *Adams Family Correspondence*.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1963-.

Adams, *Writings* (Cushing)

Adams, Samuel. *The Writings of Samuel Adams*. Edited by Harry A. Cushing. 4 vols. Boston: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-8.

Austin, *Life of Gerry*

Austin, James T. *The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with Contemporary Letters to the Close of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1828-29.

Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*

Bartlett, John R., ed. *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*. vols. 8-10. Providence: Cooke, Jackson & Co., 1863-65.

Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.

A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789. Edited by Edward C. Papenfuss et al. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979-85.

Bio. Dir. of S.C. House

Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives. Edited by Walter B. Edgar et al. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974-.

Burnett, *Letters*

Burnett, Edmund C., ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. 8 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921-36.

Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings)

Clinton, George. *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777-1795, 1801-1804*. Edited by Hugh Hastings and J. A. Holden. 10 vols. New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. et al., 1899-1914.

DAB

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone.

Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*

Davies, K. G., ed. *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*. 21 vols. Dublin: Irish University Press, 1972-81.

Evans, *Am. Bibliography*

Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography*. 12 vols. Chicago: Privately printed, 1903-34.

Freeman, *Washington*

Freeman, Douglas S. *George Washington, a Biography*. 7 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948-57.

Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett)

Hamilton, Alexander. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Edited by Harold C. Syrett. 26 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961-86.

Hening, *Statutes*

Hening, William W. *The Statues at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*. 13 vols. Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1809-23.

Jay, *Papers* (Morris)

Jay, John. *John Jay, the Making of a Revolutionary: Unpublished Papers, 1745-1780*. Edited by Richard B. Morris et al. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd)

Jefferson, Thomas. *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by Julian P. Boyd et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-.

JCC

U.S. Continental Congress. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. 34 vols. Edited by Worthington C. Ford et al. Washington: Library of Congress, 1904-37.

Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda)

Idzerda, Stanley J., et al., eds. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977-.

Lee, *Letters* (Ballagh)

Lee, Richard Henry. *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*. Edited by James C. Ballagh. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan Co., 1911-14.

Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson)

Madison, James. *The Papers of James Madison*. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962-.

Md. Archives

Archives of Maryland. Edited by William H. Browne et al. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-.

Mason, *Papers* (Rutland)

Mason, George. *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792*. Edited by Robert A. Rutland. 3 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970.

Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson)

Morris, Robert. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*. Edited by E. James Ferguson et al. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973-.

N.C. State Records

North Carolina. *The State Records of North Carolina*. Edited by Walter Clark. Vols. 11-26. Winston and Goldsboro, N.C.: N.I. and J.C. Stewart et al., 1895-1914.

N.H. State Papers

New Hampshire. *Provincial and State Papers*. 40 vols. Concord, 1867-1943.

OED

Oxford English Dictionary.

Pa. Archives

Pennsylvania Archives. 9 series, 119 vols. in 120. Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1852-56; Harrisburg: State Printer, 1874-1935.

Pa. Council Minutes

Pennsylvania. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from Its Organization to the Revolution*. 6 vols. [Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vols. 11-16]. Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852-53.

PCC

Papers of the Continental Congress. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, D.C.

PRO

Public Record Office. London.

Public Records of Connecticut

Hoadly, Charles J., et al., eds. *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut*. 11 vols. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1894-1967.

Risch, Supplying Washington's Army

Risch, Erna. *Supplying Washington's Army*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.

Roche, Joseph Reed

Roche, John F. *Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.

Staples, Rhode Island

Staples, William R. *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress, 1765-1790*. Providence: Providence Press Co., 1870.

Sullivan, Letters (Hammond)

Sullivan, John. *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan*. Edited by Otis G. Hammond. 3 vols. Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vols. 13-15. Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930-39.

Susquehannah Co. Papers

Boyd, Julian P., and Robert J. Taylor, eds. *The Susquehannah Company Papers*. 11 vols. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962-71.

Warren-Adams Letters

Warren-Adams Letters, Being Chiefly a Correspondence among John Adams,

Samuel Adams, and James Warren. 2 vols. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vols. 72-73. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1917-25.

Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick)

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 39 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-44.

Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*

Wharton, Francis, ed. *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*. 6 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889.

WMQ

William and Mary Quarterly. 3d series.

Wright, *The Continental Army*

Wright, Robert K., Jr. *The Continental Army*. Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

Acknowledgments

This edition began in 1970 as a project of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Office, now incorporated into the Library's Manuscript Division as the Historical Publications Office. The Library has had a long tradition of publishing scholarship on the period of the American Revolution. Its monumental edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-37) is a predecessor of the present work and will be a companion to it. The editors wish to thank the Ford Foundation for a substantial gift which has been indispensable to the progress of the edition. Our appreciation is also extended to the innumerable individuals who have contributed to enriching the holdings of the Library of Congress to make it the premier institution for conducting research on the American Revolution.

The photocopies of the more than twenty-two thousand documents that have been collected for this project have been assembled through the cooperation of several hundred institutions and private individuals devoted to preserving the documentary record upon which the history and traditions of the American people rest, and it is to their work that a documentary publication of this nature should ultimately be dedicated. Unfortunately, all the many contributors to this collecting effort cannot be adequately recognized, but for permission to print documents appearing in the present volume we are especially grateful to the following institutions: the American Philosophical Society, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères (Paris), Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Boston Public Library, William L. Clements Library, Columbia University, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, Dartmouth College, Duke University, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Harvard University, Haverford College, Henry E. Huntington Library, Indiana University, Jervis Library Association, Koninklijk Huisarchief (The Hague), Maine Historical Society, Maryland Hall of Records, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives Division, Massachusetts Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morristown National Historical Park, National Archives and Records Administration, New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, New Hampshire Historical Society, New Jersey Historical Society, New Jersey State Library, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library, New York State Historical Association, New York State Library, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, University

of North Carolina, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Free Library of Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, Public Record Office (London), Rhode Island Historical Society, Rhode Island State Archives, Rosenbach Foundation, Rutgers University, Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, South Carolina Historical Society, Swarthmore College, Virginia Historical Society, Virginia State Library, University of Virginia, Western Reserve Historical Society, College of William and Mary, and Yale University. And in addition we express our thanks and appreciation to the following persons: Mr. Joseph G. Deering, Mr. Sol Feinstone, Mr. Ronald von Klaussen, Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Mrs. Aileen Moore Topping, and Mrs. John G. Wood.

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Paul H. Smith
Historical Publications Office
Manuscript Division

Chronology of Congress

SEPTEMBER 1, 1780–FEBRUARY 28, 1781

September 1	Receives informal invitation to trade with Morocco.
September 5	Authorizes issuance of loan office certificates to \$1 million specie value at 6 percent interest.
September 6	Urges states to cede western land claims and Maryland to ratify Articles of Confederation.
September 8	Orders reinforcement of southern military department.
September 13	Sets salary schedule for the Continental establishment.
September 14	Reopens debate on Vermont dispute.
September 15	Appoints Abraham Skinner commissary general of prisoners; adopts plan to supply meat to Continental Army.
September 19	Convenes evening session to continue Vermont dispute debate.
September 21	Approves enlistment of troops for one year in absence of sufficient “recruits enlisted for the war.”
September 22	Authorizes drawing additional bills of exchange on Benjamin Franklin.
September 25	Adopts new plan for the inspecting department, consolidating mustering functions under the inspector general.
September 26	Resolves to instruct commanders of ships to observe principles conforming to the Russian declaration on neutral rights.
September 27	Postpones Vermont dispute debate.
September 28	Resolves to limit presidential terms to one year.
September 30	Receives account of the treason of Gen. Benedict Arnold; adopts new plan for the medical department.
October 2	Authorizes drawing additional bills of exchange on Franklin and John Jay.
October 3	Adopts new establishment for the Continental Army.

October 4	Adopts instructions for John Jay on navigation of the Mississippi River and southwestern boundaries.
October 6	Elects officers for hospital department.
October 10	Adopts Virginia proposal to reimburse state expenses related to cession of western lands and to require that ceded lands "be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States."
October 13	Appoints Daniel Morgan brigadier general; creates third chamber of accounts.
October 14	Votes memorial for Baron de Kalb; commends various officers and troops for bravery at the battle of Camden.
October 16	Receives proceedings of the Hartford convention of New England states.
October 17	Adopts letter of instruction for John Jay.
October 18	Instructs John Adams on peace negotiations; sets day of prayer and thanksgiving.
October 21	Endorses proposal to receive Cherokee delegation; revises Continental Army establishment.
October 23	Receives report on the victory at King's Mountain.
October 24	Sends urgent appeal to the states on the present distresses of the army.
October 25-31	Debates ways and means proposals.
October 30	Confirms Nathanael Greene's appointment to command of the southern department.
October 31	Orders cavalry reinforcement to southern department.
November 1	Authorizes drawing additional bills of exchange on Benjamin Franklin.
November 3	Rewards captors of Maj. John André.
November 4	Apportions \$6 million specie tax, to be collected chiefly in kind; appoints William Palfrey consul to France.
November 7	Authorizes prisoner-of-war exchange.
November 9	Adopts letter of appeal to the states on present emergency.
November 10	Adopts measures to curtail enemy fraudulent use of American privateer commissions; directs steps for reducing forage expenses.
November 13	Commends troops engaged in the victory at King's Mountain.

- November 14 Authorizes capital punishment for persons supplying the enemy with provisions or military stores.
- November 16 Receives Committee at Headquarters report; confers with Pennsylvania officials on provisions embargo.
- November 17 Resolves to appeal to France for 25 million livres in aid.
- November 22 Adopts appeal to the king of France; appoints William Geddes paymaster general.
- November 23 Rescinds election of William Geddes as paymaster general.
- November 24 Receives report on treasury inquiry.
- November 27 Adopts measures for outfitting Continental ships; adopts additional privateer instructions.
- November 28 Extends half-pay provisions to general officers; instructs Franklin on procuring aid from France and cultivating commerce with Morocco.
- November 30 Adopts revised commissary regulations.
- December 1 Adopts statement endorsing Arthur Lee's conduct abroad.
- December 4 Prohibits unauthorized military purchases; appoints Simeon De Witt geographer to the Continental Army.
- December 6 Commends Benjamin Tallmadge's troops for Long Island raid; halts removal of Convention Army from Virginia.
- December 7 Observes day of prayer and thanksgiving.
- December 9 Adopts instructions for consul to France, William Palfrey.
- December 11 Appoints John Laurens "envoy extraordinary" to France.
- December 15 Resolves to appoint a minister to Russia.
- December 19 Appoints Francis Dana minister to Russia.
- December 21 Debates impact of John Laurens' appointment on Benjamin Franklin's mission in France; launches study of the conditions of Henry Laurens' imprisonment.
- December 22 Appeals to the states to fulfill Continental troop quotas.
- December 23 Adopts instructions for special envoy to France, John Laurens.
- December 27 Instructs Benjamin Franklin on John Laurens' mission to France.

- December 29 Commissions John Adams to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Provinces.
- January 3 Appoints committee to confer with Pennsylvania officials on the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.
- January 5 Empowers the mutiny committee "to take such measures as may appear necessary to quiet the disturbances"; threatens retaliation for British mistreatment of American prisoners.
- January 6 Revives committee for the reorganization of the executive departments.
- January 8 Endorses proposal to receive Delaware Indian delegation.
- January 9 Recommends prosecution of former clothier general James Mease for "a high abuse of office."
- January 10 Authorizes establishment of a permanent office for the department of foreign affairs.
- January 12 Endorses treasury inquiry report acquitting commissioners of the chambers of accounts.
- January 15 Adopts new fiscal appeal to the states from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania.
- January 17 Appoints John Cochran director of the hospital department and John Pierce paymaster general.
- January 19 Opens debate on fiscal crisis.
- January 24 Receives report on the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.
- January 31 Receives committee of the whole recommendation for a 5 percent impost.
- February 2 Rejects Pennsylvania appeal for an emergency pay response for the Pennsylvania Line.
- February 3 Recommends state action to empower Congress to levy a 5 percent impost.
- February 5 Commends General Parsons' troops for their attack at Morrisania; defines alien property rights under the Franco-American treaties.
- February 7 Adopts plan to create departments of finance, war, and marine.
- February 8 Receives news of Gen. Daniel Morgan's victory at Cowpens, S.C.
- February 12 Receives Maryland act authorizing ratification of the Articles of Confederation.
- February 15 Authorizes expenditures for the support of the eastern Indian department; authorizes John Jay

- to recede from previous instruction insisting on the free navigation of the Mississippi River.
- February 19 Orders inquiry into the causes of the delay in the shipment of clothing and arms from France.
- February 20 Orders the reinforcement and resupply of the southern department; appoints Robert Morris superintendent of finance.
- February 22 Assigns March 1 for completing and ratifying the confederation.
- February 23 Debates and recommits report on the Hartford economic convention.
- February 24 Doubles postage rates; adopts plan for ratifying ceremonies.
- February 27 Commends John Paul Jones for “distinguished bravery and military conduct, . . . particularly . . . over the British ship of war *Serapis*”; elects Alexander McDougall secretary of marine.
- February 28 Postpones election of secretary at war to October 1; imposes restrictions on ornate military uniforms and decorations; refers old business to the new Confederation Congress.

List of Delegates to Congress

This section lists both the dates on which delegates were elected to terms falling within the period covered by this volume and the inclusive dates of their attendance. The former are generally ascertainable from contemporary state records, but the latter are often elusive bits of information derived from the journals of Congress or extrapolated from references contained in the delegates' correspondence, and in many cases the "facts" are inevitably conjectural. It is not possible to determine interruptions in the attendance of many delegates, and no attempt has been made to record interruptions in service caused by illness or brief trips home, especially of delegates from New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania living within easy access of Congress. For occasional references to such periods of intermittent service as survive in the correspondence and notes of various delegates, see the index under individual delegates. Until fuller information is provided in a consolidated summary of delegate attendance in the final volume of this series, the reader is advised to consult Burnett, *Letters*, 5:lv-lxiv, for additional information on conjectural dates of attendance. Brief biographical sketches of all the delegates are available in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971*, and fuller sketches of more than half of the delegates can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

CONNECTICUT

Andrew Adams

Elected: May 11, 1780

Did not attend in 1780-81

Oliver Ellsworth

Elected: May 11, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Samuel Huntington

Elected: May 11, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Richard Law

Elected: May 11, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Jesse Root

Elected: May 11, 1780

Attended: November 23, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Roger Sherman

Elected: January 6, 1780

Attended: September 1 to October 3, 1780

Oliver Wolcott

Elected: May 11, 1780

Attended: November 29, 1780, to February 28, 1781

DELAWARE

John Dickinson

Elected: December 22, 1779

Did not attend in 1780-81

Thomas McKean

Elected: December 24, 1779; February 10, 1781

Attended: October 9-26, November 16-24, December 18? 1780
to February 28, 1781*Thomas Rodney*

Elected: February 10, 1781

Attended: February 27-28, 1781

Nicholas Van Dyke

Elected: December 22, 1779; February 10, 1781

Attended: September 1-16?, September 20-October 9? 1780

GEORGIA

Benjamin Andrew

Elected: January 11, 1780

Did not attend Congress

William Few

Elected: January 11, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Lyman Hall

Elected: January 11, 1780

Did not attend in 1780-81

Richard Howly

Elected: January 11, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Edward Telfair

Elected: January 11, 1780

Attended: September 1-12? 1780

George Walton

Elected: January 11, 1780

Attended: September 1-21?, October 20? 1780 to
February 28, 1781

MARYLAND

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Elected: November 17, 1780

Did not attend in 1780-81

Daniel Carroll

Elected: January 16, 1781

Attended: February 12-28, 1781

John Hall

Elected: December 22, 1779

Did not attend in 1780-81

John Hanson

Elected: December 22, 1779; November 17, 1780

Attended: September 18?-December 12? 1780;

February 22-28, 1781

John Henry

Elected: March 31, 1780

Attended: September 1-November 27, 1780

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Elected: April 7, 1780; November 17, 1780

Attended: September 19?-26? 1780

Thomas Johnson

Elected: December 22, 1779; November 17, 1780

Did not attend in 1780-81

Edward Lloyd

Elected: December 22, 1779

Did not attend in 1780-81

William Paca

Elected: April 7, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

George Plater

Elected: December 22, 1779

Attended: September 22-December 5, 1780

Richard Potts

Elected: January 16, 1781

Did not attend January-February 1781

Stephen West

Elected: March 31, 1780

Did not attend Congress

MASSACHUSETTS

Samuel Adams

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Timothy Danielson

Elected: September 30, 1780

Declined

Elbridge Gerry

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

John Hancock

Elected: November 18, 1779

Did not attend in 1780-81

Samuel Holten

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Levi Lincoln

Elected: February 14, 1781

Did not attend Congress

James Lovell

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Samuel Osgood

Elected: February 14, 1781

Did not attend February 1781

George Partridge

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Caleb Strong

Elected: September 22, 1780

Declined

Artemas Ward

Elected: November 18, 1779; September 22, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

NEW HAMPSHIRE

George Atkinson

Elected: June 27, 1780

Declined

Benjamin Bellows

Elected: January 19, 1781

Did not attend Congress

Nathaniel Folsom

Elected: November 3, 1779

Attended: September 1-15, 1780

Woodbury Langdon

Elected: November 3, 1779; November 10, 1780

Did not attend in 1780-81

Samuel Livermore

Elected: January 1, 1780; January 19, 1781

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Nathaniel Peabody

Elected: November 3, 1779

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

John Sullivan

Elected: June 27, 1780; January 19, 1781

Attended: September 11, 1780, to February 28, 1781

William Whipple

Elected: November 3, 1779

Did not attend in 1780-81

NEW JERSEY

William Burnet

Elected: November 24, 1780

Attended: December 11-26? 1780; February 15?-28, 1781

Abraham Clark

Elected: December 25, 1779; November 24, 1780

Attended: September 1-16?; October 19? 1780 to February 28, 1781

John Fell

Elected: November 17, 1779

Attended: September 1-November 30, 1780

William Churchill Houston

Elected: November 17, 1779; November 24, 1780

Attended: September 14?-December 25? 1780

William Paterson

Elected: November 24, 1780

Declined

John Witherspoon

Elected: November 24, 1780

Attended: December 9, 1780, to February 28, 1781

NEW YORK

James Duane

Elected: October 1, 1779; September 12, 1780

Attended: September 4, 1780, to February 28, 1781

William Floyd

Elected: October 1, 1779; September 12, 1780

Attended: December 4, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Ezra L'Hommedieu

Elected: October 1, 1779; September 12, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Robert R. Livingston

Elected: February 24, 1780

Attended: September 1-28? 1780

Alexander McDougall

Elected: September 12, 1780

Attended: January 17-February 28, 1781

Philip Schuyler

Elected: October 18, 1779

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

John Morin Scott

Elected: October 1, 1779; September 12, 1780

Attended: September 1-November 14, 1780

NORTH CAROLINA

Thomas Burke

Elected: April 30, 1780

Attended: December 15, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Whitmell Hill

Elected: April 30, 1780

Attended: September 1-November 4? 1780

Samuel Johnston

Elected: April 30, 1780

Attended: December 29, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Allen Jones

Elected: April 30, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Willie Jones

Elected: April 30, 1780

Attended: September 1-December 13, 1780

William Sharpe

Elected: April 30, 1780

Attended: October 4, 1780, to February 28, 1781

PENNSYLVANIA

John Armstrong, Sr.

Elected: May 31, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Samuel J. Atlee

Elected: November 23, 1780

Attended: December 6, 1780, to February 28, 1781

George Clymer

Elected: November 23, 1780

Attended: November 24, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Jared Ingersoll

Elected: May 31, 1780

Attended: September 5?-November 23, 1780

James McLene

Elected: May 31, 1780

Attended: September 1-October 25? 1780

Timothy Matlack

Elected: May 31, 1780

Attended: September 1-November 23, 1780

Joseph Montgomery

Elected: November 23, 1780

Attended: December 8, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Frederick A. Muhlenberg

Elected: May 31, 1780

Attended: September 1-October 28, 1780

James Searle

Elected: May 31, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

William Shippen, Sr.

Elected: November 12, 1779

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Thomas Smith

Elected: November 23, 1780

Attended: February 3-28, 1781

Henry Wynkoop

Elected: November 23, 1780

Attended: December 19, 1780, to February 28, 1781

RHODE ISLAND

John Collins

Elected: May 3, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Ezekiel Cornell

Elected: May 6, 1780

Attended: September 1-December 19, 1780

Daniel Mowry

Elected: May 3, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

James Mitchell Varnum

Elected: May 3, 1780

Attended: December 19, 1780, to February 28, 1781

SOUTH CAROLINA

Thomas Bee

Elected: February 1, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Nicholas Eveleigh

Elected: May 27, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Francis Kinloch

Elected: February 1, 1780

Attended: September 1–November 9? 1780

Henry Laurens

Elected: February 1, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

John Mathews

Elected: February 1, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781 (on mission with Committee at Headquarters, April 25 to September ?; committee discharged August 11)

Arthur Middleton

Elected: February 1, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Isaac Motte

Elected: May 27, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

VIRGINIA

Theodorick Bland, Jr.

Elected: June 21, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

James Henry

Elected: December 14, 1779; June 21, 1780

Did not attend September 1780 to February 1781

Joseph Jones

Elected: December 14, 1779; June 21, 1780

Attended: September 1–7, 1780; January 29–February 28, 1781

James Madison, Jr.

Elected: December 14, 1779; June 21, 1780

Attended: September 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781

Meriwether Smith

Elected: June 21, 1780

Attended: February 20–28, 1781

John Walker

Elected: December 14, 1779

Attended: September 1–November 24, 1780

Illustrations

View of Philadelphia

endpapers

“An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia; taken by George Heap from the Jersey Shore, under the Direction of Nicholas Scull Surveyor General of the Province of Pennsylvania.” This detail is from an engraving by Thomas Jeffreys based on an etching of the city published in Thomas Jeffreys, *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies. Being a Collection of All the Maps, Charts, Plans, and Particular Surveys, That Have Been Published of That part of the World, Either in Europe or America* (London: R. Sayer, 1768).

Benjamin Huntington

27

Huntington (1736–1800), a resident of Norwich, Conn., graduated from Yale in 1761, studied law, and was admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1765. He also soon turned to public office. He served his state in the house of representatives, 1771–80, in the senate, 1781–90, and on the superior court, 1793–98; his town as mayor of Norwich, 1784–96; and his country as a delegate to Congress, 1780, 1782–83, and 1788, and as a member of the first Federal Congress, 1789–91. Arriving in Philadelphia in June 1780, Huntington took his seat in Congress at a particularly troubled moment, just after a mutiny in the Connecticut Line had exposed how inadequately Washington’s troops had been fed, clothed, and paid. In addition to serving on several ad hoc committees, he was appointed to the Board of Admiralty, an important post to which he was well suited by virtue of his previous experience with maritime law and involvement in Connecticut admiralty suits and appeals.

From Clarence W. Bowen, *The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892).

Nicholas Van Dyke

75

Van Dyke (1738–89), a life-long resident of New Castle, Del., was of the fourth generation of 17th-century Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam who moved to Delaware early in the 18th century. Little is known about his education, but he trained for the law and was admitted to practice in 1765. A participant in the resistance to the coercive measures adopted by the North ministry in 1774, he was a member of the Delaware committee of correspondence, of the New Castle council of safety, and of the Delaware constitutional convention

of 1776. Under the state's new government, Van Dyke served on the council and as speaker of the house, and during the post-war years as president of Delaware, 1783–86. He attended Congress intermittently from 1777 to 1781, a relatively long tenure during which he was a member of the Marine Committee and a signer of the Articles of Confederation, but he seldom assumed a prominent role in its proceedings. He represented his state at the Philadelphia price convention in February 1780, worked diligently for improved commerce and sound finance after the war, and advocated the interests of the landless states on western land policy. He died early in 1789 before the federal government was put into operation under the new constitution.

Portrait by J. D. Chalfant, ca. 1914. Courtesy of the Bureau of Museums and Historic Sites, Dover, Delaware.

Timothy Matlack

172

Matlack (ca. 1736–1829) was born in New Jersey, but his parents soon moved to Philadelphia where he spent most of his long life, following in his father's footsteps as a merchant before becoming increasingly drawn to the public career that distinguished his adult life. He was raised in the embrace of the Society of Friends but found the constraints of Quaker discipline irksome, and although married to the daughter of a leading Quaker preacher, was disowned by the Society in 1765 for default of debts. He was active in Pennsylvania's resistance to British restraints at the onset of the American Revolution, joined the Philadelphia Associators in 1775, and was employed by Congress as a clerk and as a storekeeper in the same year.

He is best remembered in history as the penman of the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence, an attribution apparently resting merely upon the fact of his early employment as a congressional clerk and later appointment as secretary to the Pennsylvania Council, a post he held from 1777 to 1782. He was a delegate to Congress in 1780, serving on the standing Committee of Commerce and a number of ad hoc committees such as that appointed to conduct an inquiry into the administration of the treasury, whose protracted proceedings are known to us through the extensive minutes maintained by Matlack which are printed for the first time in this volume.

Matlack also eventually served as clerk of the Pennsylvania Senate, secretary to the American Philosophical Society, director of the Bank of North America, trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and alderman of the city of Philadelphia before his retirement from public life.

Painting by Rembrandt Peale (?), ca. 1805. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

Louis XVI, King of France

405

Louis XVI (1754–93) was to Congress the principal symbol of foreign aid throughout the American Revolution. Coming to the French throne at the age of 19 just a few months before the First Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia in September 1774, he presided over French destinies during an era of conspicuous rivalry with Britain. His government early encouraged Americans in their resistance to George III, promising aid and winking at the use of French ports by American privateers, and in 1778 entered into a formal alliance with the United States after they had demonstrated staying power against British force. Early hopes for decisive French naval support were disappointed in 1778–79, however, and following d’Estaing’s failure to recapture Savannah in October 1779 and the American loss of Charleston the following May, congressional leaders increasingly pinned their hopes on renewed French support to sustain the war effort. A special appeal to His Most Christian Majesty for 25 million livres in aid was resolved upon on November 22, and John Laurens was named special envoy to negotiate the request with the king’s ministers at Versailles on December 11, 1780. The mission was remarkably successful, and French naval and military support proved decisive during the following campaign in capturing Lord Cornwallis’ forces at Yorktown. Britain’s defeat notwithstanding, France failed to profit significantly from the establishment of American independence. The continued deterioration of French finances, worsened by her involvement in the American War of Independence, set in train a series of events that forced the king to summon the Estates General into session in 1789 for the first time since 1614 and touched off the revolution that eventually led him to the guillotine.

Oil on canvas by Joseph Duplessis, 1775. Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Artemas Ward

521

Ward (1727–1800), a resident of Shrewsbury, Mass., graduated from Harvard College in 1748, briefly kept the Groton school, and opened a store at Shrewsbury at the age of 22. The following year he was appointed justice of the peace and four years later a special justice on the Court of Common Pleas, both extraordinary marks of confidence in one so young. Subsequently he served conspicuously in the French and Indian War, acquiring the rank of colonel and the experience that led to his appointment as “first major-general” when the Continental Army was organized in June 1775. He had been active in Massachusetts’ resistance to British restraints during the prerevolutionary decade, serving on various local and provincial committees, conventions, and congresses before the battle of

Lexington, and after his health failed in 1776 he returned from the field to civil office. He was a member of the Massachusetts Council, 1777–80, and of the House, 1782–87, a delegate to Congress, 1780–81, and a representative in the first and second Federal Congresses, 1789–93, before retiring from public life in 1798.

His precarious health while in Philadelphia limited his participation in the proceedings of Congress, but his army experience led to his appointment to the Board of War soon after his arrival and he served on a number of ad hoc committees treating problems of military procurement, personnel, and administration. His personal correspondence during the period reflects not only a continuing interest in Massachusetts politics but his abiding aversion to Gov. John Hancock.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale, ca. 1794–95. Independence National Historical Park.

Theodorick Bland, Jr.

567

Bland (1742–90) was educated in England at the University of Edinburgh, where he studied medicine and received the degree of M.D. in 1763. Returning to Virginia in 1764 after a visit to the continent, he practiced medicine until 1771, when he took up the life of a planter at Farmingdale in Prince George County. Active in Virginia's resistance to Governor Dunmore at the onset of the revolution, Bland became captain of the 1st Troop of Virginia Cavalry and later colonel of the 1st Continental Dragoons and commander of the post at Charlottesville guarding the Convention Army prisoners, a position from which he retired in November 1779. Elected to Congress the following year, he attended in Philadelphia for long periods during 1780–83 and subsequently served three terms in the Virginia House of Delegates during 1786–88. He opposed adoption of the Federal Constitution as a member of the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788, but was elected to the first Federal Congress and died in New York before the end of his first term.

In the Continental and Confederation Congresses, Bland was a staunch defender of his state's interests, although he argued for a relaxation of Virginia's insistence on the free navigation of the Mississippi River, convinced that a change was necessary to obtain heavier Spanish involvement in the war against Britain. And his experience as a cavalry colonel was useful on committee assignments dealing with pressing military needs, such as on the committee appointed to respond to the threat of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line in January 1781.

Engraving by Albert Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-54666).

Alexander McDougall

629

McDougall (1732-86) was born in Scotland but his family migrated to New York when he was a child and settled in the environs of New York City. After pursuing the adventures of the sea for several years, including commanding a privateer during the French and Indian War, he settled down to the life of a prosperous New York City merchant. During the 1760s he became active in the resistance to Britain as a leader of the city's radicals, but only with difficulty did he gain entry into the arena of New York's elitist politics. Military honors came more rapidly, however, as he was appointed colonel of the 1st New York Regiment in 1775, a Continental brigadier in 1776, and major general in 1777. He was elected to Congress in 1780 and 1784 but attended only briefly during the winter of 1781, at which time he was named to the newly created post of secretary of marine, undoubtedly out of regard for his experience at sea and as a merchant. He declined the offer, however, when he learned that he could not simultaneously retain his rank in the army. He was elected to the New York state senate after the war, where he served until his death in 1786.

During his brief tenure in Congress McDougall was particularly solicitous of the effort of the Continental general officers to obtain additional compensation as an adjustment for the depreciation of their pay, and he acted as a second in the *affaire d'honneur* between delegates John Sullivan and Thomas Burke, bringing about a resolution of the feud without resort to a duel.

Miniature on ivory by John Ramage, ca. 1785. Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society.

LETTERS OF DELEGATES
16
September 1, 1780-
February 28, 1781
TO CONGRESS

Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia Sepr. 1, 1780

We were honored with Your Excellency's Letter of the 21 August.¹ The enclosed papers contain the best intelligence we have from the Southward, our affairs there appeared prosperous, our Army gaining Strength, & in Several Instances considerable advantages against the Enemy, until the Battle near Camden on the 20th day of last month, they were overpowered by a Superior force, and met with a total defeat.² This loss will not be easily retrieved. The Southern States Seem disposed to make as vigorous exertions as their circumstances will admit.

The fluctuating State of our money, and the want of Sufficient Supplies of it, have been the principal Causes of the wants of the Army. When the States were called on for their monthly quotas of 15 millions of dollars the Estimates were made at the rate of twenty for one, but before the taxes were collected, the prices of Supplies were at 60 for 1 which made a deficiency of two thirds of the Estimates. When the States were applied to, to furnish their quotas of provisions, it was expected that the legislatures would only appoint Commissaries to purchase them, and that the Quarter Master's department would have been So regulated, as to have received the provisions from the State Commissaries, into proper Magazines, and have transported them to the army. This regulation was delayed about four months by referring it to the Committee Sent to headquarters, who instead of completing it immediately, Applied to the Executive powers of the States to do the business proper for Quarter Masters &c. Congress have appointed a Committee to make Estimates for the current year,³ up to the 1 March next, and also for the next year, who have made considerable progress in the business. Congress have also made provision for making good the depreciation to creditors who have furnished Supplies. Founded on your Excellency's Letter of the 8th June last,⁴ a tax is also recommended to raise money for the payment of the public debts, to the amount of three Millions of dollars, this tax is likewise intended as a means of introducing the New Bills into circulation in full Credit.

The proceedings of the Commissioners from the Several States convened at Boston were read and referred to the Committee of ways and means.⁵ We are pleased to find their Sentiments correspond with the measures that have been lately adopted by Congress.

The affair of the Protection Granted to George Howel⁶ we apprehend is not rightly understood by those who complain of it. Dr. Howel was represented to Congress as a person who was a Minor when the Enemy came to Long Island, that he is now under twenty two years of Age, lived with his father, and had taken no part in the pres-

ent controversy, but was well affected to this country, and was determined if possible to get from under the power of the Enemy, with all his effects, and Settle in Some one of the united States. These things were not only Said by himself, but confirmed by Doctr Wm. Smith late of Long Island, who has been for Some years a Surgeon in the continental Hospital, & Served with fidelity and reputation. Your Excellency We believe has Some knowledge of him, both he & Dr. Howell are well known to Col. Floyd. It was well known to Congress that his Effects were chiefly English goods, which he had obtained by drawing a prize in the British State Lottery.

There was Nothing Mandatory in the Protection Granted by Congress, or that interfered with the Laws or Government of any States, but it was a notification that Congress approved of his coming off from Long Island with his effects, and a protection against capture by cruisers under commissions from the United States. There is a general resolution of Congress, that persons coming from Great Britain or Ireland with their effects to Settle in these States Shall be exempted from capture, and a Protection was lately granted to Doctr. Shields & Some other Gentlemen from Ireland, to bring their effects to this City. And does not Justice as well as policy require that Citizens of any of the united States, Should be protected in coming with their property from under the power of the Enemy, who have not forfeited that right by any Crime against their country?

If this person has been Guilty of any fraud by covering Illicit Trade under his Protection, we wish he may be detected & Suffer; but we have No Suspicions of that kind, but believe he has an honest *bona fide* intention to get, and keep clear of the enemy.

The Several resolutions which concern the States, will be forwarded to Your Excellency by the President.

We are with Sentiments of the Greatest respect, Your Excellency's
Obedient humble Servants,

Roger Sherman

Benj Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Sherman and signed by Sherman and Benjamin Huntington.

¹ Congress had recently received two August 21 letters from Governor Trumbull. One concerned the seizure of George Howell and was read in Congress on August 28; the second enclosed a copy of the proceedings of the convention of commissioners from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire and was read in Congress on August 29. See *JCC*, 17:788, 790, 792, 795-96; and *PCC*, item 66, 2:75, 91-92.

² Official notice of the American defeat at Camden, S.C., came in an August 20 letter of Gen. Horatio Gates, which was read in Congress on August 31. *JCC*, 17:797; and Samuel Huntington to General Washington, August 31, 1780, note.

³ This committee, of which Sherman was a member, had been appointed August 11. *JCC*, 17:723.

⁴ See Sherman to Trumbull, July 22, 1780, note 2.

⁵ See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, August 29, 1780, note 3.

⁶ See the following entry, and Samuel Huntington to George Howell, September 2, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia September 1. 1780

I am honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 21 Ultimo with the several Despatches to which it refers, respecting George Howell; and am ordered to explain the Circumstances of his Application, and the Passport granted to him in Consequence thereof.¹

Enclosed you have a Copy of his Memorial to Congress, upon which he produced satisfactory Evidence, that he had never in any Instance acted an inimical Part against the United States; that, he but lately came of Age to act for himself, being not 22 Years old, and had in Confidence revealed to some of his Friends who had been *incog* on to the Island by Permission, that he was determined to remove from thence, (now he was of Age to act for himself) and risk his Life & Fortune with the Independance of these United States.

By a fortunate Ticket in a Lottery in England he had drawn about three thousand Pounds Sterling, and as he could not obtain the Money had determined to invest it in Goods, and leave the Island if he could obtain Permission.

This representation being made by Persons of undoubted Character who had personal Knowledge of the Facts, Congress were satisfied of the Sincerity of his Profession, and supposed his Case to come within the rule which had been uniformly adopted, and ordered the President to grant him a Pasport & Protection which was accordingly given.

The Form of the Pasport is the same as had been uniformly adopted, and it did not occur to Congress that it would ever be construed as mandatory, *Commanding* all Governors &c, but merely as a Protection on the Seas, pledging the Faith of the United States against Captures at Sea, and giving Notic thereof to all proper Officers—BE IT K[N]OWN &c. The same Form hath been repeatedly used in giving Pasport to Vessels & Effects coming from the British Dominions in Europe & the West Indies, and in those Cases the same Diction extended to all Officers, Governors, Generals, Admirals &c acting under the Crown of France or Spain &c.

Wherever Mr Howell landed his Effects he must obtain the Approbation & Protection of the State, and be subject to the Laws of such State. If he be an Enemy to his Country, and has abused his Pasport to cover Effects which were not his own Property, he ought to forfeit the whole; but if he hath been Sincere in his Representation, upright in his Conduct, and means to riske his Life & Fortune with the Independance of these United States he will probably be approved & accepted in the State where he shall reside.

The Propriety of a full Examination into the Circumstances of this Case is obvious and will doubtless be made by the proper Authority.

The Practice of admitting proper Characters to remove from under the British Government with their Effects and unite with us was adopted upon mature Deliberation, as founded, not only on Principles of Justic & Humanity, but Policy. The Instances have been frequent, and tho' Congress are very jealous & cautious not to admit an Enemy, or be deceived by an Impostor, and if Howell on Examination should be found such it will be the first Instance I have known or heard of.

Your Excellency will recollect the resolution of Congress in Favor of Persons with their Effects coming from Ireland to settle in these United States, exempting them from Capture, which hath ever been in Force from the Commencement of Captures by Sea; and the Case of an Inhabitant of these United States who hath the Misfortune to fall under the Power of the Enemy within their Lines is a much Stronger Case in Favor of the Subject if he be a Friend to his Country and hath Opportunity to escape with his Effects.

The Case of Mr Howell will depend upon the Character & Conduct of the Man, but the Principles upon which Congress acted, are the same by which they have been uniformly governed in repeated Instances, ever Since the Declaration of Independance.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect and Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Trumbull's August 21 letter to Huntington with its several enclosures is in PCC, item 66, 2:91-113. For an explanation of the "Passport granted to him," see Huntington to Thomas Mumford, August 26, 1780, note 1.

George Howell had been granted a passport by Congress in July to convey personal property from Long Island to Rhode Island, a decision that was protested by Connecticut on the grounds that he was an "inimical" person and had obtained his passport by deception. In his August 21 letter to Congress, however, Trumbull had focused on the states rights implications of the case as much as the impolicy of Congress' approval of Howell's petition, and it was this concern more than any other that explains the congressional response to Trumbull's complaints. The governor had been brutally blunt, and the emphasis given to his letter by the words underlined touched a sensitive nerve in most delegates. "I could not conceive," Trumbull explained to Huntington, "that Congress under the *proposed* articles of Confederation have a right to, or much less in the present *unconnected, unfederated* state of the *union*, would assume such diction as the permission conveys—'Commanding' all Governors, Generals &c to afford protection in pursuance of his said permit." PCC, item 66, 2:91-94. Thus it is not surprising that the committee to whom Trumbull's letter was referred disavowed any congressional intent "to contravene the laws, or interfere with the civil police of any State," but Congress nevertheless stopped short of disavowing its decision, content to await the outcome of further investigation, and instead merely ordered Huntington to explain to Trumbull "the circumstances of George Howell's application." See JCC, 17:788, 795-96.

Coincidentally, another turn was given to the Howell case the day following adoption of this congressional decision, when another petition from Howell and a supporting letter from James Varnum were laid before Congress, for which see Huntington to George Howell, September 2, 1780.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir, Philadelphia September 2nd, 1780.

I wrote your Excellency very fully and by the last Post,¹ little expecting to write you again so soon, but the importance of the intelligence in Congress the 31st Ultio.² lays me under an obligation of giving you a most disagreeable narrative of Our situation in the Carolinas.

I will not say that General Gates hath had a general Action. But that he hath suffered a General and total defeat is certain by his letter dated Hillsborough North Carolina August the 20th 1780. It is imperfect and I have no liberty to take a copy of it. But I do myself the honour to inclose a copy of one from Mr. Burk a Member of Congress for N. Carolina who went home since I came, to which I beg liberty to refer you for particulars therein contained, And leave further particulars to be digested by time.

I am this day informed that the Militia of this state are on their March home from Bucks County where they have been for some time As they could not be subsisted at their Quarters for want of provisions. I have not been informed of the particular reason for their returning.

Much time hath been taken up in an affair of Mr. Howel both before I wrote you last and since.³ A letter from General Varnum and one from Mr. Howel upon the same subjects hath been laid before Congress with Governor Trumbull's where upon it was ordered that the president Inform Governor Trumbull the circumstances of Mr. Howels application and Passport grants in consequence thereof. Rhode Island is left with out advice in the Matter. I make no doubt he will be treated agreeable to the rules of Justice and good policy. I shall only add that Dr. Smith a gentleman of good Character in this place who is as he saith well acquainted with Mr. Howel, saith many clever things of him, such as will I suppose induce Congress to wish every such person possessed of a good fortune to remove with it into some of these states. . . .⁴

I have been in dayly expectation of receiving the Act of our general Assembly for funding the Money to be Emited pursuant to the act of Congress of the 18th of March last.⁵ It is not yet come to hand. I wish it may arive soon. As I mentioned in my former letter that I feared it would be a long time before the Bills would be struck, these fears are by no means removed. I most zealously wish to see these New bills in Circulation in all these States in full faith and credit.

I must confess I cannot be sanguine in my Expectations on this head at present. A few days since a gentleman from Massachusetts Bay came to this City with some of the New Bills emitted by that State. He could not pass them at any rate even to pay his Expences. Mr. Adams gave him Continental money in Exchange. If we cannot establish some sort of Currency among us upon a permanent footing in which the people at large have full faith, It appears to me not to need the Spirit of prophecy to foretell that our ruin is not far distant. I cannot help here mentioning one circumstance that I wish to remain a profound secret, at least to be Communicated no further than the good of the state may require. I had the honour to be one of the Committee that waited on the Minister of France yesterday⁶ to know if he thought it was probable if Congress should draw Bills on the Court of France for Forty Thousand pounds sterling that they would be Honoured. The minister was free and open and after fully stating the low state of their Finances and the purposes for which they had been drained[?] he frankly told us that in his opinion it was impossible they could be accepted if they were drawn, to which may be added that we have not the least shadow of promise that a Bill for £20 on any power in Europe would be paid. All publick business in the great departments of the Army are at a Total stand accept the Bank and the supplies from that Quarter fall much short of our expectations. Thus stands our affairs of Finance and Supplies for the army.

Congress are endeavouring if possible to reconcile matters so as to bring about a complition or Ratification of the Confideration as every member is more and more convinced of the Necessity of the measure.

It appears to me our mode of doing publick business especially in time of war would ruin any Nation on Earth. Congress perhaps three Months in passing a recommendation to the states, three more in adopting it and then the sloath there is in some of the states in executing them it appears hath lately ruined one Army And Our main Army upon the Brink of starving.

It is absolutely necessary to Collect another Army to the Southward to stop the Career of the Enemy or where will they stop. But what is to be done to procure Arms! Accoutrements, Cloathing, Provisions, Tents, waggons etc. Is harder for me to solve then a problem in Euclid. perhaps a query will arise where is the Arms in the hands of the Militia at home, to which I answer they never have had any. . . .⁷ 200 Horse and about 3000 foot.

I hope your Excellency will pardon me both as to the Number and length of my letter and not Trouble the General Assembly with any more of them or such parts thereof as you may think desirve their Notice. It is my wish to give you every information whither it militates for or against us.

I have the Honour to be with every sentiment of Esteem and respect, Your Excellencys most obedient and most Hum Servant,
Ezekiel Cornell

NB. General Gates lost Eight Field pieces. The loss of the Waggon is very sever as they are hardly to be replaced, nearly every one belonging to Virginia were Impressed & sent forward & are lost.

Reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 5:353–55. Tr (DLC: Burnett Papers). Copied for Edmund C. Burnett from the original owned by William D. Ely, Providence, R.I.

¹ See Cornell to Greene August 29, 1780.

² That is, of the American defeat at Camden, S.C.

³ See Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 1, and to George Howell, this date.

⁴ Ellipsis in Burnett, *Letters* text.

⁵ See Cornell to William Greene, August 15, note 2, and October 17, 1780.

⁶ The “Committee on Ways and Means,” which had been directed to confer with La Luzerne concerning bills of exchange to be drawn on Benjamin Franklin in France, for which see Samuel Huntington to La Luzerne, August 31, 1780, note 2.

⁷ Ellipsis in Burnett, *Letters*; remainder of text taken from the Tr.

John Henry to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadela. Sepr. 2. 1780.

Your favour of the 26th of Aug. addressed to the Delegates I have had the Honour of receiving. On enquiry I find that the Embargo is continued to the 30th of this present Month in this State and to the 20th of Octr. in Deleware.¹ It has been mentioned in Congress and thought expedient by others, that the embargo in all the States should be taken off[f]. The propriety of the Measure is now under the consideration of a Comttee of Congress,² and till they have reported, and the Determination of Congress is known, it appears to me proper that the embargo should be continued. As other States have continued it for a short Time Maryland I suppose will follow their example.

The Fate of the Action on the morning of the 16 of Aug. you must have heard. It is a melancholy and distressing blow for Maryland, and a ruinous and destructive one to the Southern States. I wish it was in my power to give you the Fate of our gallant Countrymen, and to relieve the pain and anxiety of those Distressed Families who wait with a powerful impatience to hear the Sacrifice of their dearest Connections. But it is not in my power. Genl Gates Letter,³ which is wrote two hundred Miles from the Field of Battle gives no other information than, that they were left by the militia and himself on the first fire, surrounded by a Force infinitely their superior in Numbers: “That their Bravery is highly to be honoured as they made

as great and as gallant an opposition as it was possible so small a Force could make against one so vastly superior". This account I suppose the General gives from the known and established valor of the Troops; it could not be from his knowledge of the Action, for he does not appear, by his Letter to have seen the regular Troops after two oClock in the morning when the first skirmish took place. As the State of Maryland was deeply interested in this Action, I thought it my Duty to move that the Letter should be published, but Congress determined and I now believe very wisely, that it should not. It must be known sooner or later, and whenever it is, you will join with me in pronouncing it a very extraordinary one. I Shall forbear at present to make any observation lest my resentment should carry me beyond the bounds of propriety and Justice. Col. Ramsey who will have the Honour of delivering you this Letter will explain to you the line of March, the order of Battle, and the State in which our troops were left—from the last information we can collect from the Gentlemen sent by General Gates with the Intelligence. It is believed, for my own part I have no doubt, knowing what passed previous to the action, that their Fate is a severe one: Tho I hope it is not so bad as their fugitive General expresses it in the two first lines of his Letter. "In the deepest distress and Anxiety of mind, I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency with the total Defeat of the Troops under my Command."

Reports, which the two officers bring, say that many officers fell; among the rest General Smallwood, Col. Gunby, Majr. Winder, Majr Roxburg, Capt. Brooks (reduced to a certainty), Col Armong &c &c &c.⁴ I trust this voluminous Catalogue will considerably diminish when we have a more accurate account; some of our officers will no doubt escape. Till then, or the return of a Flag sent in by General Gates, we must remain in the dark. For further information on this melancholy subject, I refer you to my friend Col. Ramsey.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect and Esteem, Yrs,

J. Henry Junr.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ For the Maryland Council's August 26 letter to its delegates, see *Md. Archives*, 43:266–67. Since Maryland's embargo law was contingent on the continuation of the embargo in Pennsylvania and Delaware, the Council had directed the delegates to make inquiries concerning "the Revival of the Pennsylvania Act, and the Conduct . . . of Delaware."

² Robert R. Livingston had introduced several proposals designed to bolster the credit of the United States, among them a recommendation that the states "repeal all embargoes and other restrictions" on trade except those intended to prevent trade with the enemy, which were referred to a committee on ways and means on August 22. See *JCC*, 17:758–59.

³ See Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, September 1, 1780, note 2.

⁴ That is, Gen. William Smallwood, Col. John Gunby, Maj. Levin Winder, Maj. Alexander Roxburg, Capt. Benjamin Brooks, and Col. Charles Armand-Tuffin, marquis de la Rouërie.

Samuel Huntington to George Howell

Sir,

Philada. September 2. 1780

I have received your Letter of the 23 Ultio, as also the Letter you mention from Genl Vernon [Varnum].¹

It was supposed you would have obtained Permission & Approbation from the Governor of the State when you intended to remove with your Effects previous to your removing them which would have prevented all Difficulty, as the Design & Effect of the Passport & Protection from Congress was to protect you from Capture at Sea, but not to force any State to receive you against her Will, and a previous Permission from the State would have prevented all unjust Suspicion and the Trouble you have met with.

If you have been sincere & upright in your Profession & not abused the Protection received from Congress you will be justified, otherwise not. You can satisfy the proper Authority in the State of Rhode Island if true upon Examination, that the representation in your Petition was just, and that you have not abused the Protection granted you, which is all that is necessary I should suppose.

I have wrote fully upon this Subject to his Excellency Governor Trumbull explaining the Matter by Order of Congress.²

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For the background of this case, see Huntington to Thomas Mumford, August 26, note 1, and to Jonathan Trumbull, September 1, 1780. For Howell's letter and the supporting letter and documents from Gen. James Varnum, see *JCC*, 17:797; and PCC, item 78, 12:93-96, 23:175-80.

In his August 23 letter to Huntington, Howell related his adventures since receiving a passport from Congress in July to transport personal property from Long Island to Rhode Island, explaining that in disregard of his congressional pass Connecticut and Rhode Island had collaborated to seize his property and place him in confinement at Providence. He therefore asked for congressional intervention to secure his freedom, and had enlisted the support of General Varnum, who bluntly asserted that the case called for the vindication of Continental authority—"Whether Congress were right or not, in giving the Permission to Mr. Howell." In short, he concluded, "The States ought to obey."

Nevertheless, Congress took no formal action on Howell's plea, content to await the outcome of the investigation of his case in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Huntington appears to have written this letter to Howell without a formal order. Furthermore, receipt of a second appeal from Howell of September 3d does not appear on the journals, although it was probably received on September 23 and was finally "read" on November 21. See PCC, item 78, 12:101-4; and *JCC*, 18:1074. But even before his second appeal was accorded this reading, Howell rendered his case moot by fleeing his captors and returning to Long Island, although he renewed his effort to take up residence outside British lines the following September when he wrote to Gov. George Clinton for permission to become a subject of New York, candidly recapitulating his encounters with Connecticut and Rhode Island officials and confessing his escape from imprisonment. See Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 7:336-37, 384. Three additional Howell letters pertaining to his efforts

in 1781 to answer the charges against him are located in the Bright and Huntington autograph collections, NRom. For evidence that persons other than his Connecticut accusers thought that Howell was a British agent—e.g., William Smith, a prominent New York loyalist, and Abraham Woodhull, one of Washington's spies—see *Historical Memoirs from 26 August 1778 to 12 November 1783 of William Smith*. . . , ed. William H. W. Sabine (1958; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 312; and Morton Pennypacker, *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York* (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939), pp. 95, 270–71.

² See Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 1, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada. September 2. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 26 Ulto, earnestly recommending to the several States to take the most speedy & effectual Means in their Power for drawing in their respective Quotas of the Continental Bills of Credit to be destroyed either by Tax or by exchanging for them new Bills emitted pursuant to the resolution of the 18 of March last at a rate not less than forty for one, that the whole of the new Bills may be issued.¹

Also recommending to the several States to raise by Taxes payable in the new Bills above mentioned or Specie their respective Quotas of three Million of Dollars agreeable to the Apportionment of the 7 of October 1779 and pay the same into the Treasury of the United States as soon as possible, the Payment to be fully completed by the last Day of December next, each State to be allowed Interest from the Time it is paid; to be hereafter adjusted according to a resolution of the 6 of October 1779.

You will also observe by this Act Provision is made for Payment of the public Debts due in any of the States in the Departments of the late Quarter Master Greene & Commissary Wadsworth, as also the present Commissary General of Purchases.

And in Order to prevent the Possibility of a Depreciation in the new Bills it is earnestly recommended to the several States not to issue Bills of Credit for a Currency on any Account whatever in such Manner as to have in Circulation a greater Amount than their respective Quotas of the new Bills.

And in Order that Justice be done to the Creditors of the United States for Supplies furnished the Army or Transportation thereof, Provision is made by this Act that such Creditors be paid the just Value of their Debts, to be ascertained in the Manner expressed in the Act, and all Debts due to the United States are to be justly paid in like Manner.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellencys most obedient & most humble servant, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). The RCs of this letter that were sent to Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia were dated September 3.

¹ These August 26 resolves for exchanging old Continental bills for new ones issued pursuant to Congress' landmark fiscal resolve of March 18, 1780, and to provide for the certificate debt issued by the commissary and quartermaster departments, were recommended by the committee on ways and means appointed on August 11. See *JCC*, 17:723, 782-84.

John Armstrong, Sr., to Horatio Gates

Dear General,

Philada. 3d Sepr. 1780.

The Arival of the Young Gentlemen with your Dispatches to Congress Shewing the Sudden & unexpected defeat of the Army under your command, must like every other event of that kind stand subjected to the various Strictures of mankind forming Opinions on Subjects in their local circumstances too remote for accurate & fair decision even to judges otherwise competant. Being indisposed I was not in the House when yr. letter was read, but have not learned that Congress either then or afterward have Shewn the least dispossession to censure; a general concern as well without as within doors pervades the minds of the well disposed, and the more easily Obtains from a consideration of the deranged Situation of Our affairs in every quarter of the Country. Our expectations however are Still lively and Suggest the late misfortunes to the South as so many prompters to greater vigour & firmness in the future exertions of those States, wherein Virginia, for many reasons ought to be deeply interested. Your letter is committed, but the result uncertain. Conjecture will probably pronounce that Congress having lately exerted every nerve that embarrassments almost indiscriptible would admit, little more is to be expected from hence, whilst our Objects rise no higher than that of defence, to which at a proper distance you may again become competant—but on the Arrival of Governor Rutledge you will be informed of a different design, which requires time & various preparatives in order to give it effect. At present our Sanguine expectations respecting the Attact of New York begin to abate for this Season, thro' the delay of the 2d division of the French Fleet, yet these hopes have not fully expired altho' the Militia of the Several States are now discharged thro' Scarcity of provision, or rather the want of money to procure it & the transportation thereof, but we wish the good people with you [. . .]¹ ground, viz that Several or all of these middle States have large demands on Congress for Supplys to our Army, a considerable part of it now going on in the second Year. Our Southern friends must trust also, tho' not so long if they give a ready circulation to the New money when their Quota comes to hand, the currency of which only can Save us.

By Some mistake we had been informed that you had Eleven

thousand men a considerable time ago—that the Enemy left Camdon and retired to Moncks-Corner &c. Had this been the Case, my first apprehensions were lest you Shou'd follow too Suddenly into the unhealthy part of the country. That risque however is over for the Season, and Experience will alwais favour the propriety of training raw Militia by gradual Skirmishing—by harasing & impeding the Enemy, rather than by risking a general Action, which to you I am confident was not matter of choice, but of necessity circumstanced as you must have been.

The Second division of the French fleet has in fact been blocked up at Brest by thirty odd British Ships of the line, so that we have now but little expectation of their arrival in time for an expedition agst. New York before next Spring.²

RC (NHi: Gates Papers). Addressed: "Major General Gates Commanding the Southern Department, Hillsburrow. Favoured by Coll. Symph [*i.e.*, John Christian Senf] ."

¹ Approximately five words missing.

² For the continuation of this letter, see Armstrong to Gates, September 11, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular Philada September 3, 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 25 Ulto, ascertaining the rank of the Governors or Presidents of the several States whenever they shall act in the Field together, or in Conjunction with the Continental Army.¹ The same rule hath been heretofore adopted in particular Cases, as just & necessary & hath given Satisfaction. It is now deemed expedient to adopt the same as a general rule which it is supposed will meet with Approbation in the respective States.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 17:777.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Madam, Sepr 3d. 1780

I have at length an Opportunity by Mr. Brown to forward Bills of Exchange;¹ and I only add the News Paper of Yesterday. Bell so long expected from France is arrived. He sailed with the Alliance. You know much more of your Mr. Adams than we, as only a Letter of April 10th is come to hand from him.² I assure you we feel very

angry with *Somebody*, as neither Congress or the Minister have yet received a single Letter brought by the Alliance twenty days ago.

Your most obedt.

J L

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 3:409.

¹ These bills had been drawn to settle the balance due John Adams on his accounts with Congress, for which see Lovell to John Adams, May 4, and to Abigail, May 14, 1780. Lovell had been holding them for the opportunity of a dependable conveyance, having previously discussed them in the following undated note—which has an August 29 postscript—to Abigail.

“I have this day only recd. Bills of Excha. for the Balce. of Mr Adams’s Accounts. I doubt not you will think just as I do about the whole Business. It has had an ungraceful Air.

“Augst. 29th. I cannot tell when I wrote the few Lines above, but I well know I have not had any private Hand to send by, nor will I this day send by the Post. These Bills will sell better than at 90 days Sight and much better than at 6 months. But better or worse I believe you had best forward them to Mr. A. My opinion however ought to have no Weight in Comparison of your Uncle Smith’s.” Adams Papers, MHi.

² An April 10 letter of John Adams had been read in Congress on September 1, but one of May 23 had been previously received on August 21. *JCC*, 17:749, 798. However, as Adams wrote three letters to Congress on April 10, it is not known which of them was actually read on September 1. None of the copies in PCC indicate having been read on September 1, although one is endorsed “Rec’d Sept. 4.” PCC, item 84, 1:437–46.

Nathaniel Peabody to Ephraim Blaine

Sir. Morris Town Sepr. 3d. 1780.

It is the earnest request of General Schuyler, and Mr Mathews, the latter being gone to Philadelphia, and the former to the State of New York, as well as my own, that you will be pleased to furnish us, with a monthly return of the supplies furnished by the state of Pensylvania, from the 1st of May, to the 11th of August last, and which you will send, as soon as possible, inclosed to me at this place.¹

I am, Sir, With great respect, Your most, humble Servt,
Nathl. Peabody

Tr (DNA: PCC, item 11).

¹ Peabody, who had been assisting in the preparation of the committee at headquarters’ report of its proceedings while convalescing at Morristown, was writing to the commissary general of purchases on behalf of the committee even though it had been formally “discharged” the previous month. See John Mathews to Philip Schuyler, August 23, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia Septmber 4, 1780

I have been honored with your Excellency's Despatches of the 21 Ulto by Messenger Brown, one of them enclosing the Proceedings of the late Convention at Boston,¹ the other respecting the Case of George Howell,² both which have been laid before Congress.

Enclosed you will receive several newspapers, that of the 29 Ulto contains an Account of several Advantages gained by our Troops to the Southward; since which the Scene is tottally reversed.

In the Morning of the 16 Ulto Genl Gates with the Army under his immediate Command consisting of about 3,000, part Continental and Part Militia of Virginia & more Southern States were totally defeated in an Engagement with the Enemy near Cambden S. Carolina under Lord Cornwallis. The Number of the Enemy supposed about 3,000. We have no Particulars of this Action. It is said the Militia fled at the Beginning of the Engagement, Genl Gates in vain attempted to rally them and finally escaped himself with his Aids by the Fleetness of their Horses. In his Letter of the 20 Ulto he informs me he is totally defeated, and shall give more particular Intelligence of the Event of the Action as soon as it can be obtained. I am yet in Doubt what Judgement to form as to the Cause of this Disaster & how far it might have been prevented, but am fearful our Troops were too much flushed with their various Successes & the Advantages they had lately gained and were too rapid in advancing without sufficient Strength & Caution. It is said they had not Magazines of Provision & were obliged to move to get their daily Subsistence.

This unfortunate Event at present engrosses the Attention of Congress to adopt Measures for the Defence of the southern States and prevent the farther ravages of the Enemy in that Quarter.

The Situation of our Finnces yet remains distressing, and seems the true Cause to which every other Difficulty & Embarrassment may be traced [up?].

It is from this Source Congress have been driven thro' dire Necessity to adopt Measures which they would have gladly avoided, and which I presume are disagreeable to all, & perhaps unaccountable to some of the States.

It may be justly asked, Why are not Magazines laid up before hand in Season? Why are not the Creditors to the public paid without Delay? and why are not many other Things done which it is so obvious ought to be done? The Answer is obvious I need not give it.

A stable Medium introduced it appears to me would go a great Way towards relieving the Difficulty. Were our Finnces on such a Foundation that Ways & Means could be timely obtained to defray

the necessary Expence of the War, our Affairs would wear a better Aspect than the most sanguine could have expected.

The late Declaration of the Empress of Russia respecting the rights of neutral Powers &c seems to have very considerable Influence, and we have daily more fully & undoubted Intelligence that the Powers of Europe, especially the maritime, favour the Cause of America, and Great Britain seems left without a single Ally, or any Assistance except what she has obtained from the petty States in Germany.

I have lately received a Letter from an Officer, Consul under the Emperor of Morrocco in Behalf of the Emperor inviting these United States to trade in his Ports, and giving Assurances that they may & shall enjoy all Priviledges of any maritime Power, and that he is disposed to enter into a Treaty of Commerce with us.³

I have the Honor to enclose herewith Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in America, but take the Liberty to observe it ought not to be published, least the Author should be thereby exposed.

The Period that confines me to my present painful Situation is almost expired⁴ and as I have been long absent from any private Affairs & my health somewhat impaired with the Burthen & Fatigue of Business, I hope to obtain Leave of Absence in about a Month and wish a Gentleman from Connecticutt better quallified may come forward to relieve me.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For this letter and the enclosed proceedings of the New England "Convention" that convened at Boston on August 3, see Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, August 29, 1780, note 3.

² See Huntington to Trumbull, September 1, 1780.

³ Congress had received a letter from Etienne d'Audibert Caille, a French merchant residing in Salé, Morocco, explaining that he had been authorized by the Emperor to represent any foreign nation not having a consul in that country. *JCC*, 17:798. For Congress' response to Caille's letter, which had been referred to the Committee for Foreign Affairs on September 1, see *JCC*, 18:1104; and Huntington's letters to Caille and to the Emperor of Morocco, December ? 1780.

⁴ Huntington is referring to the fact that it had been nearly one year since he had assumed the duties of president of Congress. For criticism of his continuation in office after the expiration of his first year in the presidency on September 27, however, see John Mathews to Nathaniel Peabody, October 3, 1780, note 3.

James Duane to Mary Duane

Philadelphia. 5th September 1780. Explains that he did not “arrive here till yesterday morning having been detained a day for my horse at West point; spent two days at head quarters, and been delayd part of two days more by the rains.” Reports that “General Gates has been unfortunate to the Southward: the particulars are not come to hand; but undoubtedly he has suffered greatly. The second Division of the French fleet is not arrived which greatly embarrasses General Washington’s Operations: so that this Campaign opens heavily: but we are enured in this war to a Change of fortune: and the worst Incidents have been almost always productive of Success.”

RC (NHi: Duane Papers). Tr (NN: Bancroft Collection).

John Henry to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadela. Sepr. 5th. 1780.

Majr. Giles has a Warrant from the Board of War for a Number of Articles, which I am in hopes will cloath his troops tolerably well for the present. He is still in this Town where I have advised him to stay untill he has secured his Clothing, which is in the Store at Camp. He will not be wanting at camp immediately, as I am afraid all hopes of offensive operations against N. York is entirely frustrated by the Want of a superior naval Force. The General has discharged the Militia of this and other States, partly from the cause above, but principally for the want of provisions. The Army has been for some Days without meat and has only depended upon the gleanings of the neighbouring Country which is now entirely exhausted. Flour is from day to Day scantily supplied, and often a small quantity is gone which the General has drawn from West point. There is not a Nother Barrel nearer than Trenton. It is in vain to veil our Situation, the Army must disband, unless other States will do as Maryland has done; If Laws taking the surplus of provisions wer passed in some States relief might be given. The Generals Letter upon the present State of the Army is a circular one,¹ and I presume you have it before now. All the provisions that have been procured ought to be forwarded as soon as possible. This subject I flatter myself will engage your Excellency’ and the Council’ attention.

The plates for the new Emissions meet with great delays. It was with some difficulty that we procured metal proper for them. The Workman who has undertaken it, has made little progress in the Business and is now very unwell, so that I can give no certain information when you may expect them.

The papers respecting Col. Hollinsworth will be sent forward by to Days post;² your Letter and the Cojonels on that subject³ I put in to the Hands of a Gentleman of the Treasury. The British Fleet has left Rhode Island and are on their return to N. York. It is said a Number of empty transports are ready for some purpose, but what is not yet known.

Mr. Hanson has been very unwell for a week past and of course the State unrepresented. It is now a very critical Time, and I wish not to be alone. I have wrote to Majr. Jenifer and beg you will do the same, urging the necessity of his attendance.

I am Sir with the highest respect and Esteem your obdt and hble. Servt.
J. Henry Junr.

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ For Washington's August 27 appeal to the states, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:449-51.

² On August 15 Congress had ordered the Board of Treasury to forward "all the papers" relating to the forgery case of Deputy Quartermaster Henry Hollingsworth to the governor of Maryland, for which see Samuel Huntington to Charles Pettit, July 21, 1780, note.

³ Not in PCC.

Willie Jones to Samuel Johnston

Dr sir, Philada. Sept. 5, 1780

I wrote you a long Lettr, of 21 Augt., giving you a State of Affairs here, since which I have not heard from you.

Letters from France, by the Alliance, a Continental Frigate lately arrived at Boston, inform us at length, that the 2d Division of the French Fleet destined for America, is blocked up in the Harbour of Brest. In Consequence of this Intelligence, and the advanced State of the Campaign, Genl. Washington has laid aside the Idea of attempting N. York, and has disbanded most of the Militia. Genl. Washington advised us yesterday that the British Fleet had left their Station near the East End of Long Island, and had put to Sea—we do not yet hear whether they have returned to N. York.

It is now some days since we received Genl. Gates's Accot of the Defeat of the Southern Army. Nothing ever yet happened, either of a publick or private nature, which so deeply affected my Spirits. That his army should fight & be beaten, would not have shocked or dispirited me;—but that the No. Carolina & Virga. Militia, on such a critical Occasion, should one and all (as it were with one Consent) not only refuse to fight, but quit the Ground in the utmost Confusion, while every Effort of the Commander in Chief & of Majr. Genl. Caswell to rally them on the Field & during a Retrograde progress of 4 Miles proved ineffectual; and after all abandon their

Officers and take to the Woods, wounds me to the Heart and is indeed truly alarming. What Congress can or will do for the Southern States I know not at present. If the second Division of the French Fleet should arrive this Fall & give us a Superiority on the Water, there will be no Danger to the Southward, indeed every thing might be retrieved; without this Superiority every thing is to be feared, as Genl. Clinton may with Safety detach half his Force from N. York, while he commands by Sea.

I am very anxious to return to No. Carolina. Be so kind as to relieve me as soon as your Conveniency will permit, pray do not defer it by any means longer than the last of October.

I will write to you by the next post, if any thing to communicate.

Remember me particularly to my friend Mr. Robt. Smith. Present my Wifes & my Respects to Mrs. Johnston & Miss Peggy and accept the same yourself. Mr. Hill is unwell, and exceeding lowspirited—another Misfortune to the Southward will make him hang or drown. He desires to be remembered to you. I am, with the greatest Sincerity,
Dr. Sr., Your most obdt. Servt. Willie Jones

RC (NcU: Hayes Plantation Collection deposit, 1972).

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

Sept. 5th. 1780

Your Favor of the 14th of Augst. came to hand Yesterday. I will be particular on the several Points; but at present mean only to thank you for it at the Post office. Gates has been defeated. He writes in something *resembling* a Pannic. I hope at worst he will only prove to have been mistaken. But if Smallwood is alive with any of his Corps the old Gent. will be sneered at in Spite of Saratoga. Perhaps you will have Opportunity to write to Dana. I therefore say that the Talk here is that no Secretary of Embassies has more than £500, so that if the Establishmt. remains as it is, more cannot be expected. J.J. has found himself mistaken in his fondness for C rm l's [Carmichael's] being with him. Govr. M is my Author.¹

Congress has done the Justice you ask after to those who supply us.²

My Family was in a most horrid Situation the 3 first Weeks of Augst. Doctr. Holten had with him a Draught which gave Relief as to money. But Wife, only Daughter & eldest Son were in Bed. Pray let me know what Ground I am on besides my Expences. I shall seriously think of starving at Home as soon as Ar Lee has come to some Close of his Affairs here. I wish he may get through as quickley as Izard.³

I will give you a most scandalous Motion the product of Camp Education of some of our Members, the next Time I write.⁴ But if

we have not a Supply of Money from the States, we must expect frequent Maggets about creating Omnipotencies.

Yr. obliged & affectte h Sert.

Jas Lovell

[P.S.] I begged this Paper of a Dutch man the Post Office not having a sheet.

RC (MHi: Gerry-Knight Collection).

¹ That is John Jay, William Carmichael, and Gouverneur Morris. For Jay's growing disenchantment with his secretary, William Carmichael, see the Jay, *Papers* (Morris), 1:769-71.

² Lovell is referring to the August 26 resolutions for paying the specie value of supplies purchased for Continental use. *JCC*, 17:782-85.

³ For the settlement of Arthur Lee's claims, see Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 24, 1780, note 7. Ralph Izard's case had been presented to Congress on August 7, and his claim for expenses and salary as commissioner to Tuscany was approved on August 11. See *JCC*, 17:701, 714-15, 722.

⁴ For the "scandalous Motion" that aroused Lovell's contempt, one by John Mathews to augment Washington's authority to mobilize food and troops, see Mathews to Washington, September 15, 1780, note 2. Lovell did not send Gerry this information until November, and then had the misfortune of having his letter captured and published by the enemy. See Lovell to Gerry, November 20, 1780.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Sepr. 5th. 1780.

I was yesterday much obliged by your favor of Aug. 21st¹ which relieved me from a great deal of anxiety that I had been thrown into by my children under date of the 17th. Mrs. Lovell has indeed been very ill; perhaps she will not again be able to go thro' with the Care of so large a Family without me. My children catch at the Hope that you will contrive to get me Home. I wish for such a thing much, unless you can give me such Grounds from the Settlement of your account as to lead me to conclude that I am not ruining myself past Remedy by staying here. I am willing to involve myself as far as my Quota.

We have recalled the Comtee, from Camp, have aimed to do Justice to the officers without giving in to Whims. Their Widows and Children are to have the 7 years half pay; and the Clause which stopped the Pension upon an officer being elected to a civil office is repealed.

3 millions Tax against the last of Decr. is called for and Justice is to be done to all who have supplied the public.

We must have money at all adventures. Nothing Else is wanted to raise us again into Reputation, and prevent stupid plans of creating absolute Dictators to get supplies without paying for them.

I write at the Post office having been forced to borrow a sheet of

Paper from a Stranger in the neighborhood of it, such is its poverty.

Your obliged and affectionate humble Servant,

James Lovell.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 214–15. Endorsed: “A letter from Mr. Lovell Sepr. 5th. 1780. N.B. recd. Sepr. 21st. ansd. 28th.”

¹ Holten’s draft of this letter, reporting the health of Lovell’s family, is in the Holten Papers, DLC.

James Lovell to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir

Sepr. 5th. 1780

I was much relieved from Anxiety about you, by the Receipt of your Letter yesterday dated two days before. And I was further most seasonably relieved from a Portion of Chagrin into which I had been thrown by accounts from my Family mortifying in every View—“my Wife, only Daughter & my oldest Son in their Beds, the first having been bled twice, on the same day; the rest of the Family, wanting not only Comforts, but Necessaries having in vain attempted to borrow even of *the* Great Man.” Your Friendship proffered to me in such a critical Hour had great Effect in dissipating my Chagrin, I afterwards recd. a Letter from Doctr. Holten dated at Boston which was Proof that, so far as Money could answer, my Family was relieved on the 18th of the month.

We have but ill news from the Southward though I am persuaded we have it worse than the facts are. Gates was very ill many days before the Action and his Conduct after it *appears* to spring from Panic. I shall be sorry to find him any Thing worse than *mistaken*.

We are just at this Period behind-hand, but Things will brighten. Jn. Mathews tells us that we are to have no offensive operations this year. I am sorry for it. We must aim to get a stable medium or we shall not even have defensive, and it seems to be the Disposition of some great Merchants here to damn all attempts towards a fixt Currency. I wish you would be more explicit as to yr. Views of Moving. Perhaps I may be yr. Companion eastward, tho I should like to see the End of Ar. Lee’s Affairs here. Yrs affectionately,

J L

RC (Nh-Ar: Miscellaneous Revolutionary Documents).

¹ Not found.

Roger Sherman to Oliver Ellsworth

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Sepr 5th. 1780

I received Your letter of the 20th Ultimo. Yesterday. I wrote You by Brown the 2d Instant¹ & have nothing New to add. We are in hopes our loss at the Southward is not So great as was Apprehended—by accounts from N. York tis Said, that they did not view it as a total defeat of our army, but that the Militia gave way & they pursued the continental Troops Some Miles, and made Some prisoners. I hope next News to hear that most of the Continental Troops have escaped. The affair of Howel's is fully represented to the Governor. He was recommended by Dr. Smith who has been acquainted with him from his Infancy. Howel Lodged at Mrs. Cheesman's during his Stay here—he appears to be a modest Agreeable Young Gentleman. He obtained his goods by drawing a prize in a British State Lottery. We understood that they amounted to Some thousands of pounds N. York currency but not So much as three thousand Sterling. He told me that he Should Sell them for continental currency, the New Bills, or any money current in these States. I understood that he intended to dispose of his goods & Settle in this City & practice Physic.

No person is more against carrying on a trade with the Enemy or any person within their lines than I am. Yet I think every Citizen of these States who is within their power has a right to Claim protection from the States if he can escape with his effects, and ought to meet with every encouragement, if he has not by any crime forfeited the protection of his Country. I make no doubt but that Dr. Howel had an honest intention to risk his Interest with these States, and to contribute his proportion toward carrying on the war—in case he met with kind treatment—but he may be prosecuted to desperation. I hope justice will be done to him & the public.

The Assembly of this State are now Met, and I hope they will take measures to introduce the new Money into circulation in good credit—the form for printing the Bills is so worn that it became necessary to make a new one, which is now preparing. While the press is employed in finishing the quotas of Massachusetts & Connecticut, the next will be for this State, Virginia & Rhode Island. If the States dont immediately issue the Bills all our operations must Stop, for there is no money in the Treasury nor any other resource. A New Arrangement of the hospitals on an Economical plan will take place in a few days.² I hear that Mr. Peabody is near his end, being in the last Stage of a Consumption, at Morristown. There are complaints of the want of meat in the army which I did not expect at this Season.

I am with great respect, Your humble Servant,
 Roger Sherman

P.S. It is of great importance that the people of the States Should have the fullest confidence in Congress. I never knew better harmony among the Several Members, than at present, nor more Universal attention to the public good, & no appearance of party Spirit.

R.S.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Not found.

² For the "New Arrangement of the hospitals," see John Mathews to George Washington, September 15, 1780, note 1.

Virginia Delegates' Certification

Philadelphia Sept. 5th. 1780

We, Delegates from the Commonwealth of Virginia do certify that Congress have received authenticated copies of Acts of the Legislatures of the following States, complying with their resolutions of the 18th of March last relative to the public finances, viz.¹

1. An Act of the Legislature of Maryland passed the 12th day of June 1780, entitled "An Act for sinking the Quota required by Congress of this State of the bills of credit emitted by Congress."

2. An Act of the Legislature of New Jersey passed the 9th day of June 1780 entitled "An Act for establishing a fund for sinking and redeeming the proportion of the bills of credit of the United States assigned as the quota of this State.['']

3. An Act of the Legislature of New York passed the 15th of June 1780 entitled "An Act approving of the Act of Congress of the 18th day of March 1780, relative to the finances of the United States, and making provision for redeeming the proportion of this State of the bills of credit to be emitted in pursuance of the said Act of Congress.['']

4. An Act of the Legislature of Massachussets bay passed the 5th day of May 1780, entitled "An Act making provision for calling in to be destroyed this State's Quota according to the present apportionment of all the public bills of credit, which have been emitted by Congress, and for making and emitting on the credit of this State other bills of credit not to exceed the sum of four hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and for establishing funds sufficient to secure the redemption of the bills so emitted by the last day of December 1786, as recommended by a resolution of Congress of the 18th day of March of the present year and in conformity thereto; also for paying annually in specie the interest arising on notes which have been issued upon the credit of the province, Colony or now State of Massachussets bay promising to be paid in gold or silver.['']

5. An Act of the Legislature of New Hampshire passed April 29th. 1780 entitled "An Act for complying with and carrying into execution certain resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March 1780 for sinking the bills of public credit now current and for issuing other bills in their stead.['']

6. A Conditional Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed the first day of June 1780 entitled "An Act for funding and redeeming the bills of credit of the United States of America and for providing means to bring the present war to a happy conclusion.['']

Jos. Jones

James Madison Jun

Jn. Walker

MS (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Madison and signed by Madison, Jones, and Walker.

¹ On July 26 and 27 Gov. Thomas Jefferson had written three letters to James Madison, the Virginia delegates, and President Huntington requesting that the delegates furnish "authentic advice when the resolutions of Congress shall have been adopted by five other states," and informing Huntington that the enclosed Virginia act, which Congress had received on August 4, would be "put into a course of execution" when he received such "authentic advices." See *JCC*, 17:691-92; Hening, *Statutes*, 10:241-54; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:506-13. Huntington advised Jefferson on August 4 that seven states had adopted the March 18 congressional resolve, and on August 7 Charles Lee, secretary of the Board of Treasury, to whom the Virginia act had been referred, did the same, omitting only the Pennsylvania act which had not yet been received. Continental Congress Papers, Vi. In the certification printed here the Virginia delegates could also have included the acts of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had been read in Congress on May 11 and August 14 respectively, but chose these six rather than the five requested. See *JCC*, 17:422-23, 730.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker

Philadelphia Sept. 6th 1780

Your letter was almost the first welcome I had to this place having been put into my hands immediately on my arrival, and offered me a happy measure of your future punctuality. It is now one week since I took my seat in the great Council of the nation,¹ Since which time I have been so busily employed in getting a house and endeavoring to arrange my future domestic œconomy, together with my Duty in Congress that I have scarce had time to recollect my self or think of my Friends. I now write this only to shew you that I mean to write whenever I can, but not as a full answer to yr. favor which I intend to be the employ of the first Leisure hour. The only news worth relating is that Congress have recd. a letter from the Consul of France Residing at the Court of the Emperor of Morocco, through the Channel of our Minister at Paris, in which his Imperial Majesty of

Morocco has made an overture for a treaty [of trade] and Commerce to these United States;² and it is moreov[er] said that this Magnanimous Prince declared himself to an American Gentn. who happend to be at his court on Commerical matters, that he regretted exceedingly that it was not his lot to Reign over a free People, but he saw the danger if not impracticability of altering the form of the Government of his Empire. Sentiments! that should cover the face of Tyrants with Blushes. You will have heard that the Bullying English have insulted the Dutch grossly in Cutting out from their harbours in the W. Indies (St. Martins) a Number of American Vessels and even taken their Property from the Shore after 'twas landed, this must ripen the ill humours between England & Holland and Bring them to a Crisis. I have not time to make comments on these peices of Intelligence which may be depended on but must with my best wishes for yrs. & Fannys Welfare and my most affectt. love to her & the Boys & little Fan assure you that I am, yr. Sincerely affecte. Friend & hbl.

Theok. Bland

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ Bland, who had been elected by the Virginia assembly on June 21 to replace Cyrus Griffin, had presented his credentials to Congress on August 30. *JCC*, 17:792.

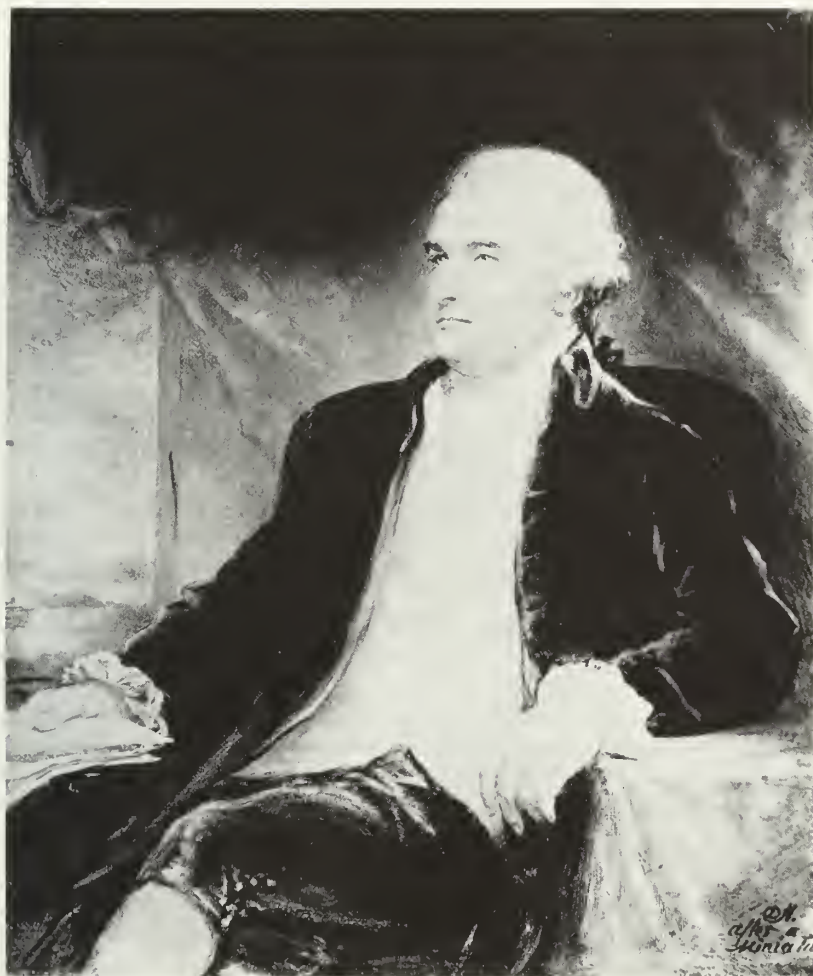
² For this "overture," see Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 4, 1780, note 3.

Benjamin Huntington to Nathaniel Shaw

Sir

Philadelphia Sept 6th 1780

I Wrote you in June last Concerning your Affairs at the Court of appeals and some things I thought Needful to be Done in Order to bring forward a Petition for a New Tryal.¹ The Court had not then Sat nor was I in a Capacity to Do any Thing in the Affair as I was under the Operation of the Small Pox. The Court Sat a few Days and adjourned on Account of Sickness, Then Met and Sat a Few Days and Adj. till Novr Next at which Time I was in hopes Mr Hosmer would have taken his Seat in that Court but that Valuable Man is Removed by Death & his Place not yet Supplied by a New Choice. I have Searched the Records and the Depositions in both Tryals which were New and not used in the Lower Courts and have Enclosed Copies of those Depositions² to you that you might see how those Causes were lost. The Evidence of the Brig Sally's being the Property of Mr Miflin is so full that I Believe it will be in Vain to Ask for a New Tryal, but I wish you to Consider and Advise on that Subject & Give Such Directions as you shall think Proper and I will Pursue Your Orders. The Prize Schooner Two Brothers was Manifestly lost by the Depositions of Joshua Sawyer and William



Benjamin Huntington

Gardner which were not used in the Lower Court, Copies of which I have also Inclosed by which you will See that they Testify that the Schooners People Deserted her and Refused to go on Board when Required which I Suppose Not to be so. You will want further Evidence to Disprove what they have said & to establish this Fact that the Schooner was never Recovered by the Enemy as they never had it in their Power to get her off. In order to Prepare a Petition for a New Tryal it will be Necessary for me to have the Letters Sent you by Col Dyer Informing that the Time of Tryal or hearing those Causes was Elapsed by which Means you was Prevented from Appearing to Defend. If you will Send those Letters I will Prepare a Petition in one or both those Cases as you Direct and should be Glad of a Power of Attorney from you and Capt Champlain or whoever is Agent for the Crew to Sign the Petition in your & their Behalf. The Demands of the Lawyers here are unreasonably high which will bring on a Great Expence in the Pursuit of the Matter. I should think it best to Accommodate the Affair with Col Stanton if any Thing within the Bounds of Reason will Satisfy him this you Can Judge of Yourself. I shall Wait your further Orders and take Such Measures as Directed.

By Letters from the southward we are Informed that the Defeat of Genl Gates is not so bad as Represented in his Letter to Congress. Gen Smallwood is not Killed as was Reported. We had about 400 Killed and taken & It is said the Enemy have suffered as much. Certain it is that a Regiment of our Foot Killed & took a Whole Regiment Excepting two of the Enemy's Light Horse, and that our Troops far from being Discouraged are Collecting and will be Able to Defend the Country from any further Progress of the Enemy.

Goods are very Plenty in this Town and not very Dear. Exchange of Continental for hard Money 70 for 1 and Designing Men Saying Every thing (but the Truth) to Prevent the Circulation of the New Currency.

I am sir your Most Humbl Servt, Benj Huntington

P.S. On the 30th of June 1780 Mr. Ellsworth Paid me Seven Hundred and fifty Six Dollars and two Thirds of a Dollar Continental Money on your Account for which [enclosed] Receipt to be Accountable.

Benj Huntington

[P.S.] Please to Direct to Benj Huntington Esqr a Member of Congress Philadelphia and the Letter will Come free of Expence.

B.H.

RC (CtY: Shaw Papers).

¹ For Shaw's appeal in the case of the *Two Brothers*, see Huntington to Shaw, June 12, 1780.

² These "Enclosed Copies" (which are in Huntington's hand) of the depositions of Joshua Sawyer and William Gardner are in the Shaw Papers, CtY.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philada September 6. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 26 of August, directing an Account to be rendered to the Board of Treasury of the Amount of the Monies due in your Department as late Quarter Master General on Certificates or otherwise, specifying the Sums due in each State in Order that Warrants may issue on the respective States to pay the same.¹

I have the Honor to be, &c, &c, &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Endorsed: "The like to Col. Wadsworth. Mutatis Mutandis."

¹ For this directive to the "late quarter master general, . . . late commissary general of purchases, and the present commissary general of purchases" to account for the certificates issued by their departments preliminary to requesting specific state funding for such debts, see *JCC*, 17:783. Although Huntington's copy of this letter to former commissary Jeremiah Wadsworth is in the Wadsworth Papers, CtHi, none to commissary Ephraim Blaine has been found.

Joseph Jones to George Washington

Dear Sir. Phila. 6th Sept. 1780

I have received your favour of the 13th ult. upon the subject of a Report respecting a certain Gentleman and thank you for the freedom and candid manner of your Communications.¹ The resentment discovered agt. the Gentleman alluded to began to subside before your Letter came to hand and though for sometime it was occasionally mentioned in conversation it has lately dyed away and will I expect not be revived. The Report of the Committee not only accepted his resignation but went further and I believe had it been then determind the Gentleman would have been informed his Services in the line of the Army would have been dispensed with that he might have liesure to attend to the settlement of his accounts. Had this step been taken it is probable a resignation would have ensued and perhaps a public discussion in the papers wch. could have produced no good and upon the whole I am well pleased the matter was carried no further than it has been. But unacquainted as I am with antecedent circumstances and judging from what was before me my Opinion was the Gentleman was justly reprehensible for the manner of his conduct as a Servant of the public employed in an important office or as a Citizen embarked in the common cause of America. The

amazing Sums of money gone into that Departmt under his superintendance, abt. Eighty millions and it is said about thirty millions unpaid the whole of which is unaccounted for has excited uneasiness not only in this Body but the people at large who call out for a settlement of the public accounts and although repeated endeavours have been used to bring the Officers in the great departments of the Army to account none have been rendered nor any likelihood of bringg. them to a settlement. The embezelmt. & waste of public property in these departments have greatly contributed to enhance our Debt and depreciate the currency and these abuses demand inquiry and punishment but I see no fair prospect of obtaining satisfaction for past transgressions and shall be happy to find we shall be able to avoid the like practices in future. A reform or an attempt to Reform seemed absolutely necessary for the satisfaction of the public and although the new System was pronounced a physical impossibility in execution others who have served long in the Army and were of the Committee that made the alterations entertained a contrary opinion and they affirm the Gentleman now in office if he can be supported with money can fully carry the new System into execution. In short I have seen some and have been told of so many abuses in the Q. Masters, Comries. and Medical departments in the course of the last two years that I candidly confess I feel a degree of resentment agt. the conduct of many in those Departmts. bordering on prejudice so nearly that I have resolved to condemn no person even in opinion without clear proof of delinquency least I should injure the Character of some honest Man in the general censure wch. unhappily is but too prevalent.

What I feared for some time is at length but too evident that our designs agt. New York must wait for more favourable circumstances to attempt carrying them into execution. Perhaps something may in the course of the winter be done to the South should we be in a situation to recover our losses there and be in time provided with a well appointed Regular Army and magazines of provisions laid up. It is to be hoped we shall in the Spring before the Enemy can be reinforced and obtain supplies be in condition to act offensively agt. N. York. Your Letters of the 20th last month and the 27th circular to the States are before a Committee and will in a day or two be reported upon as to Flour and meat.² The great objects of drawing forth in time a competent regular Army and laying up Magazines will soon come in and I hope soon go through Congress that the several States may proceed to make the necessary provisions. I shall leave this place on Thursday for Virginia and mean to attend our next Session of Assembly in hopes of promoting a cession on the part of the State of their claim to the Lands to the N.W. of the Ohio to the united States which will be recommended to all the States having unappropriated western territory for the purpose of

compleating the Confederation.³ I shall be glad to hear from you while there upon any matters that may occur and you shall think proper to communicate. With great esteem I am, D Sr., yr. aff hum. Servt.,
 Jos. Jones

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ In his August 7 letter to Washington, Jones had reported that the animosity created in Congress by Nathanael Greene's precipitate resignation as quartermaster general might lead to his suspension from army command. Washington addressed himself solely to this point in his August 13 reply and reviewed the "disagreeable and injurious consequences" that such a suspension would have for the officer corps, advising Jones "to consider *well* what you are about before you resolve." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:366-69.

² For Congress' response to Washington's appeals, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, September 16 and 24, 1780.

³ Jones, who offered three resolutions in Congress this day setting conditions on the proposed cession of Virginia's western lands, did not return to Congress until January 29, 1781. See *JCC*, 17:808, 19:94. For the report on western lands adopted by Congress this day, see Samuel Huntington to the States, September 10. For congressional action on Jones' resolutions, see James Madison to Jones, September 19, 1780.

Willie Jones to Abner Nash

Dr sr.

Philada. Sept. 6. 1780.

Mr. Hill & myself wrote you a long Lettr. of 15th Augt.—to which I beg leave to refer. Your 2 Lettrs. of Augt. 6 (to the Delegates, and to me) came to hand yesterday. I am very sorry for the Distresses of the State and for your Embarrasments. I hope the Assembly by this time will be convinced by Experience of the good or ill policy of the Laws passed at the last Session, and will without prejudice or passion repeal or continue them, upon that principle; You observe that the State has Strength & Resources equal to her Defence & sufficient for the present critical Occasion; but that proper Laws have not been enacted to call them forth. I was myself at the last Assembly at Newbern, and can say from Observation that those Members who did not attend shewed the greatest Willingness to adopt every Measure which appeared to them necessary for the Security & Intt. of the Country; if they failed it was on Accot. of the Multiplication of Business before them, and for [lack] of Judgment not of Inclination: but no Apology in my Opinion can justify those Gentlemen who undertook to serve their respective Counties, and neglected to attend & discharge their Duty, when the critical Situation of the State so pressingly demanded their Labours & abilities. Surely every Man must now be roused by the Defeat of Genl Gates's army to a Sense of their Danger, and I flatter myself that they will join with Unanimity, Wisdom & Fortitude in every Measure which may tend

to avert the impending Ruin. I will give you a short State of Affairs here, from whence you may the better judge what is necessary to be done by the Assembly of No. Carolina. Genl. Washingtons army is now reduced to the Lines of the New England States, N. York & Pensylvania, with one new Regiment of Mary Land troops 500. Many of these consist of new Recruits raised for 6 months, and the Enlistments of many of the Veterans expire in January next; so that by the month of Febry. the Contl. army under his commd. will probably not exceed 5000 Men. He has stated this matter to Congress and pressed most earnestly that the Contl. Battalions be compleated to serve during the war, by the Month of Jany; and Congress is now deliberating on the Subject, and will no doubt urge the proposition to the States: probably they will not be able to comply with the Requisitions in point of time & if they do, I think it will be very difficult if not impossible to prevail on Congress to order any of the Contl. Troops from Philada. Eastward to the Defence of No. Carolina during the ensuing Winter. Possibly the Maryland Regiment & some Cavalry may be ordered to the So. ward; but you must not depend even on this. Virginia & No. Carolina will probably have the whole weight of the Southern War on their Shoulders, during the ensuing winter, and our assembly ought to provide accordingly.

If the 2d Division of the French Fleet destined for america should arrive this Fall, and give us a Superiority on the Water there will be no great Danger in No. Carolina; indeed every thing might be retrieved, as the French Troops would probably be employed in the Southern Departmt. if provisions could be procured for subsisting them but Genl. Washington informed us yesterday¹ that the 2d Division was blocked up in the Harbour of Brest by the British Fleet. We will then suppose the British Fleet to be superior on our Coasts during the Winter; in which Case it is probable that Genl. Clinton will detach a strong Reinforcement to Charlestown and that a vigorous Winter Campaign will be carried on against No. Carolina. Under these Circumstances Militia alone can not be adequate to the Defence of our State, therefore I conclude it is indispensably necessary that our Contl. Battalions should be completed, whatever Expençe may accrue or Difficulties occur on the Subject.

Graves's fleet left the East End of Long Island Saturday week and stood to Sea; we have not heard of their Arrival at N. York. The Board of War before my Brothers Departure² ordered 2000 Stand of arms to No. Carolina via the Bay; the Vessel was chased and obliged to land their arms; but they have been since ordered on, but I cant tell to what place. Congress proposes to borrow some arms from Virginia for your immediate Use, and to replace them at a short period. I wish our assembly would make some further Efforts for supplying the State with arms & Military Stores. A Laboratory is established at Richmond for the purpose of supplying the Southern

Department with various military Stores. The Board of War have prepared 300 pistols & Swords for Whites & Washingtons Cavalry & have sent them or will immediately send them to Baltimore, to go from thence with Saddles which are making there for the same Cavalry. With some Difficulty I have found the Goods left here by Capt. Read. There is a hhd & a box; but I know not what they contain, nor is it possible for me to send them on at present. *<I think it is essentially necessary that our assembly make vigorous Exertions to procure small arms & Cloathing for their Troops.>*

Congress I believe expect no Money or provisions from Virginia and No. Carolina for Northern purposes. Our State must establish Magazines of provisions and now is the time to do it.

Not a Shilling in the Contl. Treasury.

If any thing wanted Assembly to require it; Ought to call for new Maryd. Regt. & Lees Corps.

Naval Comms. shall be sent.

FC (Nc-Ar: Legislative Papers). In the hand of Willie Jones, and endorsed by him: "Copy Lr. to Govr. Nash, Sept. 6. 1780."

¹ Washington's letter of August 28 informing Congress "of the second Division being blocked up in Brest" was read September 4, rather than "yesterday." See *JCC*, 17:802; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:462-63.

² That is, Allen Jones, for whose departure from Congress see Allen Jones to Unknown, June 13, 1780, note 3.

Committee for Foreign Affairs to Benjamin Franklin

Hond. Sir, Sept. 7th. 1780

With a Letter of former date,¹ I have to inclose to you some further Proceedings of Congress respecting Bills drawn upon you,² and to acknowledge the Receipt of yr. Letter of May 31st.³ I think I can venture now to assure you that not a single Draught more will be made upon you let the Occasion be ever so pressing. But you must be entreated to work with all Energy as to the past. You cannot conceive the whole Train of Necessities which led to such Decisions, after what you had written.

Congress have called for 3 millions more estimating in Silver to be pd. by the last of December. Nothing but the Weight of Taxes will put an End to the Levity with which our Currency is treated.

New York has impowered her Delegates to cede part of her western Claims; it is recommended to others who have such like to relinquish also a Portion and Maryland is anew invited to close the Ratification of the confederating Articles.⁴ We must as a Whole show more Vigor than of late.

Your most humb Servt.

James Lovell

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers). Written and signed by James Lovell.

¹ Lovell wrote this letter below the "Triplicate" of the committee's August 15 letter to Franklin with a "Duplicate" August 22 postscript.

² Undoubtedly the resolves that were the subject of Samuel Huntington's August 31 letter to La Luzerne. See also Committee for Foreign Affairs to Franklin, August 15, 1780.

³ Franklin's May 31 letter, read in Congress on September 1, is in PCC, item 82, 1:241-51, and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:742-46. JCC, 17:798.

⁴ See Samuel Huntington to the States, September 10, 1780.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Philada 7th Sept 1780

On my way to Congress I had the Mortification to learn that our Southern Army under General Gates had met with a fatal Check near Camden in South Carolina. The particulars are involved in impenetrable obscurity. We wait impatiently for Authentic Information that we may lay it before the publick, and endeavour to repair our misfortune by a vigorous Effort suitable to so deplorable a Catastrophe in *Appearance*, for if it has the effect of animating Virginia to put forth her Strength and great Resources it may eventually prove a benefit.

All our Accounts from Europe are encouraging I think without a single Exception. The armed Neutrality of the maritime powers, particularly, must if Britain persists in her obstinacy produce Events highly favourable to our Cause. From the papers it is remarkable that both the people and the Parliament talk of the Independence of America as probable, as a Case that ought to be provided for: And this they debate without the Danger of *Suffocation* to which they were not long since exposed by the vehement Passions which were raised whenever the Subject was hinted. Indeed Sir if we had but the means, the *power*, of drawing forth the Resources of our own Country, for one Year, there seems to be little doubt but with the divine Blessing we should put a glorious Termination to the War. Our only want is money, or a Credit with our Constituents for such a portion of their produce and substance as will raise an Army for another year and feed the Army for one Campaign: for I do seriously believe that if we had such an Army in the field our Enemies would not think it worth their while to linger out a second Campaign in a Land of Liberty where they would then see that Misfortune instead of *Despair* produced *Vigour*, and that Distress of *submission* produced *Courage and perserverance*.

In the mean time the Want of money is a fatal Clog to the Wheels of Government and exposes us to every Species of Insult and Calamity. The necessary Supply chiefly rests with the States. In Vain is it to look up to a Congress who have little more power than to

advise, and who cannot exert the Force of the Union but thro' the respective Legislatures: to a Congress whose Rights or prerogatives are undefined: and whose decisions are consequently subject to the Deliberation the Acceptance, or the Rejection of the several Members which constitute the Union. Midst our embarrassments Congress yesterday took the Step our State had so much at Heart for accomplishing the Articles of Confederation: the Delegates of Virginia and Maryland supported it: and I am persuaded it will produce a final Ratification by the Accession of Maryland. Your Excellency will receive an official Copy of the Act of Congress on this Subject as soon as it can be prepared.¹ Nothing of a publick nature occurs for your Excellency's Attention. For myself I must add a word. The Approach of the day for deciding our Contest with the Vermonteers compelled me to leave the State unprovided with money for my support. My little private Stock has long since been exhausted, & I have trespassed upon my Friends as far as the Circumstances of the times could Justify. There is no supply to be obtained from the publick Treasury: The Result therefore is plain: We shall be necessitated to return home in a very few weeks; unless it is in your Excellency's power to produce for us a speedy Remittance. This is a disagreeable Reflection!

I have the Honour to be with the Utmost Respect, Dear Sir, your Excellency's most Obedient & Very humble Servt.

Jas Duane

P.S. No part of the former Remittance came to my Hands².

Tr (DLC: George and James Clinton Papers).

¹ For this September 6 resolution on western land clainis, see Samuel Huntington to the States, September 10, 1780.

² Duane also wrote a letter this day to his wife Mary, discussing the weather and family affairs, which was to be delivered by Sir James Jay. Duane Papers, NHi.

James Lovell to John Adams

Dear Sir

Sepr. 7th. 1780

Your many Letters to Congress up to June 2d have been read with Pleasure and I have recd. two from you—March 16, 29, recd. July 20th.¹ Mr. Lee is not yet in Philada. perhaps he may have another for me. You will not learn any agreeable Things respecting yr. native Country however, the defeat of Genl. Gates on the 16 of Augst. was not so bad as we at first had reason to think. Perhaps Baron de Kalb is mortally wounded the others who were said to be killed are safe, I mean Genls. Guest, Smallwood, Stephens, Rutherford, Butler & Gregory, so is Col. Gunby. The militia all scandalously fled at the first fire though two deep against a single sparce file of the Enemy;

all except one Regt. of Nth. Carols. commanded, on the occasion by a continental Col. Dixon. These with the Regulars bravely stood & pushed Bayonets to the last. When overpowered by numbers they retreated well and being pursued by Horse repulsed and compleately vanquished them. A Wounded officer is confident that only two of the Party escaped. Col. Sumpter who had been successful in taking a Party of the Enemy a day or two before with 40 amunition Waggon was overtaken by Horse and lost all again with some muskets into the Bargain. Genl. Nash & Govr. Jefferson write most agreably as to the Spirit with which this Defeat is repairing. Ten such are nothing *if*—if there is enough of Virtue to support a paper Currency. While the new money is as silver and gold eastward it is far otherwise here. I cannot attribute the Conduct of their People to a settled Enmity to our Cause but to a damnably debauched Temper, too much riveted, which was generated by a depreciating medium, if solid Coin only was in this Quarter it would require much time to correct the most exorbitant Disposition of the People who chop & change.

No decission is yet made upon those Parts of yr. Letters which demand one. I have before told you that the Disposition here is the same as you discover upon all the Points but a definite order cannot be passed to govern you under all Contingencies considering how opposite to one another they may prove in a short Space of Time.

I have not lately heard from Mrs. Adams. Doctr. Holten writes me Aug 21 that he had not seen Mr Lee who was gone to visit Mrs. A at Braintree. I have sent him Bills of Exch. on Doctr. F² at 60 days Sight for 500 dolls, 501 $\frac{1}{4}$ having been decided as the Balance of yr. acct.

I have told you that R I³ charged in a Lump 1600 Louis per An. Expences and that his Bal. was pd. He said he did not go to Vouchers of Barbers & Taylors and Bakers Bills in his private and therefore not in his public Concerns. Which of the Precedents already set the other Gentlemen will follow may be easily guessed.

My own family was in a distressed Condition. Wife, only Daughter & oldest Son in Bed the whole family a Sacrifice to Extortion and much involved. I have sold myself for 14 years,⁴ I imagine by staying here almost 4 even if the same generous Allowance should be made to me as was to you for Service. Being here and master of Books & files & Dates I will not seriously think of quitting till A.L. is as far gone as R. I.⁵

Give my Love to all your Connexions. I suppose Gerry will write often by way of Gardoqui from Marblehead in Boston. The army is to have pay made good. The *Genl.* Officers are to have a 7 years provision proportionate to their pay and to receive Lands also proportionate. Widows & Children to have the Benefit of late Husbands & Fathers. In short we had once an Army fighting for

Republicans but they say they are now fighting the battles of asiatic speculators and must be so considered.

New York having ceded western Claims it is recommend to *all* who have them to do likewise and our Sister Maria⁶ is coaxed to finish the Ratification of the Confedn. If the accomplishment of that *as it now stands* will give you Pleasure I think you may count upon it. She discovered that she *wished* to be *coaxed*.

A tax of 3 millions hard⁷ is called for to be compleated by the last of Decr.

We are at a Stand if we have not a Supply of money. Before we get what we ask for on Estimates the People have cursed it down to a quarter of its Value, we Estimate all in hard now.

JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ See Lovell to Abigail Adams, July 21, 1780.

² That is, Benjamin Franklin.

³ Ralph Izard.

⁴ Undoubtedly an allusion to Jacob's 14 years' labor for the hand of Rachel and the deception of her father Laban. Gen. 29:15-30.

⁵ Arthur Lee and Ralph Izard. Lovell meant that he would not leave Congress before Lee's claims had been settled in the same manner as had those of Izard. See Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, September 5, note 3.

⁶ That is, Maryland. See Samuel Huntington to the States, September 10, 1780.

⁷ The tax plan to raise the equivalent of \$3 million in specie had been passed by Congress on August 26. *JCC*, 17:782-83.

George Walton's Memorial

Memorial

September 7, 1780

The letter of William Glascock, esquire, to the President of Congress, dated at Augusta in the State of Georgia, the 12 day of May last, denying that he had subscribed an address to Congress, purporting to be a state paper from the Assembly, calls necessarily upon the underwritten member of Congress, who transmitted that paper whilst he was Governor of the State, for Explanation.

He, therefore, declares, that, sometime during the session of that Assembly which elected him Governor, a committee thereof waited upon and informed him, that they were appointed to draw a letter of Address to Congress, and were directed to confer with him; that, in consequence, he had several conferences with the Committee upon the subject matter thereof, and he recollects that the seperate objects of the one now in the Secretary's Office, belonging to Congress, were agreed upon, and the Chairman was instructed to draft it accordingly.

The Assembly about the same time passed a resolve, requesting the Governor to dispatch an Express to Congress with the public communications, which he forthwith engaged, and having all the

official papers ready, except the letter, the subject of this discussion which he expected from the grounds mentioned, applied to Mr. Glascock, the Speaker, respecting it, who told him that the Committee had not yet drawn it up.

That he believes it to have been post-poned, on account of other pressing business, until near the rising of the House, which it did abruptly, many of the members being obliged to go out with the Militia; not, however, without ordering the letter to be completed, and the Speaker being of the Committee, was directed and said that he would sign it: but before it was done he went into South-Carolina, telling the underwritten, with whom he lived at the time, that he had desired the Committee to subscribe his name to it.

And the underwritten now officially & solemnly declares, that, previous to his dispatching the Express to Congress, the honorable Richard Howly, esquire, Chairman of the Committee, delivered him the said letter or address, signed with the name & addition of the Speaker; and which folding up to the size of his packet, he superscribed it with the usual address, and transmitted the same to the President of Congress, as he deemed it his duty to do.

He would content himself with having answered as to the authenticity of that paper, as far as he knows or is concerned; but he cannot forbear to observe, that some indulgence is due to the proceedings of a Country, surrounded by and full of Enemies, where members of the Legislature were obliged to sit in Council at day, and scout against the Enemy by night, and where some irregularities, by consequence, ought to be expected in the transaction of public business.

Should the merits of the particular clause in the said address, respecting Brigadier-general McIntosh, and its counter-part contained in Mr. Glascock's letter—signed it is true by him-self, but written by the panegyrist of that Officer—be made the subject of inquiry, he shall not fail to present a memorial of facts upon that point.

Done at Philadelphia, the 7 day of September, 1780.

Geo Walton

RC (DNA: PCC, item 73). Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Memorial G. Walton, Read Sept 8. 1780. Referred to the comee on the letter of 12 May from W. Glascock."

¹ For the background of this case, which focused on the removal of Gen. Lachlan McIntosh from the Continental service in the southern department the previous February, see these *Letters*, 14:420. The May 12 letter of Speaker William Glascock denying active participation in McIntosh's removal had been read in Congress on September 6 and assigned to Samuel Adams, James Duane, and Abraham Clark. This committee sought testimony from the two Georgia delegates in Congress—ex-governor Walton and present governor Richard Howly—who had led the anti-McIntosh faction in the Georgia assembly. Walton's "Memorial," printed here, was read in Congress on September 8 and was closely supported the following day by statements from Howly and Georgia assembly clerk George Seegar, who was

then in Philadelphia, for which see Richard Howly's Statement, September 9?, and PCC, item 73, fols. 276-78. The committee reported on September 19 that the papers submitted by the Georgia assembly in January had provided Congress with "sufficient ground . . . for dispensing with the services of the said Brigadier Gen. M'Intosh," a conclusion supported by Congress on September 25. See *JCC*, 17:804, 18:812, 839, 861.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia September 8. 1780

I have the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Extracts of Letters from the Governors of North Carolina & Virginia,¹ which contain the latest Intelligence we have received from the southern Department, and give a more favourable representation of the Action near Cambden on the 16 Ulto than we had apprehended from the Letter of General Gates of the 20 Ulto, a Copy of which I presume you have received.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For the enclosed letters from Governors Abner Nash of August 23 and Thomas Jefferson of September 3, see *JCC*, 18:809; PCC, item 72, fol. 97; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:589-90.

Nathaniel Peabody to Meshech Weare

My Hond & Dear Sir, Morristown 8th Sept 1780

Your very obliging favour of the 8th ulto came to hand by last post.¹ The affectionate manner in which you have been pleased to express yourself concerning my welfare, Can't fail to impress the most grateful Ideas.

Am sorry to be informed you have not recd several letters I had the honr of addressing to you some time since. However think it possible they may be in *that State* with some letters Addressd to Col. Bartlet—time will unfold.²

I have not all the letters recd from you and others with me—so cannot absolutely determine whether I recd. the letter you mention to have wrote respecting Charters &c, but think one of Such a Nature could not escap'd particular Attention.

The state of my health has for some time been exceeding unfavourable, Tho' I am now much better than at any time for a month past. I am Now (with considerable assistance in the Copying way) making out the report of the Committee³ which I hope to have Completed within 8 or ten days, upon which I Shall Set out

immediately for N. Hampr. when I will endeavour to finish the main part of this Letter.

Affairs at the southward Continue disagreeable, Accounts here are that Genl Gates and his Army at South Carolina are mostly Cut off by Cornwallis, particulars You will doubtless have Sooner by other Conveyance.

I am not much Elated with expectations from this Campaign! Time will undeceive the public—Some future day they will be able to Judge who has kept them in Ignorance—who has been the faulty Cause of prolonging this distressing War, but I Add no more upon so *disagreeable*, so *delicate* a subject.

The Army under Genl Washington from their increasing numbers & prospect of supplies, when I left them, form'd Sanguine expectations. But Alas the scene is Changed. The golden opportunity will be lost!

With the most intire Consideration of Esteem, I have the Honr to be, Your most obedt. And very Humble Servt,

Nathl Peabody

[P.S.] Compliments—to this Comtee.

RC (MHi: Weare Papers).

¹ The FC of Weare's August 8, 1780, letter to Peabody is in the Weare Papers, MHi.

² Peabody's last extant letter to Weare was July 25, 1780, which Weare had acknowledged in his letter of August 8. Peabody had written to Josiah Bartlett on August 6, 1780.

³ That is, the Committee at Headquarters. See Peabody to Ephraim Blaine, September 3, 1780.

Richard Howly's Statement

[September 9? 1780]¹

The Underwritten declares, that a Committee was appointed by the assembly of the State of Georgia, at the sessions of November 1779, to draw an address to Congress, which was accordingly done, Agreed to by assembly, and officially Entered on the Journals of the house.

That the paragraph respecting, Brigadr. Genl. McIntosh, was a part of the Said letter, and had the Sense & approbation of the house.

That William Glascock was likewise one of the Said Committee, but the abrupt rising of assembly having prevented a fair copy of the Said address, to be produced to the house during its time of Sitting; to have the Speakers Signature necessity occasioned its being done afterwards. That William Glascock, being called by Some affairs, respecting himself to the Congarees in South Carolina,

directed, and verbally Authorised, the Committee to affix his name, to the Said address. That the Committee, then presumed it a Matter of indifference; and the Underwritten Still considers it so; which of the persons names composing the Said Committee, was affixed to the Said Address; but thought it a matter of Compliment, that as one, was Speaker; his name Should appear. That the Anxiety of the Committee, was confined, to the Substantial acquittal of [their] Duty, in complying with the orders of assembly, and preparing the agreed address, in a proper form, to be transmitted to Congress. That the paragraph concerning Brigadr. Genl. McIntosh, in the address of assembly, Corresponds with the Sense of the Governor & Council, as may appear by a reference to their resolutions in the office of the Secretary of Congress.

That the Underwritten, left Augusta on the twenty fourth day of May last, and had not heard a Single Syllable respecting the purport of a letter to Congress: dated on the twelfth of the Said Month, and Signed by William Glascock—that the Clerk of the General Assembly, who now is in this town,² and had left Georgia on the 4th of June [...] In frequent conferences, with the President & Executive Council, previous to his departure; had not heard any thing of the Said letter.

That the Underwritten, is informed, by the Said clerk of assembly, that after this the Said Underwritten's departure from Augusta a Commission of five persons was made out, to Wait on the British governor in Savannah and that the name of William Glascock, was in the Said commission or appointment, that it is presumed the Situation of that Gentleman, being in the power of the Enemy; has exposed him to impressions, dissimilar to his former principles; and Suffered him, Under Coercion to Sign a paper, derogatory to his own avowed declarations.

That as to the matter of fact, The Committee may if they think proper refer the Same to the Genl. assembly of Georgia when and where the publick opinion can only be collected in all that concerns the Brigadr. general's Situation—And tho the Executive Authority of the Said State, is entitled, from every practice of form and respect to this reference and investigation, yet they will cheerfully resign the notification and inquiry proposed to the Said legislature.

That delicacy and indeed, principles of equal Justice [for]bid the Underwritten of Entering into any discussion respecting the merits of Brigadier Genl. McIntosh's case as that gentleman is now unfortunately a Prisoner and—his Situation properly depending on the decision of another tribunal.

Richd. Howly

RC (DNA: PCC, item 73). Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Mr Howly's state of facts relative to Glascocks letter of May 12 1781 [i.e. 1780]."

¹ This undated testimony was presented to the committee appointed September 6 to consider papers received from Georgia concerning the removal of Gen. Lachlan

McIntosh from the southern department, for which see George Walton to Congress, September 7, 1780, note. According to the committee's September 19 report, a "state of facts" had been obtained from both Howly and George Seegar, clerk of the Georgia assembly, during the committee's inquiry. Howly probably prepared his "facts" on September 9, the same day as Seegar.

² That is, George Seegar.

Samuel Huntington to Horatio Gates

Sir, Philadelphia September 9. 1780

Your letter of the 20 Ultio. hath been received & laid before Congress,¹ since which we have received Intelligence more favourable respecting the Action near Cambden the 16th Ultio, that a Part of the Continental Troops made good their Retreat, and an Army are again collecting.

Enclosed you will receive an Act of Congress of the 8 Instant, by which you will be informed, that it is intended to lay up Magazines of Provisions & Forage for an Army of fifteen thousand Men for six Months in the Southern Department.²

You will also observe what Measures Congress have recommended by the Act enclosed for reinforcing the Southern Army under your Command.

Some farther Measures are under Consideration, which, as soon as completed will be sent forward. The Board of War will inform you what they have done and are doing to supply Arms with other Articles, & Camp Equipage necessary for the Southern Army.

It is to be hoped that the Panick which it seems had seized the Militia will wear off, and that you may yet be able to check the Progress of the Enemy until more effectual Measures may be taken to expell them from South Carolina & Georgia.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, sir, your most obedient Servant,
Sam. Huntington President³

RC (NH: Gates Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For the receipt of Gates' letter concerning his defeat at Camden and Congress' response to it, see *JCC*, 17:797, 802, 18:809-10, 812-13.

² *Ibid.*, 18:812-13.

³ This day Huntington also wrote a second letter to Gates enclosing Congress' August 25 resolutions concerning the rank of state executives when commanding in the field in conjunction with other state or continental troops. See Huntington to the States, September 3, 1780; and Gates Papers, NH.

Nicholas Van Dyke to Caesar Rodney

Honor'd Sir,

9 Sept. 1780.

Inclosed you have this Day's Paper, which Contains no Intelligence either from North or South—at present a dead Calm as to News prevails, how soon the Winds may change & stir up Something interesting I cannot precisely predict but from any Information at present I can apprehend nothing of importance very soon; the Object of New York depends you know on the Arrival of the 2d Division of our Ally's Fleet should that be later than I wish, a Southern Expedition must take Place.

I doubt not but your Excellency's Patriotism has lately suffered Distress & Persecution; by Means of the very gloomy Accounts from the South; glomy indeed we had reason to apprehend our Situation there to be, from the early very imperfect Accounts received, but Sir, it has fortunately turned out that we had the worst Part first; by Letters lately from North Carolina & Virginia we find that Matters are not half so bad as was expected, the regular Troops & one Regiment of North Carolina Militia behaved in such a Manner as to make good their Retreat, and do great Execution on the Enemy, particularly their Light Horse, which they have in a great Measure destroyed, at least Governor Nash says a large Part of the Horse in their Retreat they nearly destroyed; the Enemy have Suffered much more than we have, and had the Militia stood five or Six Moments longer the Day in all Human Probability had been our's, & the Enemy totally routed, defeated & ruined, Smallwood & Juest¹ are safe; also Rotherford & Gunby, Decalb wounded as tis s[aid]. Only Part of the Delaware Regiment is supposed to have been in the Action; our Loss in Waggon, Arms &c is Considerable, tis said Smallwood brought off his Artilery, if so he has done great things indeed; our Strength there now is greater than before the Action, & I have no Doubt but that very soon we shall drive the Enemy to Charles Town—they are sickly & this Blow they must severely feel.

Sir, I have been informed since my last Arrival here that Complaints are made by the Marylanders that they are prevented sending their Produce to this Market, to this I cannot make any Answer as I have not yet heard by whom this has been done in that State or how it has happened. Mr. Gaddis complained to me Yesterday that a few Barrels of Flour he had at Appogumomy Landing designed for his Family's Use in this Town, was there detained; & he was obliged to buy Flour here, I directed him to write to your Excellency being perswaded, if his Flour was stopped as alledged under the Laws of the State, you would be able & very willing to Distinguish his Case, & take such Measures as to give Releif, he proposed to put a Letter into my Hands to be forwarded, but has

not yet done that. I wish to hear from you on this Subject, also by every good Opportunity, on any you may think Necessary to write, I could write often, could you direct Persons coming up here to call on me when in Town—my Time being taken up in Congress & on Committees I miss seeing Many who come up here.

There is a handsome Pair of Horses in Town for Sale, about 7 years old, Bays & of good Sise, & well broke as tis said, & I cannot speak precisely as to the Price, but believe they may be purchased reasonable; I know your Excellency stands in Need of another Pair, I therefore move that your Honor would be pleased to sell your old Horses & Carriage & renew them by Purchase, or if you please purchase & then sell, however your Answer on the Subject I shall observe.

Please present my Complims. to Miss Willson.

I have the Honor to be, with great Esteem, yr. Excellency's Most obdt. Hble Servt.

Nichs. Van Dyke

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

¹ That is, Gen. Mordecai Gist.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Sepr. 10th. 1780.

Offensive operations are no longer talked of for this Campaign. Our Thoughts are now Turned to consider what our Army will be on the first of January Next, which appears Molancolly but our thoughts are here interrupted by reports still more Molencolly that of our present Army starving. I have letters from Genl officers Dated Hackinsack Sepr. 5th Avering the Army had been served with meat only two Days in Seven including the 5th And no prospect of Any. It is my private opinion if the states do not comply more fully with the recommendations of Congress the Army will disband. Can we expect they will stay in the field with out pay or Subsistence. It is well known Congress have no money at Command, either to pay for Subsistence or wages. Who is to blame I cannot say but I am confident it is in our power to give the Troops meat if we cannot give them pay, which hath not been the case for half the days the Month past. The Army now live principally by plunder both for meat & forrage. And will if they keep together I fear soon become freebooters. And I think every man must feel for the Inhabitants where the Army marches.

Since I wrote you last¹ Intelegance hath been receivd from Governor Nash that Genl Smallwood and Guist with about 300 of the Maryland & Deleware Troops cut their way throg[h] the Enemy after General Gates left them and made their retreat good to Sharlott

where they made stand notwithstanding they were persued by a party of the Enemy Horse which they intirely defeated. What can attone for the Cowardly behaviour of those poltroons who so infamously fled and left such brave fellows to be sacraficed?

Inclosed is the Stone Cutters Bill for the Toomstone² I am oft often duned for the amount.

Philada. August 8th. 1780 Dr

Genrl. Cornell to Alexr. Crawford

To a Marble Toom for Governor Ward at	16. 0.0
To 418 Letters at 4d. per Letter	6.19.4
To Fixing the Stone in the Pavemend	1. 0.0
To the Drayman for Hawling Said Stone	3.9
	<hr/>
	£ 24.3.1

The Above acct. to be paid in hard Cash or the Exchange in Continental Currency as it Currently passes at the Time of Payment.

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). In Cornell's hand, though not signed. Tr (Staples, *Rhode Island*, p. 312).

¹ See Cornell to Greene, September 2, 1780.

² That is, for the grave of the late Rhode Island governor and delegate to Congress, Samuel Ward.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada. September 10. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 6 Instant, adopting the report of a Committee; together with Copies of the several Papers referred to in the report.

I am directed to transmit Copies of this report and the several Papers therein mentioned to the Legislatures of the several States,¹ that they may all be informed of the Desires & Endeavours of Congress on so important a Subject, and those particular States which have Claims to the Western Territory, & the State of Maryland may adopt the Measures recommended by Congress in Order to obtain a final ratification of the Articles of Confederation.

Congress, impressed with a Sense of the vast Importance of the Subject, have maturely considered the same, and the result of their Deliberation is contained in the enclosed report, which being full & expressive of their Sentiments upon the Subject; without any additional Observations: it is to be hoped, and most earnestly desired, that the Wisdom, Generosity & Candour of the Legislatures of the several States, which have it in their Power on the one Hand to remove the Obstacles, and on the other to complete the Confederation, may direct them to such Measures, in Compliance

with the earnest recommendations of Congress, as shall speedily accomplish an Event so important & desirable as the final ratification of the Confederation by all the States.

I have the Honor to be, &c, &c,

S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The enclosed "report," which was designed to induce the landed states to "a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims" in order to secure Maryland's ratification of the Articles of Confederation, was a belated congressional response to an offer from New York to cede her western claims, which had been referred to committee in June. See *JCC*, 17:806-7; and Joseph Jones to Thomas Jefferson, June 30, 1780, note 3. The issue was an old and troubling one, which Congress hoped to avoid becoming embroiled in anew by simply appealing to the states to reconsider the grounds of Maryland's opposition to ratification, as well as Virginia's "remonstrance" against Maryland's pretensions, and New York's offer to restrict her western claims. These were fully set forth in "the several papers" enclosed by Huntington, which are conveniently reprinted in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:625-34; and Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:190-208. They consisted of (1) a "Declaration" and (2) "Instructions" by the Maryland Assembly to her congressional delegates, both of December 15, 1778; (3) Virginia's "Remonstrance" of December 14, 1779; and (4) New York's act of cession of February 19, 1780.

For Virginia's response to this renewed effort to secure Maryland's support for the Articles of Confederation, see James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, note 1; and Samuel Huntington to the States, October 16, 1780.

² Huntington apparently failed to send the copy of this letter intended for New Hampshire at this time, however, for it was intercepted by the British in Connecticut on October 20 with a packet containing letters dated as late as October 10. See C.O. 5, 100:288-89, PRO; and Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, 16:426. For the capture of the eastern post rider on October 20, see Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10, 1780, document note.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir,

Sepr. 10. 1780

I omitted to give you the Exchange—73 to 75.

I send you the Index of the Journals of 1778. August this year is not yet printed as I made Claypole¹ stick as close as possible to the Index. I have already hinted to you, I believe, that the affair at the southward on the 16 of Augst was not so very fatal as we were induced to think by Genl Gates's first Letter of Information. Baron de Kalb, indeed, is said to be mortally wounded but Guest, Smallwood, Rutherford, Butler & another whose name has slipped me, are well as is Col. Gunby. 300 of the Maryland & Delaware Line are also safe, one Regt, only of the militia stood; That was on the Occasion commanded by a continental Col. Dixon.

You know a vile People as to the depreciating Art I am sorry Massachusetts Money appears among them before their own Pennsylvanian.

The Army & Navy are not to be charged with Interest on the new

Bills by the Public. Nichola's Corps began this.² Tho the Interest on the whole Payment is something yet on each Bill no *dutch* market man will consider it to the Soldier but would "damn d'interezt and de Congress too."

We have recommended provision to be made to the southward for 15000 Men in hope of a winter Campaign there. I suppose you find nothing will be done at N Yk.

If Mr. Marbois gives me the minutes I made about Gates's mishap I shall inclose it to Mr. Avery or you. In haste yr. frd & Sert.

J.L.

RC (MHi: Gerry-Knight Collection).

¹ David C. Claypoole, printer to Congress.

² Acting on a memorial of Col. Lewis Nicola, Congress resolved on September 9 that "no interest be computed on the new bills that shall be received by the officers, soldiers and seamen of the army and navy for their pay or subsistence." *JCC*, 18:811, 814.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir,

Sepr. 10th. 1780

I send you by Capt. Barry an Index to the Journals of 1778. We have not yet the particulars of the Defeat of our army from Genl. Gates but we have an account from Genl. Nash to the Delegates of North Carolina much more favorable than we had reason to look for after the first Letter on the Subject. Mankind are so much governed in Judgement by Events that I fear Genl. Gates will lose much Reputation. He thought he should have as much Influence with the militia in that Quarter as in another and therefore made several attempts to rally them till he was drawn far from the Spot where the Action began; and had a right to conclude on the ceasing of the fire that the small Remains of his Army was cut intirely off or dissipated. Being also among very dissaffected People he would have been momentarily exposed to be betrayed as he was without even a guard of Horse. He thought it his Business to endeavor to get from the general Assembly at Hillsborough Something of a new army.

Had he stayed luckily with the small Body of Continentals he would only have been blamed for not exerting himself to rally the militia a trifling Slur to what he now meets with.

I am persuaded there *will be* a good Body of Men together by this time. I only fear about magazines & arms. We have recommended Provision to be made there for 15,000 as it is to be hoped that something may be done at the southward if *nothing* should be done in this Quarter.

Indeed, my dear Sir, with a View of public affairs and my own domestic, just at this period. I cannot cordially pronounce "all for

the best'' tho' I have had Experience enough to be far from Despondency.

It was very unlucky that the money of our State should be seen in *Sodom*¹ till the Quota of Pennsylvania had been offered to the People of that execrable City.

And now, to our Family Matters. Mr. Pickerings Employment destroys our Plan of being with his Wife. He had made some purchase for us, but we have so little Prospect of finding a Place in which to use the Furniture that I think we must dispose of it. It is small in Quantity and will even make a Profit. He expected to be able to furnish us with money but is disappointed, and I am beat out from drawing on the State to the Amount of my Wants by only a Sight of the nominal Sum. I have succeeded to Jerry Sheldon but I charge nobody with Quotas. Exchange is here 73 & 75. Surely you are more reformed at Danvers and Boston.

Affectionately, Yr. humble Sevt.

J L

RC (NIC: Sage bequest).

¹ That is, Philadelphia.

John Armstrong, Sr., to Horatio Gates

[September 11, 1780]

11th Sepr. We have some reason to believe, that by this time 12 Sail of the Line & Six Frigates from the West Indias, have Arrived at One or other of our Eastern Ports—this if true may revive the design agst. New York, of which I hope Major MaGuill¹ may carry you farther notice. Some British Commoners are Still amusing themselves with the Idle phantom, that a Change in their Ministry, wou'd regain the confidence of America. Burke & Conway has indeed drawn the present picture of G. Britain in frightful Colours—and the Armed Neutrality of Russia and various other European powers must have a humiliating influence on the arrogance of that Nation. The Emperour of Moroca has ordered his Ports kindly to treat & receive every American trader. Money alone, or rather the want of it is like to distress us beyond measure. The Army are now often without the Article of Beef.

Your letter of the 29 Ult^o.² is this day come to Town and the Result of a Committee will I doubt not furnish you with an agreeable answer. I have recd. Major Armstrongs letters, and have my apprehensions lest his late illness may terminate in a decay of which should you discover any Symtoms this Fall, I am persuaded your cordial friendship for him will propt you to advise & give him Such leave of Absence, as you may think proper for the recovery of his health, intimating the Same to Congress or the Board of War. Please to

present my Compliments to Mr. Thos. Burke, and inform him, that with perseverance I have procured a place in the Hospital Department, for my unfortunate countryman of whom we Spoke before he left Philada.

Adieu Dear General, may that God whos mercies are Over all his Other Works guide & protect you—and be not discouraged.

John Armstrong

[P.S.] I shall write my Son by Major MaGuill—then intend to retire, my Strength, talents & constitutional time in Congress, being very near a period.

RC (NH: Gates Papers). A continuation of Armstrong to Gates, September 3, 1780.

¹ Maj. Charles Magill, Gates' aide-de-camp.

² Undoubtedly Gates' August 30 letter to Congress, for which see the postscript of Samuel Huntington to Gates, September 12, 1780.

John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Dear sir

Philadelphia Sep. 11th 1780

I have been Confined to my Room a fortnight, and was so unwell When the last post set out, that I was not able to Write, I am now on the recovery, and hope to be able to attend Congress in a day or two. I inclosed you Some time ago a Curious Historical Anecdote, delivered in may last, by sir John Dalrymple, to the Court of Spain.¹ As you have Said nothing about it, am afraid it has not Come to hand.

Congress received a letter by Express from Gen Gates dated Hillsborough August 20th giving an Account (tho' a very Confused one) of His unfortunate Defeat near Camden, on the 16th. He says he marched about 10 oClock in the night of the 15th, to possess himself of an advantageous peice of Ground about Seven miles from Camden. About 2 oClock in the Morning His light Horse was attacked by those of the Enemies but were repulsed. Upon this he halted the Army, and nothing more happened till about break of Day, When he was attacked by the Whole furie of the Enemy. His Army was drawn up with the Virginia Militia on the left, the North Carolina militia in the Center and General Gist on the right—General Smallwood was in the rear, as a Corps De'reserve. The Militia to a man fled the first fire, and left our brave regulars to Sustain the Whole force of the Enemy. General Gates went of[f] with the Militia, endeavouring to rally them, but to no purpose, and while he was thus engaged He Says the firing between the two Armies Ceased, by which he Concluded all was over, and therefore made the best of his Way to Hillsborough Where he arrived the 19th performing a Journey of 196 miles in less than four days. He Knows nothing

of What became of the Regulars, but says he should immediately Send off a flag to gain the necessary information.

Saturday last an Express Arrived from Governor Nash dated the 26th Advising that Generals Smallwood, And Gist, had bravely Cut their Way thro' the Enemy With about 400 men—that the Militia were again Collecting, that they had got together between two and three thousand, regulars included. This day another letter has been received from Gen. Gates With a list of the Officers that are Safe to Wit Generals Smallwood and Gist, Colos. Williams, Gunby and about 700 privates. The list also Contains the Names of those officers that are missing, but I have not Seen it, neither Can I procure a Copy to Send you by this Opportunity. Baron de Calmb is Dead of His wounds. Our loss on the Whole about 500 and that of the Enemy as many. We have also lost all our Baggage Waggon and Eight pieces of Cannon.

Our main Army is in the greatest distress for want of provisions Were Without meat from the 21st to the 26th and Some have not had one day With another not one third allowance. The general moved into the neighborhood of Fort Lee with a View of Stripping that part of the Country of the remainder of its Cattle Which after a most rigorous exertion afforded only two or three days supply and this Consisting of milch Cows and Calves of one or two years old. This manner of procuring is very distressing and attended With ruin to the morals and discipline of the Army, during the five days Which small partys were Sent out to procure provisions for themselves, the most enormous excesses were Committed. It has been no inconsiderable Support to our Cause to have had it in our power to Contrast the Conduct of our Army With that of the Enemy, and to Convince the Inhabitants, that While their rights were Wantonly Violated by the British Troops, by ours they were respected. This distinction must now unhapily Cease, and we must assume the Odious Character of the plunderers instead of the protectors of the people, the direct Consequence of Which must be to Aleniate their minds from the Army, and insensably from the Cause—in short, if this method of procuring provisions for the Army is not very speedily prevented, by an exertion of the States in Sending forward Supplies the Army must disband, and we are undone. It is reported and Credited by many that a french fleet of 18 Ships of the line and some frigates are on the Coast. They were Seen it is Said Some days ago to the Northward of our Capes. Our new raised Battalion is ordered by the general to the Southward. My Compliments to the family And Am with the most Sincere respect, Dr. sir, your most hble Servt,

John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Carroll Papers).

¹ For this "Curious Historical Anecdote," see Hanson to Carroll, August 29, 1780.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir

Philadelphia Sep. 11th 1780

I have been Confined to my room a fortnight and was so unwell when the last post set out, that I was not able to write, I am now on the recovery And hope to be able to Attend Congress in a day or two. You have had I understand as full Accounts from the Southward as any we have had. After the Shameful flight of General Gates it is with great pleasure We are informed that so many of our brave Officers and Soldiers are Safe. General Smallwood and Gist have gained immortal Honor, to have been able to Cut their Way through a Surrounding Enemy with a handful of men, equals any thing that has been done this war. Smallwood ought and will I hope in a few days be promoted to a Maj General and ought in my Opinion to take the Command of the Southern Army, or General St Clair or Some other brave Officers Should Superseed Gates.

We are informed from the Southward that a pretty handsome affair has been lately performed by a Small Body of the Western Militia on the Borders of South Carolina¹ they were Attacked by the Enemies Cavalry—they Judiciously fell back into a thick Wood—Sustained Several Warm Attacks, and at a period of the Action, when the Countenance of the Enemy began to fail, they Issued from their Cover, Charged them With Bayonets, took 48, and it is Said Killed a greater number. This gallant affair was Conducted on our part by a Colo Williams, Colo Clark of Georgia, and a Colo. Shelby.²

It is reported and Credited by many that a french fleet of 18 Sail of the line and Some frigates are on the Coast. They were Seen it is Said a few days ago to the northward of our Capes. The English fleet has left Rhode Island and Steered towards New York. Our new raised Battalion is ordered by the General to the Southward. I have Sent Mrs. Lees Shoes—price for making 360 Dolls. most enormous.

With usual esteem and regard I have the honour to be, Your Excellencys most humble Servt,

John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ That is, the battle of Musgrove's Mill, S.C., August 18, 1780. For a September 5 report of the battle by Col. James Williams, see PCC, item 154, 2:327–28.

² That is, colonels James Williams, Elijah Clarke, and Isaac Shelby.

Whitmell Hill to Thomas Burke

Dr. Mr. Burke

Philadelphia 12th. Septr. 1780.

Your Letters of 21st July and of the same Day the succeeding Month, are now with me, particulars of which I shall answer with as much Satisfaction as possible; mai[nly?] that my expectations have

not been disappointed respecting [the] Effect our Restrictions on the little Commerce of our Sp[ani]sh vessels; nothing could be more certain than the total stoppage of Circulation of our paper Medium when clogged with the like Impediments; however it was a favorite experiment of our Legislature and I doubt not they thought it best, and having experienced the consequences, will I am assured repeal any such pernicious and mistaken Law. With respect to supplies for the Continental Army in our State, it is not to be wondered at, that they were under the necessity of foraging on the Country, not being furnished with Money of any kind to purchase, nor even the proper Officers for laying up supplies, these deficiencies naturally produced the Effects you mention. Congress on Recpt. of your Letter were with much difficulty wrought upon to take up the Subject, and came into the enclosed Resolution promising, public Creditors, assurance against Depretiation &c.¹ When the Day of payment will arrive, time will alone inform us, as our Finances are in as distressed a Situation, as at any period within your Recollection, and I believe more so, as our Demands are much encreased by our Nothern [. . .] Armaments. I am sorry to observe that Congress having their whole Attention turned to the *old Folly*, the Reduction of N. York seem to have forgot the Southern part of the Continent (which I believe must support itself), and your surprise will be excited on being informed that the Virginia Influence is at this critical moment attached to the same ridiculous Object. There has been a large Army assembled in the Neighborhood [for] a few weeks past, but as the British hold the Superiority by Sea, [it was] thought adviseable to have the Militia home, and the Attempt [upon N.] Y. stands reserved for next Summers Speculation; thus this phantom has exhausted the whole Resources of America for three Campaigns, and will I suppose for three or four more; for, from all appearances this must be a War of Finance, and therefore, a small compact Army so established as to act on the defensive, and keep the Enemy locked up in their Garrisons would be the most effectual means of carrying on the War, however our politicians here, think it an easy matter to extirpate the British Force from the Continent. I hope I may be in an error, for no person, wishes more earnestly for an end to this destructive War, than myself, but past experience seems to point out the Impracticability of succeeding in their way; I cant omit mentioning that Genl. Washingtons Army now quite small has been several Days without Meat, and under the necessity of sending foraging parties into the Country to procure daily supplies. This is a fact, notwithstanding the Country abounds with a profusion of every necessary for the Army, but as the public have neither Money nor Credit, such is the State of our Grand Army as it is called; the Arrival of the French Force at Rhode Island contributes not a little to [our?] Difficulties, as their supplies are procured altogether with specie and

consequently the whole Eastern supplies crowd to that Market, while our Troops languish under hunger, or commit Rapin [upon] the Country they are intended to protect. These gloomy prospects [. . . .]²

RC (Nc-Ar: Burke Papers). In Hill's hand, though not signed.

¹ On his return to North Carolina in early July, Burke had encountered great discontent among local inhabitants whose horses and crops had been impressed by Continental officers. To induce compliance, Burke explained in a letter of the 21st, he had promised "that all who shall furnish Supplies willingly, and Speedily, Shall be paid for them without depreciation, and with Interest during non payment." Congress, he had no doubt, "would ratify Such an Engagement, tho made without express power, Since it evidently appeared necessary for the public Service." See PCC, item 78, 3:513-16. Burke's letter was read in Congress on August 22 and referred to a committee of five considering a June 8 letter of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut. The committee's August 26 report was approved by Congress which resolved that creditors would receive "just value" for their supplies in bills of credit emitted under the act of March 18. Payment would be determined by the "current value of continental bills of credit compared with specie at the time the money became due." A final paragraph in the report, specifically endorsing Burke's action in North Carolina, was struck out. *JCC*, 17:610, 755, 784-86.

² Remainder of RC missing.

Benjamin Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia Sepr 12th 1780

The Inclosed Paper¹ Contains the whole Accounts as yet Recd of the Late Action at the Southward, as also of the French Fleet Passing on this Coast to the Northward which hope and Expect have Joined Monsr De Tournay before this.

Your Excellency will Receive in the Official Channel the Journals of Congress for last Month as soon as they Come from the Press.

A Report is on the Table for a new arrangement of the Medical Department.² If new Regulations would Supply the Want of both Money and Credit, and new Arrangements make faithful Servants in every Department we should be in a hopeful Way to Restore Publick Service to a firm Footing.

The Estimates for the Ensuing Year are forming and will be finished in a few Days. I wish they may not be Defeated by being founded on a failing Currency.

Several Letters have lately been Recd from Mr John Adams our Minister at the Court of France Containing very Particular Accounts of the late Doings in England, Ireland and other Parts of Europe (being the Same we have had at Large in the Public Papers) with his Remarks thereon, but no Matters of Intelligence but what have been Published.

I am with the Greatest Respect, Your Excellencys [. . .]

Benj Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ Probably this day's *Pennsylvania Packet*. See Samuel Huntington to Trumbull, this date, note 1.

² See John Mathews to General Washington, September 15, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Horatio Gates

Sir

Philadelphia September 12. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 24 Ulto.¹ making farther Provision for the Officers of the Army respecting their Rations, and extending the half Pay granted to Officers by the Resolution of the 15 of May 1778, to the Widows or Children (as the Case may be) of Such Officers as have died or shall die in the Service; also repealing a restricting Clause in the last mentioned Resolution, and ascertaining the half Pay of General Officers in Proportion to their present Pay.

You have also enclosed an Act of Congress of the 11 Instant, requesting the State of Virginia to furnish her Quota of Supplies as speedily as may be, agreeable to the Requisition of the 25 of February last, with an Addition of five thousand Barrels of Flour.²

You will also observe by this Act of the 11 Instant, the Expediency of Sending forward to the Southern Army a Corps of Artillery, and a Reinforcement of Cavalry &c is referred to the Commander in Chief.

I have also enclosed for your Information an Act of Congress of the 12 Ulto. in Consequence of a Memorial from the General Officers.³ This Act which makes Provision in Favour of the Officers & Soldiers was mislaid by Accident in the Secretary's Office, or it would have been sooner transmitted.

I have the Honor to be, with very great Respect, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. Your Despatches of the 30 Ulto have been duly received,⁴ those addressed to Genl. Washington were immediately forwarded & your Intelligence communicated to the Minister of France agreeable to your Request.

S.H.

RC (NH: Gates Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 17:770-73.

² See the following entry.

³ See *JCC*, 17:725-27; and Huntington to Alexander McDougall, August 13, 1780.

⁴ See *JCC*, 18:817; and *PCC*, item 154, 2:230-33, 238-40. In his journal entry, Secretary Thomson misidentified Gates' enclosed August 30 letter to Washington as one of the 29th.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada September 12. 1780

By the Acts of Congress of the 8 & 11 Instant herewith enclosed your Excellency will be informed of the Measures they have adopted, as well to procure Magazines of Provision & Forage for the Southern Army as to reinforce that Army;¹ and particularly that the State of Virginia is requested to equip & hasten forward the Troops mentioned in your Excellency's Letter of the 3 Instant, and also to furnish her quota of Supplies as speedily as may be agreeable to the requisition of Congress of the 25 of February last, with an Addition of five thousand Barrels of Flour to be deposited in such Places as the Commanding Officer in the southern Department shall direct.

I have the Honor &c &c, S.H.

P.S. September 14. Your Letters of the 6 & 8 Instant have been duly received, the latter was this Day laid before Congress,² their Proceedings thereon shall be forwarded as soon as completed.

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:812-13, 818. Huntington also sent copies of these resolves this day to governors Thomas Sim Lee of Maryland and Abner Nash of North Carolina. To the former he also added that "from late Accounts" it now appeared that the losses of the Maryland Line at the Battle of Camden on August 16 were not so great as originally feared. PCC, item 15, fols. 98-100.

² For these letters, and their submission to Congress on September 11 and 14 respectively, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:606-7, 615-16; and *JCC*, 18:817, 824.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia September 12. 1780

I do myself the Honour to transmit your Excellency Dunlaps Paper of this Day which contains a more particular & less disagreeable representation than we had before received of the Battle near Camdben the 16 Ultó.¹

The Governor of Virginia writes that they had again collected an Army of between four & five thousand Men.

By our last Intelligence from the West Indies the french & Spanish Fleets were separated & gone into Port at St Domingo & the Cape and there seemed no Probability of an Attack on Jamaica, at least until after the Hurricane Season. The Cause of this Delay seems at present unaccountable & wants Explanation.

We have just received a report from the Captain of a Vessel arrived at Wilmington, Delaware, from Cape Nichola Mole, that he sailed in Company with a french Fleet, about twenty Sail of the Line with

upwards of one hundred Sail of Merchantmen under their Convoy, and parted with them about the Latitude of Bermuda; that it was reported four Ships of the Line were to convoy the Merchant Ships to Europe, and the remainder were bound to Newport, but this I give as a report that wants Confirmation. Should it prove true, your Excellency may probably hear of them on the Coast before this comes to Hand.

The Season is so far advanced that I begin to fear nothing capital can be attempted against New York this Campaign, unless we should soon obtain the Dominion of the Seas by a superior naval Force on this Coast.

Congress are now engaged to devise Ways & Means if possible to have an Army of twenty five thousand Men at least, engaged during the War,² with Magazines of Provision for six Months before hand, could this be accomplished there is the greatest reason to believe a Negotiation in earnest, for Peace, would soon take Place.

From the best Intelligence it appears beyond a Doubt that the British Administration flatter themselves that such is the State of our Finances & the Circumstances of this Country we cannot any longer keep up an Army, upon this they buoy up their Hope, & encourage their People that we shall soon submit to their Terms.

They have every Appearance in Europe against them. The late Declaration of Russia to support the rights of Neutrality operates powerfully against them, and is acceded to by most of the Maritime neutral Powers of Europe already, and will be most likely by all.

I hope no Exertion will be wanting on the Part of Congress, or any of the States, to establish an Army without Delay. It seems highly probable we cannot want them long in Service, unless the British should obtain some very capital Advantage by Sea.

I have the Honour to be with every Sentiment of Respect & Consideration, Your Excellencys humble Servt,

Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ In this day's issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, John Dunlap printed letters from Thomas Sumter of August 15 and from Horatio Gates of August 20 and 30, reporting recent southern operations culminating in the defeat of Gates' army at Camden on August 16.

² For Congress' adoption of a new arrangement for the Continental Army on October 3 and 21, essentially consolidating it into 49 infantry regiments, plus four artillery and four cavalry regiments, see *JCC*, 18:893-97, 959-62. See also Huntington to Washington, October 4, and to the States, October 6, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia September 12. 1780

By the Acts of Congress of the 8 & 11 Instant enclosed, your Excellency will be informed of the Measures Congress have recommended at present to reinforce, and supply Provisions for, the southern Army.¹

You will please to observe by the latter, the Expediency of immediately sending forward to the southern Army a Corps of Artillery and reinforcement of Cavalry &c is referred to the Commander in Chief.

Since the enclosed Acts were passed, your Despatches of the 8 & 9 Instant have been received this Day and will claim the earliest Attention of Congress.²

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most humble & obedient Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, this date, note 1.

² See JCC, 18:819. The letters are in PCC, item 152, 9:151-58; and Washington, Writings (Fitzpatrick), 20:14-15, 21-22.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir, Sepr. 12th. 1780

I send you by the Bearer Mr. Payne, to the Care of Mr. S.A. Otis, a Packet from Mr. Milliken. I now send a News Paper containing the *best* of the southern Affair. But when I say that, I ought to tell you in addition that such an Evil was wanting to rouse the People in that Part. The Loss of Charlestown had not done it. Things *now* are in a right Train there.

We have been obliged to draw on the Treasurer the 9th of this month a Bill for 79,296 dollars, in favr. of Col. Pickering, an enormous Sum nominally, but here in Sodom 72 for 1 make it in reality small to be equally divided between 3 for our maintenance! 16,935 are in Articles bought for us on the Plan of our Lodging with the Col. and furnishing our own Chambers. The Things left are only Beds & Bedding for 3. He has taken all others to himself and these are purchased at a good Lay.¹ We must sell them again for we have no prospect but of remaining in our present most disreputable Situation bearing all the Credit of the 10,000 God dammies &c. that are flowing from our Parlour Windows, to say nothing of a Variety of other Things highly chagrining to me and more so to my Colleagues. But what I especially am now thinking of is the manner

in which our Draughts are pd. Here we receive at 72 for 1: there surely Exchange is not so high: yet that is a Profit which the Lender would make by carrying his money in his Bags. But if your new money is as gold & Silver and yet paid out at 40 is not the Gain enormous? I wish this matter to be put into a proper Train. I hope you will converse in Mode, Tense, Number & Person properly as to both Points connected with the draught.

Your Friend & h Servt.

Jas. Lovell

[P.S.] Mr. T. Smith will do every Thing as to yr. Certificates properly & seasonably according to his Abilities.²

P.S. I ought to have acknowledged yr. favor of Aug. 14th. You are most exceedingly misinformed about the arms at Springfield.³ The July return says about 7,000 you say 80 or 100,000.

RC (DLC: Gerry Papers, photostat).

¹ That is, price.

² Lovell also wrote the following letter to Gerry on September 26 concerning Gerry's certificate transactions with Thomas Smith at the Pennsylvania loan office.

"I send, by the Bearer Col. Wigglesworth, all those Certificates which you left with our mutual Friend Thos. Smith Esqr. Inclosed with them you will also find Bills of Exchange for 432 dollars being one year's Interest of 7,200 dollars, entitled to that Kind. You will find likewise transmitted a Certificate for 3,000 Dollrs., being the Interest due on 20,000 loaned on *Sunday* Aug. 1st —79 and calculated by the Resolve of Congress passed June 28th. 80, and an Overplus of 66 60/90 dollrs. paid by me to equate the Certificate.

"I did not take any Precaution so as to make any Part negotiable by me without your Endorsement therefore I transmit the whole, and will pay by other means what is due from you according to the memoranda which you gave me, and will draw on you for the amount. I hope this Mode will be as satisfactory to you as any other. I happen to have an Occasion by one who will accommodate himself, to you readily according to Circumstances, I mean the Bearer." Gerry Papers photostat, DLC.

³ Only an extract from Gerry's August 14 letter to Lovell, written from Marblehead, Mass., seems to have survived. It, however, contains only a long complaint against Congress' failure to make allowance for depreciation in computing principal and interest on Continental obligations other than loan office certificates, and makes no mention of the Continental armory at Springfield. See Burnett, *Letters*, 5:326-27. For two other Gerry discussions of Continental fiscal policy, written at Boston on September 14 and 21 for the Massachusetts Assembly, see also *ibid.*, pp. 370-71, 382-86.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Sepr. 12th. 1780.

We have been obliged to draw on the Treasurer for a great *nominal* Sum in favor of Col. Pickering 79,296 old dollars 16,935 of wch. are to pay him for those articles of Bedding which he procured for us when we had a plan for living decently with him instead of most

disreputably where we are. The Bill ought to be paid in the old Emissions if your new is, as it ought to be, as good as silver. Because we have only recd, at 72 for 1, 1101 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars, but the Treasurer will pay, at 40 for 1, 1982 $\frac{2}{5}$ which will give a profit 881 $\frac{1}{15}$. Col. P took all the articles to himself except the 3 Beds & Bedding which I hope will sell to profit or at least not to a loss.

I think you told me you paid 400 Board from the 12th of June. I am charged from May 15th 400—from the 3d of April to that time only 320. In addition to the news Paper you will find a Paper tucked into the Letter for Mr. Gerry¹ that contains favorable Intelligence. *Sumpter* has had two good Strokes upon Parties of the enemy since his Surprise. I will really, my dear Sir, write to you, one of these days which are to make up the year 1780, with a good Pen unmuddy Ink and not in a Hurry.

Your Friend and most humb. Servt. James Lovell.

[P.S.] Hazard tells me of the Buckles.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 217.

¹ That is, the preceding entry.

James Lovell to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir,

Sepr. 12th 1780

Yours of the 8th reached me yesterday.¹ I am glad to find you are in some degree on the Recovery. You make me solicitous to spend some midnights with you in reciprocal Communications about the Saints in general & Mary in particular. We had a good Plan of Living with Col. Pickering which is destroyed. We have no prospect of getting out of our present indecent Situation, where we are liable to have the Discredit of all the loud, boisterous, profane and tawdry Language that flows out of our Parlour Windows, as well as to Chagrins very numerous other Kinds.

I presume you may have seen Genl. Gates's Letter of Aug. 20 at length. You must also have heard Flings at his Conduct. Ill Luck I fear will do away his past meritorious Deeds. I wish he had stuck with the Continentals and have left the Militia to be rallied by their own particular officers.

You do not say whether you intend a Visit here. I suppose you know that Mr. Sullivan is come Delegate & Agent in the Vermont Business.²

As to the *little dry Body* I find it very spunging. It must be thrown aside, especially as it was never *necessary* others of an opposite nature being close at hand.

I must not go to other Subjects or I shall lose the post.
Yours affectionately. J L

RC (Nh-Ar: Miscellaneous Revolutionary Documents).

¹ Not found.

² John Sullivan presented his credentials to Congress on September 11. *JCC*, 18:816-17.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Phila. Sept. 12th. 1780

I received your favor of the 27th of August¹ by last week's post and should not have failed to testify the pleasure with which I embrace your correspondence by an immediate answer had I not understood from Mr. Jones that he proposed to write you the news, and enclose you the paper of the day. In future I shall endeavor to drop you a line by every post, or at least as often as any thing material occurs.

The delay of Ternay's 2d division and the report of its being shut up in Brest have brought our hopes from the present campaign very low. They have been a little revived within a few days by sundry concurring information, that a large French fleet from the West Indies is on our coast. This story is the more credible, as pretty certain intelligence has been recd. that the French & Spanish fleets in that quarter instead of going to Jamaica as every body expected and their own movements announced, had separated from each other, and gone into different ports, and as there is no other place after such an event where the former could act with so much advantage as on our coast in conjunction with Ternay. Should this good news prove true it is to be regretted that Graves did not stay a little longer off Rhode Island, unless he should return to Sandy Hook of which no notice has been received, where, as his large ships cannot get into the harbour, they must be an easy prey to the superior force of our Allies.

We have the comfort to find from every successive account from the Southward that the late unfortunate affair in that quarter, although truly distressing, is by no means so fatal as was at first held up to us. Our scattered troops are again embodying, and as a sense of shame is now joined to a sense of public danger in the Militia it is to be hoped they will endeavour to cancel their disgrace by extraordinary exertions. Congress have recommended it to Virga. & N. Carolina to form Magazines for a large army, to the former to hasten the march of her new levies, & the latter to take immediate measures for filling her continental line.

Congress have also at length entered seriously on a plan for finally ratifying the confederation.² Convinced of the necessity of such a measure to repress the hopes with which the probable issue of the

campaign will inspire our Enemy as well as to give greater authority & vigor to our public councils, they have recommended in the most pressing terms to the States claiming unappropriated back lands, to cede a liberal portion of them for the general benefit. As these exclusive claims formed the only obstacle with Maryland there is no doubt that a compliance with this recommendation will bring her into the confederation. How far the States holding the back lands may be disposed to give them up cannot be so easily determind. From the sentiments of the most intelligent persons which have come to my knowledge, I own I am pretty sanguine that they will see the necessity of closing the union in too strong a light to oppose the only expedient that can accomplish it.

Another circumstance that ought greatly to encourage us under disappointed expectations from the campaign is the combination of the Maritime powers in support of their neutral rights, and particularly the late insolent and provoking violation of those rights by the English Ships at St. Martins. It is not probable that the injured will be satisfied without reparations & acknowledgements which the pride of Britain will not submit to, and if she can ever be embroiled in an altercation with so formidable a league, the result must necessarily be decisively in our favour. Indeed It is not to be supposed after the amazing resources which have been seen in G. Britain when not only deprived of but opposed by her antient colonies, and the success of the latter in resisting for so long a time the utmost exertion of their resources against her, that the Maritime powers who appear to be so jealous of their rights will ever suffer an event to take place which must very soon expose them to be trampled on at pleasure of G. Britain.

I must beg you once for all to excuse the inaccuracies with which the hurry of the post day will deface my letters.

With sincere regard I am, Dr Sir yr. Obt friend & Servt.

James Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:80-82.

¹ See *ibid*, pp. 65-67.

² See Samuel Huntington to the States, September 10, 1780.

John Mathews to Catharine Livingston

Philadelphia Sept. 12th. 1780

Your¹ friend Mrs. Morris² is much indisposed, owing, as I am told, to a severe cold caught by bathing, in this late chilly weather.

By accounts yesterday & the day before from the Capes of Virginia, a fleet of twelve sail of the line, & seven frigates passed by there a few days ago, bound to Rhode Island. It is a part of the French West

India fleet, I suppose intended to cover the junction of the second division of their fleet from Europe, with the one already at R.I.

Our affairs to the Southward wear a much better aspect, than was at first represented, we shall be able in a very little time, again to look the myrmidons in the face.

I wrote to you the 8th³ mentioning our intended visit to you, in order to deprive your domestic friends of your agreeable society, that others may have an opportunity of participating of it, they can't be so niggardly, as to think of Keeping you entirely to themselves, however dear, & thereby depriving the rest of your extensive acquaintance of an equal share of happiness. Why Lord! if you were to be buried at Elizabeth this winter, you wou'd get the hip. I hope soon to receive your orders to hold myself in readiness to march at an hours warning, which I shall obey with the greatest pleasure and punctuality: indeed we are already making preparations for the jaunt.

The piece of a news paper containing some verses was the only thing in it worth your purusal, therefore took them out that I might not incumber your letter. I imagine the verses to be Mrs. D'Lancey's. I also send you this days paper. Whilst Peabody remains at Morris town, I have no doubt of your getting them safe, but when he comes away I shall follow your directions, & direct them to the Printer at Chatham. Adieu my most Amiable friend, & believe me ever unalterably the same,

Jno Matthews

[P.S.] My best respect to Mamma, Sister Susan & c.

RC (MHi: Ridley Papers).

¹ Mathews had apparently become acquainted with Catharine Livingston (1751-1813), daughter of New Jersey governor William Livingston, and other members of the family while traveling extensively in northern New Jersey as a member of the Committee at Headquarters from April to August 1780. Six letters in the William Livingston Papers, MHi, reveal the extent of his friendship with Catharine as well as his infatuation with her older sister Susan or Susannah (1748-1840). In these letters to the Livingston sisters Mathews expressed great concern over Susan's delicate health and great delight in "her goodness of heart, her good sense, her easy politeness & affability." Although letters from Susan, his "Charming Friend," have apparently not survived, Mathews read them with "excessive joy." The Livingston Papers also contain a rendering of verse from *Paradise Lost* in Mathews' hand, dated "August 21: 1780," in which he characterized Susan: "Grace was in all her steps heav'n in her eye, in every gesture dignity and love." For these Mathews letters in the Livingston Papers, see under the dates May 29, July 20, October 1 and 30, 1780, and March 17 and April 18, 1781. A seventh letter, to Susan, written in "May 1781," is in the Norton Collection, OCIWHI.

² Probably Mary White Morris, wife of Robert Morris, at whose home Catharine often stayed when in Philadelphia.

³ Not found.

John Morin Scott to Joseph Reed

Sir¹ Philadelphia Sepr. 12th. 1780

As a Member of a Committee of Congress appointed to confer with the directors of that most laudable Institution the Bank in this City,² I have the Honor of informing your Excellency & the Executive of the State of Maryland that John Nixon & George Clymer Esqrs. are directors of the Bank which was instituted for the Sole Purpose of relieving the distresses of our Army. Those Gentlemen inform Me that they have given orders thro' their factor to Messrs. Smith & Matthews of Baltimore to purchase & forward Flour for the Use of the Army to this City. I have therefore the Honor to request that the Executive of your State will afford them all possible Facility and to assure You Sir that, I am, with the utmost respect, Your most obedient Servt,

Jno. Morin Scott

RC (PHi: Etting Collection).

¹ Undoubtedly Joseph Reed, the president of Pennsylvania. See note 2.

² James Duane, Oliver Ellsworth, and Scott had been appointed on June 22 a standing committee "to confer with the officers of the said bank [of Philadelphia]" to arrange financing for military supplies being provided by an association "of the patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania" in response to the crisis triggered by the collapse of the Continental procurement system. *JCC*, 17:550. This message was apparently sent to the executives of both Pennsylvania and Maryland, but the letter to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, explaining the orders given to William Smith and William Matthews of Baltimore herein described, has not been found.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Dear Sir Philada. 14 September 1780

I have taken the Liberty to trouble you with two Copies of the Journals of Congress for 1778, one for the Council, the other for the Assembly. Should have inclosed one for your Excellency, but that the Secretary informs me he sends them regularly as they come out.

We have no further Accounts of the French Fleet than the Papers give you. If the Intelligence be Fact you will have the the next News before us as it will come from the Eastward. Some People think the Ships seen were a Fleet of Victuallers which are said to have just arrived at New-York; others that a Squadron of the French are come from the West-Indies to relieve their Friends in Duress at Rhode-Island, but not to tarry. These however are mere Conjectures with which it is not worth the While to perplex ourselves as a little Time must produce the Truth.

No later Dispatches from the Southward than are published except a Letter of to-day, describing more particularly the Circumstances

of the Fall of Baron de Kalb.¹ This General, deserted by the Militia, fought at the Head of the Maryland and Delaware Troops, assisted by one Regiment of South Carolina Men under Continental Officers, with the most exemplary Bravery and Ability, kept them together with exact Order and Discipline, received and returned the Enemy's Charge with Bayonets till surrounded and borne down with Numbers, his Horse killed under him, himself pierced with two Musquet Balls and eight Bayonet Wounds, he became a Prisoner. He died in a little Time after, and was buried by the Enemy with all the Honours of War. The British Officers attended his Funeral and paid the highest Respect to his Merit and Memory. One of his Aids, who was wounded and taken with him, was treated with Civility by Lord Cornwallis, and suffered to come on Parole to the northward for the Care of his wounds.

It rends my Heart with Anxiety to hear the Army are suffering for Provisions. There is Plenty in the Country and a Willingness to sell, but Money, Money, that is wanting. I am persuaded however if the French Fleet comes in Force, and there should be a Prospect of operating with Success against New-York, the People will yet do much, greatly as we are in Arrears to them, without present Reward.²

I am, your Excellency's very obed, hble servant,
Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ This September 2 letter of the chevalier Dubuysson des Hayes, aide-de-camp of baron de Kalb, which was read in Congress this day, is in PCC, item 78, 7:301-3. JCC, 18:824.

² The following letter was also sent to Livingston the next day by John Fell, announcing the recent arrival of the *Saratoga* on which Livingston's son John served as a midshipman.

"The inclosed Letter I Receiv'd Yesterday at my Lodginge, which I have now the honor to inclose you. The *Saratoga* is arrived with a Prize of 232 Hogds of Rum. I have not had the Pleasure of seeing your Son John, neither have I seen Captain Young to inquire after him. If I get any intelegence worth notice, I shall do my self the Pleasure to communicate it, And am with great Respect your Excellencys Most Obedt Humble Servt, John Fell." Livingston Papers, NN.

Samuel Adams to John Lowell

My dear Sir,

Philada Sept 15 1780

On Tuesday last Congress took up the Disputes relating to the New Hampshire Grants, agreeably to an order which passed the 9th of June, and for Want of nine States exclusive of the three interested ones, the Matter was put off till yesterday.¹ The Delegates of N. Hampshire and N York were prepared with Instructions from their respective States. A Letter from Mr Chittendon and others,² stiling themselves "the Governor and Executive Council of the State of

Vermont," was sent in by their Agents now in this City, claiming the Rights and Sovereignty of an Independent State, and refusing to submit the Question of their Independance to Congress as being incompetent to judge and determine thereon. As there was no Question proposd, a Conversation rather than a Debate ensued, which ended with a Call for an Adjournment at the usual Hour. This Day a Letter was sent into the President from the Agents of Vermont,³ praying that in Case any Question should be agitated concerning the Rights and Independency of their State, they might be admitted to be present and hear the Debates. Another Conversation was begun which was very soon interrupted by a Call of the Attention of the House to the present State and Circumstances of the Army.⁴ I am of opinion that Congress will not easily agree on the Question proper to be first put, however obvious it may seem to be. This is one among a Thousand other Affairs, with which it is the Fate of Congress to be plagud to the Exclusion of Considerations of infinitely greater Consequence and which require immediate Attention. As an Individual, I wish most heartily, that it could subside, as things of much greater Moment too generally do, "till a more convenient Season". But New York presses hard for a Decision, and I submit to your Judgment, whether it would not be prudent, that the Claims of Massachusetts to the Lands in Question should be here in Readiness, lest a Construction should be put on a further Delay, that a Consciousness in the Assembly, of the States having no Right in them is the real Occasion of it. I mention this to you in particular, because I recollect how far you had gone in investigating the Title; and do not think I mean to flatter when I add, that if you can be spared from the Assembly, I hope you will be appointed to vindicate the Claim.

I just now told you that the Attention of Congress was called to the Army. General Washington has written several Letters acquainting Congress of the distressed Circumstances of the Army for Want of Provisions and particularly Meat.⁵ They have at several Times lately been without Provisions for three or four Days. They have even plunderd the Neighboring Villages, and what will be the Consequence of such a Spirit in our Army, should it prevail, may be easily conceivd. You are sensible that the Dependence is chiefly on the Eastern States for that Kind of Supplys, Massachusetts has indeed been more punctual than the rest. The Commissary General has told me that the very Existence of the Army has been in a great Measure owing to the Industry and Care of our Committee at Springfield. Yet even our Supplies have not been equal to Expectation. 597 Head of Cattle have been sent from Massachusetts to the Army from the first of July to the seventh of September—about 200 to the Posts at the Northward, and about 200 to the french Army, which last are not included in the Supply required as our Quota. Congress have pressingly called upon N Hampshire, Massachusetts and

Connecticut for one thousand Head weekly, less than which will not be more than sufficient for the immediate Demands of the Army. Our Quota is 385, as you will see by a Resolution forwarded by this Express.⁶ Besides which, Magazines must be laid up this Winter for the Army next year. Indeed my Friend, we must make the utmost Exertions in this great Cause. It is now twelve o Clock and the Express will set off very early in the Morning. I suppose our Countrymen have before this time made Choice of their Senators and Magistrates. I hope Heaven has directed them to a Choice that will do them Honor. I cannot help feeling anxious to know whether they have united in a Man for their Governor, endowd with those Virtues which should be characteristick of their first Magistrates. Be pleasd to let my much esteemd Friend Doctor Cooper know that *if he has written*, I have not receivd a Line from him since I left Boston. We suffer for Want of such favors. In hopes of receiving one from you very soon I remain very affectionately, yours

Sam Adams

RC (MiDbEI). FC (NN: Adams Papers), which was mistakenly dated "17" by Adams. ¹JCC, 18:820-21. For the June 9 "order," see John Morin Scott to Ezra L'Hommedieu, June 6, 1780, note 6.

²Thomas Chittenden's July 25 letter to President Huntington restating the case for Vermont independence, which was read in Congress on September 12, is in PCC, item 40, 1:345-56; and E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont*, 8 vols. (Montpelier: J & J.M. Poland, 1873-80), 2:254-57.

³Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley's September 15 letter to President Huntington is in PCC, item 40, 1:557; and Walton, *Records*, 2:258. Their work as agents in Philadelphia representing Vermont is explained in the following account by Allen:

"In August, 1780, Ira Allen and Stephen [R.] Bradley Esquires attended Congress, as agents from Vermont, in order to be prepared for the second Tuesday in September (to which time Congress had referred the determination of the cause of Vermont.) The people in the south-east part of the State who professed allegiance to the state of New York, sent their agent, Luke Knowlton, Esq; to attend Congress; and the people in the north-east part of the State, who were, in opinion and politics, with the revolting members of the Legislature of Vermont in 1778, also sent their agent, Peter Olcott, Esq; to Congress; thus, to that body, all parties appeared to be represented. The agents of Vermont had frequent interviews with the members of Congress, in particular those from New York, with whom they spent several evenings in the most sociable manner. Very different views and objects seemed to be pursued by all parties; indeed, all parties seemed determined to carry their point. Therefore, to gain as great an advantage as possible, the agents of Vermont requested in writing, that when any debates came before Congress which might affect the rights, the sovereignty, or independence of the State of Vermont, they might be present. On this request, the opponents to Vermont took courage, supposing that by getting the agents to attend in Congress, they would make some remarks on the evidence adduced against the independence of Vermont, or, in some way, put it in the power of that body to consider the cause to them submitted by the agents of Vermont." Ibid., p. 263.

⁴Consideration of the Vermont issue was resumed the next day. JCC, 18:828, 832-33.

⁵See Samuel Huntington to George Washington, September 16, 1780.

⁶See the following entry.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia September 15. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of this Day, requesting the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, to furnish weekly one thousand Head of Cattle for the Army, in the Proportion mentioned in the Act;¹ and in Order to obtain an immediate Supply until Beeves can be brought from the States above mentioned, the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania & Delaware are called upon to furnish with all possible Despatch two thousand & fifty six Head of Cattle.²

The Army have at different Times been without Meat for several Days, a Situation too distressing, & alarming in its Consequences, to be again suffered to take Place in Future if possible to be prevented.

Congress upon mature Deliberation under present Circumstances could not devise any other Measures than those adopted by the Act enclosed to supply the Army for the present Campaign; and should either of the States fail substantially to comply with this requisition it is more than probable the Army must disband, or supply themselves at the Point of the Bayonet, and the most fatal Consequences must insue.

We have no other ressource left, or Expectation of supplying the Army in such Manner as shall enable them to keep the Field the remainder of this Campaign but from the vigorous Exertions of the several States above mentioned in Compliance with the enclosed resolutions of Congress.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your Excellencys most obedient Servant.

Sam Huntington President

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹The enclosed "Act" was adopted this day in response to recent appeals from Washington for provisioning the Continental Army. See *JCC*, 18:828-29. A nearly identical letter of this date to New Hampshire President Meshech Weare is in the Weare Papers, Nh-Ar, but no such letter to Massachusetts has been found.

²A letter from Huntington of this date to Gov. William Livingston calling upon New Jersey to furnish 275 head of cattle as its share of this quota is in *PCC*, item 15, fol. 105; and State Papers, Nj. The Pennsylvania and Delaware shares of this requisition were 1251 and 530 head of cattle respectively. Huntington's letters to presidents Joseph Reed and Caesar Rodney calling for these quotas, which are dated September 16, are in *PCC*, item 15, fols. 106-7.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir,

Philadelphia Septr. 15. 1780

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 9th inst. by Dr. Craig, two days ago.

There is a New arrangement for the Medical department now before Congress, & nearly compleated, by which there will be a very great reduction of Officers. By the new System there will be fifteen principal Officers to be elected by Congress, which I apprehend will be but too much influenced by that spirit which has given a well grounded alarm to the Gentlemen concerned.¹ Evidently to evince how far such a disposition has already operated, The new Q.M. G. is allowed to hold his commission at the Board of War, in direct violation of a law of Congress, & which has been uniformly practised upon, (except a few instances of no importance) but to suffer a man to hold two Commissions of the first consequence under the United States, savors so strongly of an outrageous partiality, that I shall be surprised at nothing, that may hereafter happen.

I have the pleasure of being acquainted with most of the Gentlemen mentioned by Yr. Excellency and know their worth, and no endeavours shall be wanting on my part to promote their reestablishment, but I fear it will not be in my power to do them much service, for I find there is a decided party formed against the Committee that were at Camp, which I have reason seriously to dread, will be productive of no good to our public affairs. I owe much to the public but still I owe something to myself, & can never tamely suffer a set of miscreants to triumph over me with impunity. Regardless of our Characters as members of their own body, I find we are to be considered as Qr. Masters &c. & lyable to equal insults, without the least pretensions to call such conduct in question, but I can assure them they will find me of a temper by no means calculated to answer their new fangled Dogmas.

Although I had heard a good deal & seen something of the rancour of these Demagogues yet I never imagined it had risen to that height, I was made to *feel* it had done, on my resuming my seat in Congress. I took the first opportunity, Of going very largely into the State of our affairs, in order to found some propositions, which I made, but without allowing them to be worthy of a commitment, much less of their consideration, they were in the Lump rejected.² However I have this consolation, to reflect, they were approved by those, whose disinterestness, & Judgment, I have the best opinion of. Such an insult I never saw offered to any member of Congress before. It shews such a determined, & premeditated prejudice, as must inevitably lay me under the necessity of doing what I would wish most earnestly to avoid. I beg your pardon, sir, for detaining you so long on a subject

relative to myself, but as my plan (above mentioned) was for the establishment of a permanent army, & the means of supporting the War, I thought it a subject you were so much interested in that it would not be unacceptable to you to know the result of my endeavours, & how little prospect I have of being farther useful to this end, for I suppose any future propositions of mine, will be immediately exploded, “as too strongly tinctured with those *Army principles*, which I had imbibed, whilst with them.” I cannot but think it hard, that a man who wishes to be useful, should be thus unjustly precluded from being so; however, I know the rectitude of my intentions, & can at all times retire to my own bosom for my justification, & whilst that monitor supports me, I shall continue to act my part, regardless of every contentious spirit.

Your Excellency's letter of the 20 Ultò. has now been twenty four days in the hands of a Committee, I have repeatedly called for a report from them, but, by what I can find, little or nothing has been yet done upon it.³ This does not at all surprize me, & I dare say by the time the Committee, & Congress have done with it, the time will arrive, when the army ought to be in the field. This ruinous delay I wanted to prevent, by Congress taking up my propositions in the first instance, but by their not doing it, I may readily conclude, it militated too much against the plan they have in contemplation, & therefore, further conclude, it will not be such a one, as will in it's operation, be effectual. This may look like arrogating too much to myself, but the event will prove, whether I am right, or not.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect & Esteem, Yr.
Excys most Obedt. serv.,
Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹Although reform of the Medical Department had been agitated for months, it assumed greater focus in July when the Medical Committee assessed the overall needs of the department in response to an urgent appeal from Washington. In early August the committee was assigned specifically to investigate the state of the military hospitals and personnel in Pennsylvania, a review which coincided with suggestions for departmental reform from the Committee at Headquarters. See *JCC*, 17:648, 708; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:181–82; and Mathews to the Medical Committee, August 10, 1780. The new plan now being considered, however, was initiated by an August 22 letter from William Shippen, Jr., which was referred that day to a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, and Roger Sherman. The committee reported on August 28 and again September 9. Congress debated the revised arrangement proposed by the committee through the second and third weeks in September, finally agreeing on the full plan on the 30th and setting aside October 6 for the election of new officers for the reorganized department. See *JCC*, 17:755, 787, 18:814, 819, 823, 847–48, 853, 876–89, 908; and Samuel Huntington to Shippen, October 9, 1780. See also Washington's September 9 letters to Mathews and Joseph Jones recommending officers to serve and expressing his concern that “the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a spirit of party out of Doors, which would not operate in their favor.” Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:18–19.

²Mathews had returned to Philadelphia from Morristown the first week in September, but it is not clear on which day he took his seat in Congress. The "propositions" which Mathews advanced at that time were not recorded in the journals, but were undoubtedly those referred to by James Lovell in letters to Elbridge Gerry. In essence, Mathews proposed that Congress give Washington near dictatorial powers to raise, supply, and feed an army of 25,000 for the duration of the war, to call state militia into service, and "to do all such other matters & things as shall appear to him necessary to promote the Wellfare of these united states." See Lovell to Gerry, September 5, note 4, and especially November 20, 1780, note 4.

³Washington's lengthy August 20 letter was read in Congress on August 28 and referred to committee. See *JCC*, 17:786; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:402-13. For the action eventually taken by Congress, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 4, 1780, note 1.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Dear Sir,

Philada. 16 Sepr. 1780.

The Board of War have given Mrs. Livingston¹ a Permission to go into the City of New York. Your Excellency need not be reminded that this is of no legal Validity till your Assent, or that of some Person duly authorized, is marked upon it. I have therefore advised her to wait on you for this Purpose, and to be put under any Restrictions which are customary and it may be thought proper to impose with Respect to her Speech and Conduct. The Board of War have not regularly the Authority here exercised, but this will secure your Excellency from being importuned and perplexed with Applications encouraged by a Precedent.

Three Weeks are mentioned in the Passport, which you can note in your Assent to be computed from the Date, or shorten or lengthen it if you think proper. I was unacquainted with the Time usually given in such Cases, but suppose it is different and proportioned to the Business of the Errand. If the Form is improper your Excellency will please to supply any Defect, and you need be under no Apprehension that the Board of War will be an Inlet of applications of this Sort, as they will do nothing without the Recommendation of the Delegates, and then with no little Caution.

I have the Honour to be, your Excellency's most obedt and very hble Servant,

Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ Not identified.

William Churchill Houston to John Stevens

Dear Sir, Philada. 16 June [i.e., September] 1780¹

I inclose for your Perusal a Proceeding of Congress, which, with all the appurtenant Papers, will shortly be sent officially to the Governor by the President, if they are not already forwarded.² I have the Pleasure to see a promising Disposition respecting the Subject of them, and I hope in due time we shall see Justice done upon this great National Question. I was ever of Opinion the Time would not be long in coming when the States who have extensive unlocated Territory would be convinced that their own Interest was involved in the Justice of ceding them to the Union, and I am more and more convinced that Opinion will be realised under prudent and conciliating Management. When you have looked over the Paper, you will please to hand it to the Speaker for the Information of the Members if the authenticated Papers are not yet come to Hand. If any Think Congress ought preemptorily to demand them, instead of proceeding in this mode, they may be right, but I am not certain they would be more successful.

Mr. Livingston wishes the enclosed to go forward as early as possible. Nothing decisive is yet done in the Affair of Vermont.³

I am, dear Sir, with great Esteem and respect, your obdnt hble
Servant, Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NjHi: Stevens Papers).

¹ Although Houston clearly wrote "June," the contents of this letter, as shown in notes 2 and 3 below, indicate that it must have been written in September.

² Houston undoubtedly enclosed the September 6 congressional resolution and "appurtenant Papers" concerning the cession of western land claims that President Huntington enclosed with his circular letter to the states of September 10.

³ Congress had resumed discussion of the Vermont controversy on September 12, but had not yet come to any resolutions by the 16th. See John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, this date.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia September 16. 1780

By the two Acts of Congress of the 15 Instant herewith enclosed your Excellency will be informed that the late Brigadier General Smallwood is appointed a Major General in the Continental Army, & Mr Abraham Skinner Commissary General of Prisoners.¹

As also the Measures Congress have adopted to supply the Army with Beef.²

Expresses are sent off to all the distant States urging in the strongest Terms an immediate & punctual Compliance with the requisitions for Beeves.

Congress are determined to use every possible Means in their Power to prevent any future Distress in the Army for Want of Provision. It is supposed from the best Computation, of the Quantity of Beef called for by these resolutions should be furnished, it will be more than sufficient for the daily Consumption of the Army, in which Case the Surplus, of the most suitable Quality will be barrelled for future Use.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,
Sam Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:828. Huntington's September 20 letter to Gen. William Smallwood notifying him of this promotion is in *PCC*, item 15, fol. 110. For his letter to Skinner, dated September 16, see *ibid.*, fol. 109.

² See Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., September 15, 1780.

Roger Sherman to Jean Holker

Sir. Philadelphia. Septer. the 16th. 1780.

I laid your Letter of the 11th Instant, before the Committee,¹ and on Consideration of your representation of the circumstances of the Case they agree to Receive the 243047 dollars in Continental Currency, due for provisions furnished By Peter Colt.

If you draw an order for the payment of it, please to draw in favor of Michael Hillegas treasurer of the united States.

I called Several times at your house to have Some farther Conference respecting Ephraim Blaine's account you Say I omitted to enclose. I had it before me when I wrote, and cant find it among my papers since, But will furnish you with another copy if need full.

I am with due Respect, your humble Servant,
Signed Roger Sherman

Tr (DLC: Holker Papers). In a clerical hand.

¹ That is, the "committee to whom were referred the accounts of Mr. Holker," which was appointed on August 28 with Sherman as chairman. Before the committee made any recommendations to settle the accounts, however, Congress adopted a motion offered by Sherman on October 3 to discharge the committee and refer the accounts to the Board of Treasury. *JCC*, 17:787, 790, 18:893.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir Philadelphia September 16 1780

Congress have not yet come to a Single resolution Respecting Vermont Though it has been five Days on the Tapis.¹ New York Seems Disposed to have a Determination against its being an

Independant State, & then to have Comissrs. appointed to Say whether it falls to New York or New Hampr. General Foulson & myself have opposed this & urged the appointment of Commisioners in the first Instance, both upon principles of policy, & upon a Conviction of the want of power in Congress To take any other Steps agreeable to the Articles of Confederation.

I Last Evening received Letters from Several Persons of Note in that Quarter & the adjacent Parts of New Hampr Expressive of the Sentiments of the people assuring me that a Division of the grants will be Disagreeable to all; That if Congress are Determined they Shall not be Independant Seven Eighths of them will Petition Congress to Reunite them to New Hampr. Colo Alcott² of Vermont waited on me & assured me that this was the General Sentiment of the People. I Shall therefore be Less violent in my opposition to that Question in future. I am Exceeding happy to find that New York have appointed three Gentlemen³ of high Spirits & all Deeply Interested in the Event To appear as agents for that State breathing out nothing but Death & Slaughter against those people who have So Long Set their authority at Defiance & painting the Bitter Enmity which they have Ever Discovered against *the* Yorkers. To this I have Endeavored to oppose the moderate Spirit of New Hampshire; her readiness to Acquiesce in the Determination of Congress & Even though the Land is Clearly within her Limits to Submit to its being a Seperate State if Congress Should find it for The good of the whole. I have assisted the Yorkers in Establishing the Fact of an utter aversion in those people to Live under their Jurisdiction; & at the Same time have taken Care to mention the Harmony which has Ever Subsisted between them & New Hampshire. This I find is Likely to have the Effect Intended. The Members begin to See that If the Lands are adjudged to NewYork the Continent must be Involved in a war to Inforce the Determination of Congress which Can only be avoided by adjudging it to New Hampr. & I am Convinced this will finally Turn the Scale in favor of New Hampshire.⁴ I wish to have forwarded to me as Soon as possible one of the New Hampshire Law Books in which is Governor Wentworths Commission as the Secretary has only furnished me with an Extract from it without Date. I am Indeed ashamed of the papers furnished from New Hampshire & hope for Success rather from Political Considerations than from any other motive. A material paper is the prohibition to the Governor of New York in 1767 to Exercise Jurisdiction or grant Lands in that Territory. This I cannot obtain. New York agents are possessed of but will not produce it. I apprehend it must be in the Secretarys office; the Several papers which I wrote for when at Home or Such of them as can be procured ought to be forwarded. The Southern Members are as Ignorant of the History of New England as we are of the Lands under the Poles. I procured Some useful papers in Connecticut & hope to

obtain more before the final Tryal. I Shall also be glad of Every Evidence that New Hampshire can furnish; & of their Instruction from time to time.

We have nothing new Since Genl. Gates's Defeat. I have Seen a private Letter from Genl. Smallwood giving a particular Account of the Action. The Loss on our Side was about two hundred, the Enemys five hundred, the Brave Marylanders after being Deserted by the Militia & the Commander in Chief performed wonders, & Retired with Regularity. General Smallwood had not heard of General Gates when he wrote as he had retired 200 miles from the place of Action before he wrote the Letter which So much frightened those who believed it of which I never was in the number. We have this Day recd. Intelligence from New York that the Second Division of the French Fleet is on the Coast. I rejoice that Genl Washington gives New Hampshire Credit for Complying with the requisitions of Congress better than any other State. I wish her to Continue her Exertions as the Army is Literally Starving & I fear will Disband. We are using Every Exertion to Remedy the Evils which Surround us, but it is a very Late Hour for the Business, though I hope not too Late.

I have the honor to be most respectfully, Dear Sir Your most obedt
Servt.
Jno Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Vermont Controversy).

¹ See Samuel Adams to John Lowell, September 15, 1780.

² Col. Peter Olcott of Norwich, Vt., was in Philadelphia as an agent of Vermont and he was one of the agents summoned by Congress on September 19 to attend its debates on the controversy. *JCC*, 18:839-40. See also Samuel Adams to John Lowell, September 15, 1780, note 3.

³ That is, James Duane, Robert R. Livingston, and John Morin Scott.

⁴ For an assessment of the success of Sullivan's tactics, see John Morin Scott to George Clinton, September 26, 1780.

Nicholas Van Dyke to Caesar Rodney

Honor'd Sir,

16 Sept. 1780.

Your Excellency has or soon will receive an Application from Congress requesting an immediate Supply of 500 Head of Beef Cattle;¹ the same request has been made on Pennsylvania & Newjersey, the army at present is very near being without Meat, owing to the Change in the Quarter Master's Department having caused some Delay in forwarding Supplies of that Article from the Eastward; the wheels are now begining to move & I hope our Army will not again be reduced to such Distress, they have a tollerable Supply of Flour, but it will be very Necessary that the several States exert themselves in sending forward Flour, & short Forage while the



Nicholas Van Dyke

Navigation is open & the Roads good; I informed Congress that our Assembly at their last Sessions, had in Compliance with the Requisition from Head Quarters² made Provision for to supply the Cattle required, Monthly—and under that it was probable some Cattle might soon be procured; pray Sir urge the Purchasers or Collectors of Supplies in the respective Counties to an immediate Exertion, to procure the Cattle; and send them forward, even 1, or 200 in a Drove; could Mr. Blane have Notice when any Number can be at Wilmington he would Convey them from thence; under the Act of Assembly refered to if my Memory serves me, Cattle were to be purchased & Certificates given for them, or seised, or to be received in lieu of the Monthly Tax, it is necessary they be procured either one or other Ways, I shall endeavor to have the Expence of driving paid by Mr. Blane or the Quarter Master as soon as possible. I can give you nothing New, I write in a hurry, the City is very sickly—but not so Mortal as sickly. By late Accounts from the Southard, our Force is more respectable than ever, and in a fair Way to drive & beat Cornwallis by defeating him, & not by being defeated, it is pretty clear that such another Victory would ruin his Lordship.

With Complimt. to Miss Willson, I am yr. Excellency's Most obdt.
Hble Servt.,
Nichs. Van Dyke

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹See Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 15, 1780, note 2.

²See Committee at Headquarters to the States, June 2, 1780.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dear Tucker

Philadelphia Sept. 17th 1780

Your agreeable favor of the 10th of August being almost the first thing that presented itself to my view on my arrival at this City—exclusive of the regard I have for the writer—demands in Justice my devoting this first Leisure hour I have had to answer it.¹ A fever (as I am told of south Carolina Origin calld the *Broke Bone fever*) which has confined me three day to the house but which is now going off, even, affords me *this* Leisure, you are therefore not to expect any thing very concerted, as it has quite deranged every Idea, tho it has not obliterated those warm sensations of Friendship which prompts me to write, when prudence might dictate a little restorative repose. Your early Salutation of me in the Epistolary way believe me was not the least agreeable object which insinuated itself as it calld my attention from the Hurly Burly of a tavern—the nonsense of Complementary Visits &c., &c. to the Calm retreats of Matoax and Farmingdell.² I Join Issue with you as to the God Plutus. You wd no doubt wish to know what is doing in This City, and with our

Northern Army and that of [our?] Officers. So multifarious and important are the Businesses before Congress at this time, that it wd. Puzzle Apollo to give you a Competent Idea of the Business now transacting in the Short Space of a letter—the Providing an Immediate, and a permanent Plentifull Supply of transport and Provision for our Army, which has, been frequently reduced almost to a Starving condition, & Shocking to relate in the midst of so plentiful a Country as the United states, has been forced to live on Plundering or in more modest terms Foraging on its own Citizens. The forming a Plan for a Permanent Army, to be raised on liberal and general Principles—removing every Barrier to a Completion of the Genl. Confederacy &c, &c, &c, &c. But really my head is not at present in a Situation to write on Politics. Our Army & that of our allies inactive waiting the arrival of the 2d division of the French fleet & Army which we have heard is on the Coast—but have not yet heard of its arrival—consisting of 19 Ships of the Line. A Short time will no doubt determine what are to be the Capital operations of the Campaign. I shall not forget your Commissions but if you knew how totally my time was engrossed you wd. not be surprised shd. I be more tardy in the Execution of them than you perhaps expect. Fanny³ who tarrys over my writing table and is this moment looking very stedfastly at me is frequently the subject of my private meditations, and I more than ever experience the sweet satisfaction of having some momento of one who is absent and is the object of our love & affection. We frequently talk to each other, and discant on various Subjects and sometimes the Conversation grows so interesting that it forces from me a wish to transform the Picture into life. Give her both our loves and best affections.

The Extravagance of this place exceeds all bounds.

My head Ach's. I must Cut Short this letter with my love to the Boys of whom I beg you will assure them I am fully mindfull & that I will not forget my Promises to them. I am at present fixd in the Lodgings [that] Bland Had formerly (Randolphs) but am somewhat uncertain whether I shall continue in them. Till my next adieu, God Bless you,

Theok. Bland

[P.S.] I have enclosed you Some Papers—the best way of Conveying news.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹See also Bland's September 6 answer to this same letter.

²Matocks or Mattoax was a Tucker plantation in Chesterfield Co.; Farmingdell or Farmingdale a Bland estate in neighboring Prince George Co., Virginia.

³That is, Frances Bland Randolph, Bland's widowed sister, who had married Tucker in 1778.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir,

Philadelphia September 18th 1780

This day I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the fifteenth, inclosing 365 Dollars. The Bundle of money which you was so very Kind as to procure for me I received. It Came in good time, but will not last long in this most Expensive place, and therefore must beg the favour of you to procure Some more for me, as soon as you Can, it must be of the old Continental money. The new will not pass here. Have been with the Coach maker. He has promised your chariot, Shall be finished by the last Week in October.

Our Army Continues much distressed for want of Meat. They get one meal only in three days, and how long that Scanty Allowance will Continue, is uncertain. The Jersey Inhabitants, in whose State the Army is, are plundered daily by partys from the Army, without a possibility of restraint, are not the worst of Consequences to be dreaded, from the Armys thus Careing for themselves—may it not be expected that even the people of the Jerseys, who have upon all Occasions exerted themselves in Support of the Common Cause, will at length have their affections Alienated from the Army, & look upon them as plunderers, and Enemies, rather than the protectors of their Rights. Is it not most Shameful that our Army Should be Starving, while the Country abounds with provisions? To what Can it be imputed? Is it from a want of inclination in the States, to Comply with what has been repeatedly required of them by Congress? Or is it from inattention to the public Cause, or inability to render the necessary Supplies? I hope neither of these is the Case. Satisfied I am, that our resources are abundantly Sufficient, and that the bulk of the people Continue firm in the opposition—from the disjointed and deranged State of our finances proceed all our embarrassments, and how to extricate ourselves is the difficulty. There Seems to be a fatality attending every measure, that has been adopted for that purpose. The most probable Schemes have by Some means or other been rendered ineffectual. The Resolves of the 18h March promised fair, but am afraid Will not Answer the end proposed. How is the old money to be got in and the new put into Circulation while our Taxes are Anticipated and paid of in Certificates? Our present Situation is truly Alarming. Our Army in want of every thing; no money in the Treasury and our Credit Exausted.

Congress had advice today of the Arrival of Admiral Rodney at the Hook on the 13th,¹ with twelve Ships of the line, And four frigates, and that they had taken & brought in with them a french frigate—that 5000 Troops were to be Sent from N.Y. to the Southward. It is reported that the Combined fleets from the West Indias is on the Coast—if so the french will be Superior and may put a Stop to the

embarkation at New York. Fryday last General Smallwood was by the unanimous Vote of Congress promoted to the Rank of Major General. Am Sorry to Acquaint you that this Morning dyed much lamented Mrs. Reed the Presidents Lady. My Compliments to Mrs. Lee and am with the greatest esteem & regard, Dr sir, Your Excellencys most hble Servt,

John Hanson²

[P.S.] No late Accounts from the Southward.³

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹Before departing for his Hartford conference with the French, Washington had forwarded on September 16 a copy of a letter of the 14th from Brig. Gen. David Forman with information that Adm. George B. Rodney “with twelve sail of the line & four frigates are Arrived off Sandy Hook from the West Indies.” Both letters were read in Congress this day. See *JCC*, 18:836; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:49n; PCC, item 152, 9:175, 179. Forman’s letter is not in the Washington Papers, DLC. The information was “confirmed beyond a doubt” in a September 18 letter from Nathanael Greene, acting in behalf of the absent Washington. This letter was read on September 20 and referred to the delegates of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Copies were also sent to the governors of Maryland and Virginia. *JCC*, 18:841; and PCC, item 155, 1:431–32.

²This day Hanson also wrote a nearly identical letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, for which see the Carroll Papers, MdHi.

³Hanson’s next letter to Lee, dated September 23, consisted merely of a single line covering a recently intercepted letter from the Earl of Cornwallis to Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour, the British commandant at Charleston, S.C. Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, MdHi.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanel Greene

Sir, Philada September 18. 1780

Enclosed you will receive the Copy of a Letter from Genl Gates to his Excellency Governor Jefferson this Moment come to Hand.¹

How far the Intelligence respecting the Designs of the British to take Post at Cape Fear & Portsmouth, are well founded, Time will discover.

I have thought proper to give you the Intelligence immediately, such as it is, which you will please to forward to his Excellency Genl Washington without Delay.

I have the Honor to be &c, &c, &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹For Horatio Gates’ September 9 letter to Thomas Jefferson containing the reports of two British deserters on Lord Cornwallis’ designs against North Carolina and Virginia, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:620–21, 647–48; and PCC, item 71, 1:417–22.

Nathaniel Peabody to Nathanael Greene

Dear Sir,

Morristown. September 18th. 1780.

Your agreeable favor of the 6th instant came safe to hand the 8th. And I should have done myself the pleasure of acknowledging it much sooner, had it not been that I waited in hourly expectation to receive some intelligence from Mr. Matthews which might be worth your reading, but alas! I am disappointed, for tho' he has wrote me Several letters, he has omitted giving me the information I wish to obtain.¹

Nothing in my present situation, except seeing and conversing with my friends, could be more agreeable than receiving letters from them, and give me leave to assure you, Sir, there is not one among *the few* I dare at this day call friends, whose correspondence I should higher value, or whose letters would be more eagerly and gratefully embrac'd, than those you shall at any time favor me with.

The very polite and affectionate manner, in which you have express'd your wishes, respecting my health, and welfare, cannot fail to impress on a generous mind indelible sentiments of friendship, and excite grateful returns.

When with horror I contemplate the ill timed, and worse calculated revolutions, alluded to in your letter, the convulsions they must occasion, and the train of distressing embarrassments that will consequently result therefrom, I am overwhelm'd with astonishment, and fill'd with holy indignation at the paracidical conduct of the authors. That "*thing*" for conducting your late department² appear'd in bye corners, and your letter of resignation thereupon sent to congress before I left camp. And I have the Satisfaction of reflecting, that I then fully join'd with my colleagues, in representing to congress, the probable consequences of your resignation, and of making a change of men or measures at so late a period in the campaign, and have shar'd largely in the honor of being *censured* for giving our sentiments upon the subject. And have to regret our sentiments had not then been more fully expressed, in language emphatical, as the subject is important, which would then, as now, satiated my mind.

When with a distress'd army, and injured country, I condole the loss of your abilities in the Q.M. Generals department, At the same time I do most cordially congratulate you as a friend, a Gentleman, and a general in our army, on the happy occasion of your being freed from an office, the duties of which you had faithfully discharged, with so much toil and fatigue, and which had ended in discontent and unmerited disgrace. But let me add I feel a degree of solace in reflecting that the rancour of *our enemies, the enemies of our country*, prompt'd them no farther.

The whole of the late conduct of C——ss relative to you, Sir, and to the committee, had it appear'd in any other age than the present,

or in any other body of men than those who resort together in Chestnut street Philadelphia. It would have been a Phænomenon astonishing to all who beheld it.

However, I can assure you, Sir, that the favorable opinion you imagine the Gentlemen of the army have conceived of the well meant instructions of the committee, will ever be esteemed a gratefull over ballance, for all the ill treatment they have, or may experience from any other body of men.

As to the Gentleman who is to succeed you as Q. M. General,³ his character as a private gentleman, and as a lawyer, was good. And I most sincerely wish his abilities, and exertions, on the present occasion may prove competent for the important purposes of his appointment.

And if we may judge of future events by past occurrences—The Manner in which he *executed* the office of adjutant Genl. while in that department—The *rapid* and *decisive* movements he has made since his present appointment, leaves us no room to doubt but his *piercing eye* will run to & fro through the department, beholding the good, and the evil, that is done in it. That his Systematic nod will alone be Sufficient to put the whole machine, instantly, in motion. In fine that he will take up the complex business of the department as a very *little thing*.

Our Southern affairs at present wear an unfavorable aspect, but *wish* they may soon put on a different complexion, for I must here observe that my opinion of Gen——⁴is not at all lesson'd by what has happen'd at the southward, since his command there, unless on examination it should prove that he had been guilty of treachery to his country, or *temerity* in his operations against the Enemy, neither of which have I ever had the least reason to suspect he could be guilty of, from my first acquaintance with him even unto this day.

Though my health has for some time been a little upon the advance, yet I am like Issachar⁵ of old crouching down under complicated burthens—for the hand of God hath touched me so, that my bodily indisposition has alone been enough for me to grapple with, and has rendered me less capable, than I otherwise should have been, of enduring the gloomy prospect of a distressed, if not a disbanded Army, a cause which has cost us such a deluge of blood, and immense treasures, put to the hazard, if not, totally lost! The beautiful, *once virtuous* Virgin America deflowered, and sinking under the weight of measures adopted, and pursued by her degenerate sons, who have been dandled in her lap, nurtured in her bosom, wantonly rioted upon her choicest fruits, and shar'd her highest confidence. Add to all this, my being under the Iron hand of powerful men, whose tender mercies are cruelty, but great as their power is, it by no means equals their malevolence, otherwise no *honest man* could abide the day of their wrath.

Was it necessary for a scapegoat, and the committee would in the present case answer as a substitute, so far as it respects me, I have nothing in reserve but my honor and integrity.

But do you imagine a sacrifice of three men only, could by any means expiate the sins of those who have begun to crucify them, for no other fault than speaking the truth, and endeavoring upon just principles to promote the salvation of a distress'd sinking country?

Though I should highly esteem the good will and opinion of Congress, and should place the approbation of my fellow citizens, amongst my choicest treasures, yet neither the powers, or the flattery of the former, nor the expectation of applause from the latter, or any consideration whatever shall, in any circumstances of life, induce me to censure, or approve *men*, or *measures*, contrary to my real sentiments.

You mention something of publishing & it is just, it is a duty, you will one day owe to yourself, and to your country; but not yet my friend.

For if torture, ever extorted words from the dumb, I should imagine the unmerited, cruel, and infernal treatment *honest men* receive, from those who ought to be their supporters, would fully justify many others, beside you and me, in undeceiving the public by representing men, and facts in their true colours, to the people at large. But that unbounded love for my country, which at first induced me to forsake *all* and follow her cause, now loudly forbids my taking any measures, even in defence of that, which ought to be higher valued than life itself, that might have a tendency to cause greater Jealousies among the people at large at this critical period, and till the close of this campaign—for it is better for one, two, or three, or even an hundred honest men to suffer for a time, than to involve the country in greater distress.

If it had been an open avowed enemy that had done all this wickedness, I could have borne it, but it was my brethren, sons of America, brought up with me, which makes it intolerable, and tho' I shall not quickly pursue, yet if I finally forget the treatment, may my right hand forget her cunning.

And for the present shall be so far from cursing those, mine adversaries, that I have a blessing in store for them, even for them, who ought to be damn'd for their ingratitude, and lest I should err in pronouncing my benedictions, I will do it in the pathetic words of good old father Jacob to his beloved sons Simeon & Levi, which may be seen at large, Genesis 49:5, 6 & 7th varying only so as to make it applicable to the persons and country. But lest you should be put to trouble in procuring a book, that will give an Idea of the matter, I will write the quotation "Simeon & Levi are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O! my soul come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor be not thou

united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self will they digged down a wall, Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and Scatter them in Israel.”

Good men have always spies upon their conduct. Several of my letters of correspondence written in that unguarded manner, in which a man is wont to unbosom himself to his friends, especially when in haste, have of late been intercepted, and either kept from the persons to whom they were address'd, or copied and given off in detach'd sentences, which among enemies operate to my prejudice; On the 6th of last month I wrote a letter which has shar'd the same fate,⁶ and by an Anonymous letter I lately received, find my enemies have by some means or other obtain'd a partial copy thereof in Philadelphia, before it could have reach'd the Gentleman to whom it was directed. And you may soon expect to see some very spirited resolutions upon the daring performance. Lest by misrepresentation you should be prepossess'd of an opinion that the letter contains sentiments unwarrantable in themselves, and prejudicial to the publick, I take the liberty of inclosing you a copy, with all blunders, imperfections, treasons and political heresies, therein contain'd, without the least amendment or alteration, that you may judge for yourself what ought to be my doom, for what is written, is written, and I neither Shall, or wish to, say a single word, if nothing more is done about the matter, I trust you will not use the letter to my prejudice, I dont mean as to the sentiments it contains, for I will avow them to my last breath, but only that my enemies need not know that I had sent a copy, and made known the matter, to you.

Upon looking over the committees papers, dont find the copy of your letter of resignation to congress, which ought to be in our report. I should be very much oblig'd, if you will furnish me a copy by the first express, as our letters to congress mention the Subject.

The news here is that General Washington is gone to Rhode Island, that General Greene commands the army—that count De Guichen is arrived off Block Island—That Jemmy Rivington has congratulated his fellow Demons on the happy circumstance of admiral Rodney's arrival at the Hook, with ten sail of the line and other ships of force. You will judge of the probability that things are thus Situated.

I am, Dear Sir, With that truth, which becomes the noblest work of the Deity, Your Sincere friend, most Obedt. and very humble Servant.

Nathl Peabody

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). In the hand of Benjamin Brown and signed by Peabody. FC (Nh-Ar: Miscellaneous Revolutionary Documents). In the hand of Nathaniel Peabody.

¹ None of these “Several letters” has been found.

² That is, Congress' July 15 resolves reorganizing the quartermaster general's

department, for which see *JCC*, 17:615–35; and Samuel Huntington to Greene, July 26, 1780, note 2.

³ That is, Timothy Pickering.

⁴ Horatio Gates.

⁵ Gen. 49:14–15.

⁶ Peabody is probably referring to his long August 6 letter to Josiah Bartlett, in which he had characterized Congress as a “*Grand Multiform’d Sanhedrin*” which was “often times in the midst of a Fog.”

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philadelphia Sept 19 1780

In a Letter to Mr Appleton of the 17th¹ I desired him to inform you that I was well. I thank God I continue so, tho I am very solicitous to know how it fares with you and my dear Connections in Boston. Our Friends at that Distance may be in their Graves before one may even hear of their previous Sickness. You cannot wonder then that I am in Anxiety every Moment. Upon this Consideration alone, the publick Service so far from ones Family, must be conceivd to be a Sacrifice of no small Value. The Man who has devoted himself to the Service of God and his Country will chearfully make every Sacrifice. I will not fail daily to commend you to the Care and Protection of Heaven, in Hopes of seeing you the next Spring.

By a Letter of good Authority from Hillsborough in North Carolina dated the 9th of Septr we are informed that Colo Marian of South Carolina who commanded a Body of Militia had surprisd a Party of the Enemy near Santee River escorting 150 Prisoners of the Maryland Division.² He took the Party & releivd the Prisoners, & was on the March to Cross Creek, where General Gates had sent Lt Colo Ford with proper officers to conduct them to Hillsbro. When they joyn, our Loss in Continentals will be small in Comparison of what was expected. Pray send the Inclosd to Captain James Shepherd. Remember me to my Family & Friends. Adieu my dear,

S Adams

[P.S.] My worthy Friend Arthur Lee is not yet arrivd.

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Not found.

² Adams is referring to a copy of Gen. Horatio Gates' September 9 letter to Thomas Jefferson, which was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 18:837. It was also the subject of a note written by John Fell this day, which Fell appended as a postscript to the following brief September 18 letter to Moore Furman.

“I hope you will excuse the freedom I take, in troubling you, to forward the inclosed letters [*not found*], for my Once good friend Mr. Parker, it came inclosed to me this day from Baltimore. . . .

“Tuesday 12. 0 Clock We have just now had a Letter read from General Gates acquainting that a Coll Marrian of So Carolina, had Retaken all the Maryland

Line consisting of 150, that they were then on their way to Hillsborough, this is a good affair, As the Enemy now have very few Prisoners, taken with General Gates.”
Jenkins Collection, PHi.

Ezekiel Cornell to Nathanael Greene

Dear Sir Philadelphia September 19th. 1780.

Your two letters of the 30th of August and 9th of Sepr. I have had the pleasure to receive.

That there have been and still are some members in Congress of a persecutting Spirit is not to be doubted or wondered at when we reflect that one of the best judges of Mankind choose only Twelve out of the whole lump, and one of his number was of that class. But to suppose that Congress take their tone from that Class appears to me rather censorious. And if we may Judge from their final determinations I think the Contrary will appear.

A change of measures in the QM Generals department was in some measure become necessary. Clamours run exceeding high against the department in general and wheither upon Just or unjust grounds made but little difference the clammour was gone forth and persons of Influence were not wanted to blow the Cole. At the same time I altogether reprobate the making any general chainge in either of the great departments of the Army during the time they are in the field let the plan be almost ever so bad, but as soon as the Army was gone into Winter Quarters I should have agreed most cordially to many of the Alterations that are made and should have thought some others necessary upon principals of expediteing the business as well as that of Oeconomy.

People in different stations of life are apt to think indifferently of each other as they do not feel the force of the difficulties that attend the other. The Gentlemen of the Army feel the difficulties and hardships that they are exposed to with all the severity attending, and are perhaps too apt to suppose they arise from want of Attention in Congress or a wicked disposition to distress them when perhaps the real cause arose from a train of disappointments that no humane prudence could foresee. I have lived the life of a Soldier for five years and I can say upon the word of an honest man I never passed a Summer so disagreeably as I have the present. Every day furnishing a new Catalogue of Complaints from the Army and other publick Creditors with out the means of Satisfying them on one Side, On the other a Series of Letters from governors and presidents in answer to letters pressing the states for money seting forth the exhausted state of their several Treasurys and the inability of their consituents to pay the Quotas of Taxes assessed upon them. After all what shall Congress do, Curse the states as some of the gentlemen of the Army

do Congress for not fulfilling their contracts with them immediately when its out of their power. But after all I will go further and not only say that the members of Congress are friends to their Country but far the greatest part of them have the highest opinion of the officers in the Army and are their real friends. I can only lament that the gentlemen of the Army are not fully acquainted with the sentiments and Conduct of Congress towards them with every difficulty and obstruction they meet with when endeavouring to serve them in such a manner as to make the Army Comfortable, I am sure their candor is such that many prejudices would be removed that now exist.

The affair of General Gates defeat or rather flight rests very easy in Congress at present but I beleive the day is not far distant when some hard things will be said of the old Gentleman which will amount to a coldness in Congress towards him if not a recall or Suspension. I trust before this will reach you every matter of Intelegence I can give will reach the Army.

The Southern delegates had moved in Congress that Major Lee Might be sent to the southward before I received your letter, the Motion was refered to general Washington who hath since by his letter of the 16th Instant acquainted Congress he thought it inexpedient to detach him. As that is the Case I must beg to be excused from making any motion in Congress for that purpose.

I believe the ill nature that appeard upon your refusing to act as QMG is nearly exhausted at the same time I suppose the seeds yet remain among the gatoneans who upon an Occassion that suited their purpose would not be wanting to give your Carrector a fatal stab. But when I consider their insignificancy as to Number, and that knowledg of mankind that you possess, I am Confident you will be able to keep out of their power untill fortune shall throw something in your way by which you can take advantage so as to put your self intirely out of their power to give you the least uneasiness.

Congress have in contimplation the arraignment of the Army. A Committee have been appointed and have reported a plan which is not yet considered.¹ The plan is for raising an Army of 32,000 Non Commissioned officers and privates to be thrown into four Regts. of Cavelry, four of Artillery, Forty nine of Infantry, and one of Artificers to be officered by the officers now in service as the several states shall direct which is to be whole regular force of these United States each state to Inlist there Quota if possible for the War or for three years by the first of December next if not to compleat their Quotas by drafts so as to have their full compliment in the field by the first day of Jany. next at furthest. All Regts. and Corps to be reduced except as above on the said first day of Jany. As a Considerable Number of officers will be reduced I wish your opinion as to the mode upon which in justice they ought to retire. It is further proposed to Incorporate all the foreigners both Horse and foot into

One additional Corps to be called the Legion the Command to be given to Colo. Hazen the other officers to be appointed by the Commander in chief. The plan for reducing the Regts. is in my opinion absolutely necessary upon principals of Oeconomy. It appears to me no nation on earth ever had more need of Oeconomy then we and made use of less. At the rate our affairs are now Carrying on from north to South Civil as well as Military all the Mines of Peru would be insufficient to defray the current expences. I hope you will not conclude from this that I wish to distress or injure the Army it is the Contrary I wish to put them upon a footing that the states may be *both* able to Subsist and pay them. You are too well acquainted with the abilitys of these states to need any arguments to convince you of their Inability to pay Annually 16,000,000 of Specie dollars which I can assure you is the least sum that will pay the expence of the Militia in the southern Army that I fear will be accumulated. We must immediately get a regular force in the field and some better mod of supplying of them then the present or our independance will fail us. The want of money seems at present be the cause of our greatest difficultys and principal distress.

But at a time when we seem to be surrounded with difficulties on every side and aught to be exerting our joynt efforts to extricate ourselves and if possible prevent impending ruin We are wasting our time day after day in hearing the Yorkers dispute about the Independance of Vermont which hath taken up our whole time since last Tuesday Morning and we are no nearer a conclusion that I can see then when we began. I fear our doing the things we aught not and leaving the things undone that we aught to attent to will er[e] long be attended with fatal Consequencies & prove our Ruin.

I would have wrote you more fully in regard to your standing in point of favour with Congress. But they are so fickle in point of opinion in regard to the officers of the Army I am afeard I shall deceive you. But thus much I think I may say that you stand foremost in the line of Major Generals in their good graces since the exceeding hard ride General Gates had between the 16th and 20th of August which is a most mortifying stroke to the gentlemen from Massachusetts and some others tho I think they do not yet sufficiently realize their Mortification. A proper oppertunity is only waited for when Justice will be done which never fail to make the Tools of Wickedness shudder. And should a Major General be detached to releive General Gates while I think is not impossible I beleive you would be the man. Some of the Members are exceeding uneasy that the old gentleman is suffered to hold his Command. A certain gentleman of Carrector in Maryland writes that he thinks Genl St. Clair aught to Superceed him.

As to our affairs to the southard there is at present no fixed mode agreed upon, Congress have only recommended to the Legislatures

of Virginea and North Carolina to use their utmost exertions to raise and feed an Army merely by piece meal with out any fixed plan. And by a letter receivd yesterday from the governor of Virginia² it appears a faction in favour of the Britons had lately broke out in three or four of the back Countys of that state where they had been always heretofore considered friendly to these states. A very Considerable Number had Inlisted to joyn the Enemy but their plan was discovered and they were prevented. A letter came by the same hand from General Gates Informing that he had Intelegence, that Cornwallis was preparing to imbarck his troops at George Town and go from thenc to cape Fare and then through the Country to Virginia and that he Cornwallis had parties out Collecting Waggons for that purpose And that four Thousand Troops from N York was to immediately take possession of Portsmouth in Virginia. How far this Intelegence is to be relyed on I cannot say. The old gentleman lays great stress upon it. But I thought sometimes last summer he was too fond of beleiving every story from the Enemy especially if it tended to distress us.

I am with sentiments of Esteem, your most obedt, Hum Servant,
E Cornell

RC (OCIWHI: Norton Collection).

¹ The committee considering the arrangement of the army, appointed to study proposals contained in Washington's August 20 letter to Congress and consisting of Cornell, Samuel Adams, Joseph Jones, Thomas McKean, and John Morin Scott, brought in a report this day. It was debated the following day and adopted on September 21. However, Congress decided on the 22nd to suspend its action "until the Comee shall make a farther report"—chiefly on the subject of the artillery, cavalry, and engineer regiments and supernumerary foreign officers—which was finally submitted and adopted on October 3, 1780. See *JCC*, 17:786, 18:839, 842-44, 893-97; and Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 4, 1780, note 1. See also John Mathews to Washington, September 24, 1780, note 2.

² Gov. Thomas Jefferson's September 14 letter was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 18:837.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, Sept. 19th, 1780.

I do myself the honor to write your Excellency by this post; and am sorry to acquaint you that, notwithstanding public business of the most pressing nature is now suffering before Congress, we have spent three days to no purpose in the affair of Vermont, and are still engaged in the same business; and when we shall get clear of it I know not, or what we shall do in the affair. The Yorkers treat the matter almost beyond the bound of modesty. I can only say I am sorry from my heart that Congress has taken up the matter, by their former resolution, in the manner they have And let us do what

we will, I fear the most fatal consequences will follow I cannot give you particulars at this time.¹

By intelligence from several quarters, it appears the enemy are preparing to push their operations to the southward by the taking possession of Portsmouth, with a body of troops from New York, while Cornwallis endeavors to join them from the southward.

Congress has in contemplation to raise an army of thirty-two thousand non-commissioned officers and privates, to be in the field by the first day of January next, at farthest, to serve one year at least, to consist of four regiments of cavalry, four of artillery, forty-nine of infantry, and one of artificers; the whole to be proportioned to the several states, and all the rest and residue of the regiments and corps to be reduced on the first day of January next. The above is the report of a committee which is not yet considered, and probably will undergo some alterations, but I think the substance will pass.²

Our loss of Continental troops in the late infamous flight on the 16th of August, near Camden, is very inconsiderable to what was expected from the tenure of Gen. Gates' letter of the 20th of August, from Hillsborough. Our people have retaken one hundred Continental prisoners, as the enemy were conducting them to Charleston.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's Most obedient, humble servant,
Ezekiel Cornell.

Reprinted from Staples, *Rhode Island*, p. 313.

¹ For the "affair of Vermont" in Congress, see Samuel Adams to John Lowell, September 15; and John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, September 16, 1780.

² For this report, see the preceding entry, note one.

James Duane to Mary Duane

Philadelphia 19th Septemr 1780

I long my dearest Polly most impatiently to hear of your own and our Childrens Health not having yet been blessed with a Line. Any Letters you favour me with will come safe by the Post. I have Reason to be thankful that I have not felt the least Indisposition since we parted and I want nothing but an assurance of your welfare to make me easy and resigned to the Station hard as it is to which my Country has appointed me. Indeed she wants all the Services of her Oldest Citizens, as our affairs are much perplexed for the Want of money.

The Enemy we learn are again in Motion. Where they will make their assault is uncertain. Some think they will reinforce Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina; others that they will attempt to make a Lodgement in Virginia. None suppose that further Attacks upon the State of New York are probable. The first point to be settled

seems to be the naval Superiority in the American Seas. If it is true that Sir George Rodney is at the Hook with ten Ships of the Line, and that the combined Fleets of France and Spain are on our Coast, an Engagement seems almost unavoidable as Monsieur De Turnay the French Admiral and his Squadron are shut up in Rhode Island and great Efforts will be undoubtedly made for his Relief. I enclose for your Amusement the news papers.

We this moment learn that Col. Mariot¹ of the South Carolina militia has retaken the whole of the Maryland Line who were made Prisoners in the late Battle near Cambden, together with their Guard, so that we have already recovered a Blow which from the first Accounts and misrepresentations made a disagreeable Impression.

If you have heard from Hughey let me know as I cannot Account for his Silence.

With my most dutiful & affectionate Regards to our parents and friends and my warmest Blessing to our dearest Children I am ever my dear Polly Your truly affectionate & ever faithful Husband.

Jas Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

¹ That is, Francis Marion.

James Duane to George Washington

My dear General

Philadelphia 19h Septemr 1780

I am to acknowledge the Honour of your Excellency's favour of the 9th Instant on the Subject of the Hospital Department.¹ Your Sollicitude that Gentlemen of distinguished Merit should be employed is a continued Proof of your Attention to the publick good; & those you particularize will not fail of being supported.

We are deeply engaged on the Subjects of your Excellency's several Letters, considerable Progress is made in that which is the principle—the raising a permanent Army.² Congress unite in Sentiment that it is essential that is the surest and the only mean of producing an honourable Peace: to render it practicable and certain is the difficulty. There is in my mind no Question but that it will be submitted for your Opinion before it becomes conclusive.

I wish it was in my power to communicate agreeable Events to counterballance our Southern Misfortunes; the weight of them daily diminishes by a comparison of Facts with the hasty Information of the commanding officer of the Detachment. The Loss however of Artillery and Baggage, and above all of small Arms, must be severely felt, and the precipitate Flight of the militia expose us to Insult, after every Alleviation. Of one Comfort we cannot be deprived. Our

regular Troops have acquired unfading Glory! I find with great Satisfaction that the Legislature of New York have fallen in with the Views of the Eastern Convention and particularly to strengthen the Hands of Congress and enable them to enforce their Decisions: We can never manage the publick Interests with Success till this Disposition becomes general: Nor can any thing else under the divine Blessing, be necessary to give Us a decided Superiority over our Enemies. We have now obtained military Knowledge in an eminent Degree, we have internal Resources and Reputation abroad: we have a great and respectable Ally: of what then are we destitute but Vigour and Confidence in Government, and publick Spirit in Individuals.

I shall be happy to be honourd with a Line after your Interview at Hartford if your Leisure admit.³ I hope it will prove some Relaxation from the severe and anxious Cares which have fallen to your Share too long and with too much Weight. Permit me to add that I am with every Sentiment of the most affectionate Attachment and most perfect Regard, Dear Sir, your most Obedient humble Servant,

Jas. Duane

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Washington wrote identical letters of September 9 to Duane and to Joseph Jones. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:18–19n.32.

² See Ezekiel Cornell to Nathanael Greene, this date, note 1.

³ For Washington's October 4 reply, written after his September 20–22 "Interview at Hartford" with the comte de Rochambeau, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:117–18.

John Hanson to Philip Thomas

Dear Doct.

Philadelphia Sept. 19th 1780.

I this moment received your two letters of the 3d and 9th Instant which I read with Satisfaction, all but the Account you have given of Janeys¹ health which is very distressing. You will let me Know by every post how She goes on. I wrote you by Mr. Pool giving you an Account of the Defeat of our Southern Army. The Accounts we have Since had from that quarter is more favourable than Could be expected Considering the Situation in which Gen. Gates left them, from the best Intelligence we have, not more than two hundred of the Regulars are missing. Our Army is Still much distressed for want of meat. They get one meal only in three days, and how long that Scanty allowance will Continue is uncertain.

The Jersey Inhabitants in whose State the Army is, are plundered daily by partys of the Army, without a possibility of restraint—are not the worst of Consequences to be dreaded from the Armys thus Careing for themselves? Will not the affections of those people who

have upon all Occasions Exerted themselves in Support of the Common Cause, be at length Alenated from the Army, and look upon them rather in the light of Robbers and Enemies than the protectors of their rights? Is it not most Shameful that our Army Should be Starving and drove into Such measures, while the Country abounds with provisions? I am willing to believe that all our embarrassments proceed rather from the disjointed and deranged State of our finances, than the want of inclination or Ability in the united States to Carry on the War. Still I cant help thinking, that a want of proper Exertions in them, is in a great degree the Cause of the present distresses of the Army. Congress Can do no more than recommend—but as I observed before our difficulties principally arose from the want of money, and there Seems to be a fatality attending every measure that has been adopted to put our finances into order—the most probable Schemes have, by Some means or other been rendered ineffectual. The resolves of the 18th March promised fair, but am afraid will not answer the end proposed. How is the old money to be got in, and the new put into Circulation, while our Taxes are anticipated, and paid off with Certificates? Our present Situation is truly Alarming—the Army in want of every thing—no money in the Treasury, And our Credit Exhausted. God grant us a Speedy, Safe and Honourable Peace.

Congress had advice to day of the Arrival of Admiral Rodney at the Hook with twelve Sail of the line and four frigates²—that they had taken and brought in with them, a french frigate—that 5000 Troops are to be Sent from new york to the Southward. It is reported And I hope with good foundation that the Combined fleet from the West Indias is on the Coast. If so the french will be Superior, And may prevent the embarkation at new york from taking place. Last fryday General Smallwood was by an unanimous vote of Congress promoted to the Rank of Major General, And in my Judgment ought to take the Command of the Southern Army at least that our runaway General ought to be Suspended And an Equiry made into His Conduct. Am Sorry to Acquaint you that yesterday Morning Dyed much lamented Mrs. Reed the Presidents Lady. It is now Just 12 oClock the time the Post is Setting out, must therefore Conclude With my most affectionate Love to Mrs Hanson And Janey, who I hope will take all possible Care of her Self, use Exercise, and Conform to every thing that may Contribute to restore her to health. My love to Sammy and the little ones, who I hope are well, tho you have said nothing about them. My Compliments to my neighbours and friends And let Mr Potts Know the necessary enquiry Shall be made. Jack Addisons is a mad Scheme, in my Opinion it will ruin him. I have wrote you a long letter in hast. I am now very well tho' have been much indisposed for a fortnight past. Farewell—Yrs. &c³

RC (MdHi: Hanson Letters).

¹ That is, Jane Hanson Thomas, Hanson's daughter.

² See Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee, September 18, 1780, note 1.

³ Signature clipped.

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Thomas Sim Lee

My dear Sir,

Phila. Sepr 19th 1780

I need not inform you of the difficulties Congress labour under for the want of Money, you are already Sensible of them but what makes this distress the more Melancholy is, that there is no immediate prospect of relief.

The New State Money of Penna. as well as the New Continental Emissions, is refused at Market, And what is extraordinary the Country people will not Sell for Gold, unless at exorbitt. prices; but seem to prefer the old Continental and Provisions for that Money are reasonable. Veal from 3 1/2 to 5 Dolls & Mutton from 4 to 5.

We have received information wch is not doubted, that Admiral Rodney with 12 Sail (11 of which of the Line) are arrived at New York. And it is immagined that the French Fleet & Troops at Rhode Island are the Object in view.

Two days have been taken up in debating How far Congress will allow Virga. &c. to hold Back Lands,¹ with Endemnity of Expenses for Conquered Territory. That business is not yet compleatly finished, but I think it premature, others have thought the measure would accelerate the Confederation. I think that it will rather retard it.

I understand that the New England States are to have a Congress soon to which they have invited New York to send Deputys. What this will End in a little time will discover. Pray inform me when you think the Assembly will meet.

With my respectful Compliments to Mrs. Lee, I am, Dr Sir Your affectionate Servt.

Daniel of St Thos. Jenifer²

P.S. It is supposed that the French Fleet that Sailed from Cape Francois & were last in the Lat. of 26 deg. North are gone to the West Indies that they had been before Jamaica but finding Parker & Walsingham with 10 Sail of the Line & strong in Land Forces the Combined Fleet returned & were obliged to come through the Gulph Stream.

Excuse haste.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ See James Madison to Joseph Jones, this date.

² Jenifer also wrote a second brief letter to Lee this day: "This moment we have received information from South Carolina that the Maryland Line that were made Prisoners are retaken by Coll Marrion of South Carolina." Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, MdHi.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Sepr. 19th. 1780.

Instead of a confirmation of the good news respecting the french fleet mentioned in my last, I have the mortification to inform you that it is pretty certain that Rodney has arrived at the Hook with 12 sail of the line from the W. Indies & 4 frigates. The report however still continues that a french fleet is somewhere on the coast. The arrival of Rodney is a proof that it had left the W. Indies and was conjectured to be coming hither. It is further said that 5 or 6000 troops would embark at N. York on the 25th inst. either for Virga. or S. Carolina. This is by no means probable. The danger of such a measure is too

President Reed's Lady has been buried this morning. She and Mr. Brymner the great musician were taken off by the Dysentery. Mr. Hodge, who was in France connected with the famous *Cutter*, was returning with 13 others from Sth. Carolina and died at Bohemia 40 miles off having survived all the others. Tricket our Stationer and Monsr. Damon our Brussels news monger are gone also; in short, 30 died on the night that Damon did. I hope you have better air and better Water than we; to say nothing of Wine as I am not in Capacity to draw any Comparisons about so *strange* a Liquor.

We are in the Labyrinths of Vermont and are also driven to be contriving how to *buy* some Portion of that western World which the *Big Knife*¹ pretends to *give* to us.

Give my Compliments to Mr. Gerry to whom I shall write by Col. Wigglesworth the Bearer of his Letter & order to me.

Your affectionately,

James Lovell

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

¹ That is, Virginia. For further information on the discussion of the Virginia delegates' proposals concerning the western lands, see the following entry.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Sepr. 19th. 1780.

Instead of a confirmation of the good news respecting the french fleet mentioned in my last, I have the mortification to inform you that it is pretty certain that Rodney has arrived at the Hook with 12 sail of the line from the W. Indies & 4 frigates. The report however still continues that a french fleet is somewhere on the coast. The arrival of Rodney is a proof that it had left the W. Indies and was conjectured to be coming hither. It is further said that 5 or 6000 troops would embark at N. York on the 25th inst. either for Virga. or S. Carolina. This is by no means probable. The danger of such a measure is too

obvious not to deter them from it. It is given out at N. York that a reinforcement of 4000 troops are expected next month from England.

Yesterday was employed by Congress in discussing the resolutions you left with them.¹ The first & second were passed after undergoing sundry alterations. The clause in the 2d for allowing the expence of maintaining civil govt within the ceded territory was struck out by the committee, and an attempt to get it reinserted in the house was negatived. It was surmised that so indefinite an expression might subject Congress to very exorbitant claims. With respect to Virga. I believe that expence has not been so considerable as to be much worth insisting on. The principal expences may properly be included under the military head. The consideration of the last resolution annulling Indian purchases was postponed, with an intention I believe of not resuming it. It is supposed by some to be unnecessary, by others to be improper, as implying that without such previous assurance Congress would have a right to recognize private claims in a territory expressly given up to them for the common benefit. These motives prevailed I am persuaded with more than the real view of gratifying private interest at the public expence. The States may annex what conditions they please to their cessions, and by that means guard them agst. misapplication, or if they only annul all pretended purchases by their own laws before the cessions are made Congress are sufficiently precluded by their general assurance that they shall be applied to the common benefit from admitting any private claims which are opposed to it.

The Vermont business has been two days under agitation and nothing done in it except rejecting a proposition for postponing the determination of Congress till Commissioners should enquire into the titles & boundaries of N. Hampshire & N York. Congress have bound themselves so strongly by their own act to bring it to an issue at this time and are pressed by N. York so closely with this engagement, that it is not possible any longer to try evasive expedients. For my own part if a final decision must take place, I am clearly of opinion that it ought to be made on principles that will effectually discountenance the erection of new Governments without the sanction of proper Authority, and in a style marking a due firmness and decision in Congress.

With sincere regard I am Dr. Sir, Yr. friend & Servt.

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:89-90.

¹ On September 6 Congress had adopted the report of a committee, to which Jones had been appointed on June 26, recommending that the "landed" states renounce their western claims to remove the remaining obstacle to a final ratification of the Articles of Confederation. See Jones to Thomas Jefferson, June 30, note 3; Jones to Washington, September 6, note 3; and Samuel Huntington to the States,

September 10, 1780. That day, before departing for Virginia where he hoped to persuade the assembly to accede to Congress' appeal, Jones had introduced three resolutions establishing Virginia's conditions for the proposed session. See *JCC*, 17:808. Jones stipulated that the western territory be organized into states of specified size, that states ceding western land be compensated for maintaining military and civil establishments in the territory, and that all but military bounty lands be considered part of a "common fund," thus voiding the titles to Indian lands acquired by private parties. The latter condition was a direct attempt to nullify the purchases of the great land companies. They were based, it should be noted, on suggestions that Jones had solicited from Virginia assemblyman George Mason, for which see Mason, *Papers* (Rutland), 2:655-63; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:72-78.

Jones' motion, which had been seconded by Madison, was referred on September 9 to a committee, consisting of Madison, John Henry, Whitmell Hill, Roger Sherman, and Artemas Ward, that reported on the 15th. Congress debated the report on September 18 and again on October 10 when it partially adopted the Virginia position by agreeing that western lands, once ceded, should be "settled and formed into distinct republican states" on an equal footing with the existing states, and that the cost of maintaining a military, though not a civil, presence in the territory should be reimbursed. By a tie vote, however, Congress postponed a decision on the validity of Indian land purchases, a source of contention that was not reconciled until 1784. Nonetheless, with this action Congress took the initial step in the creation of a national domain in the western territory. See *JCC*, 18:815-16, 828, 836, 915-16. See also Madison to Jones, October 17, 1780, note 1; and Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1781.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 19th. 1780

I was in hopes when I wrote my last that I should be able by this post to congratulate you on the arrival of the french fleet from the W. Indies But so far is this from being the case, that it comes from authority which seems to have a just claim on our faith that Admiral Rodney is actually at the Hook with 12 Sail of the line & 4 frigates. It is still said however that a french fleet is somewhere on the coast. The arrival of Rodney is certainly an evidence that it had quited the Islands and was suspected to be coming hither. It is also given out at New York that a reinforcement of 4000 troops will arrive next month from England. Another part of our reports is that 5 or 6000 troops will embark at N. York on the 25th inst. for Virga. or S. Carolina: but it is not to be supposed that such a measure will be hazarded in the present ticklish state of things. 22 Sail of the Quebeck fleet are carried prizes into N. England.¹

I am Dr Sir with sincere respect, Yr. obt friend & Servt.

J. Madison, Junr.

P.S. The mortality in this place exceeds any thing ever remembered. The only person of note that occurs at present is the Lady of President Reed who fell a victim to it yesterday morning.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:93.

¹ Washington had reported the capture of these prizes in his letters of September 9 and 10 which were read in Congress on the 12th and 14th, respectively. See *JCC*, 18:819, 824; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:21, 23–24.

James Duane to Robert Livingston

My dear & ever honoured Sir, Philadelphia 20th Septemr 1780

I make it a Rule to miss no opportunity of writing to you or my Polly; to both I have it not always in my power, and I wish you may consider what I address to her as equally intended for your own perusal. The News papers, to one or other, I shall forward by every opportunity.

Our Loss of Men in the late General Engagement in South Carolina, tho' from General Gates's Account it appeared to be *total*, turns out inconsiderable: the Prisoners of the Maryland Line having been fortunately retaken. It may however be set down as a misfortune of considerable Extent as the Army then collecting for the Relief of South Carolina was dispersed, some of the Cannon taken, and the Militia much disgraced. Had they stood firm it is plain, from every Circumstance, that the Victory on our side woud have been decisive. A respectable Army is again collecting and will soon be ready to take the Field. The gallant Maryland Corps is reinforced by 500 Recruits of that Line, so that they will be much more formidable than before the late action in which they gave proof of Valour & Discipline scarcely to be paralleled.

Admiral Rodney is arrived at the Hook with 8 or 10 Ships of the Line; and the combined fleet of France & Spain expected on the Coast. A naval Engagement therefore is not improbable. In the mean time great Embarkation is making at New York, it is said for Virginia; & that Sir Henry has invited the disaffected Refugee families of that State & Maryland to accompany him.

The armed Neutrality for the freedom of Navigation may produce serious Effects. England declines the Claims of and Regulations of the Empress And the States declare that they will have Satisfaction for the Insult offerd to Count Byland their Admiral totally rejecting the Justification of that Transaction as explained in the British Memorial.

I continue to enjoy my Health but am most anxious to hear of that of my Polly and the Families of the Manshion from any of whom I have not a Line since my arrival.

Will you be so good as to advise with Brother John respecting the disposal of my young Horses. The black Horse if at a moderate Expence I shoud like to keep to ride, the Mares maybe sold, for they do not answer Expectation not at all matching; and I cannot at present

Our State I find have reelected me for the Ensuing year as one of their Delegates. They have however not sent me a penny for my support which is beyond Measure expensive: my bare board for bed & bread and meat (without drink, washing, horsehoofing or any other Charge) being four pounds Specie a week. As I am exhausted and cannot think it Just that you should maintain me here while I am in the publick service; I have writen plainly to the Governour that unless speedily supplied with money we must from Necessity break up the Delegation.¹ Indeed I have no more than enough to hold out another week, & repair my Sulky (which unfortunately broke down on the Journey here and will not be put in order under 1600 dollars) and to carry me home. Next Tuesday's post will probably produce an Answer from the State.

I can't recollect the name of the Man who owes me the money on Note; but in the last Journal of business at Duanesburgh there is a Memorandum. It is for my large black mare. The note is one of the first on the files. Excuse this trouble. Present my affectionate Regards to Mamma and every branch of the Family, and my blessings to my Children. My Love in the tenderest manner to my dear Polly; and believe me Always, Dear & honourd Sir, Your dutiful Affectionate & obliged Son & Servant, Jas. Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

¹ See Duane to George Clinton, September 7, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada September 20. 1780

By the Act of Congress of this Day herewith enclosed your Excellency will be informed of the Measures they have adopted upon an Invasion of the State of Virginia, in Case the Conjuncture of Affairs Should render the Measure necessary for removal of the Convention Troops to Fort Frederick in Maryland, and also to pro-

vide Magazines to supply them in Case of removal, although at the same Time it is to be hoped that Circumstances will not render their removal necessary; but that must be left to your Wisdom in Council to determine in Case of an Invasion.¹

Should you find the Measure necessary you will give seasonable Information thereof to Gover Lee to whom I have transmitted a Duplicate of the Act enclosed.² Should the report of the reinforcement of a french Fleet on this Coast prove true, there cannot be any Fear of an Invasion of Virginia.

Your Excellency may be assured Congress will use every Exertion to supply Tents & Arms for the Militia of Virginia & Maryland, and at the same Time recommend to those States to leave no Steps untried to furnish those necessary & important Articles.

I have The Honor to be &c, &c, &c, S.H.³

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:842.

² Huntington's letter to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee of Maryland is in the Red Books, MdAA; and PCC, item 15, fols. 111-12.

³ This day Huntington also sent a second letter to Jefferson (and to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee), enclosing a September 18 letter from Gen. Nathanael Greene. PCC, item 15, fols. 110-11. Greene had warned of the preparation of a British fleet at New York under the command of Adm. George Rodney destined for the Chesapeake. PCC, item 155, 1:431-34.

Samuel Huntington to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir, Philada September 20. 1780

I do myself the Honor to transmit you the Act of Congress enclosed of the 19 Instant, by which you will be informed, that in your Absence they will readily continue their Intercourse with the Embassy of his most Christian Majesty through M de Marbois as his Majesty's *Chargé des Affairs* in whose Abilities, & Attention to the Interests of the Court of France & these United States they have just Confidence.¹

I have the Honor to be, &c, &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:836-37. La Luzerne had just notified Congress of his impending absence from Philadelphia "for some weeks," primarily to visit Rochambeau and Washington in New England, in a letter of September 16 which is in PCC, item 95, 1:154-57; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:59.

Huntington also sent a nearly identical letter this day to the marquis de Barbé-Marbois enclosing the same congressional resolution. PCC, item 15. fol. 115.

Samuel Huntington to the Massachusetts Council

Sir,

Philadelphia September 20. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 19 Instant, recommending to the State of Massachusetts Bay to take effectual Measures for procuring for the Use of the Army, a Quantity of salted Beef & Pork arrived in that State in Sundry Prizes captured from the Enemy.

Congress will draw upon the Loan Officer of the State for Payment of the same out of the new Bills reserved for the Use of the United States.

This resolve of Congress is in Consequence of Information received, that a considerable Quantity of salted Beef & Pork was brought into that State in Prizes, and an earnest request from the Commander in Chief, that the same might be procured for the Use of the Army.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington. Addressed: "The Honorable The President of Council of Massachusetts Bay."

¹ See *JCC*, 18:837-38.

William Churchill Houston to John Stevens

Sir,

Philada. 21 September 1780

It is with regret I intrude an Application in which my own particular Interest is a leading motive. Some months ago I determined to settle myself in Trenton for the ensuing winter, and lately, Mr. Clarke and Mr Fell being both at Congress, I went home for that Purpose; but have been disappointed in effecting it so soon as I hoped. Mr. Clarke being in ill Health, and desirous to visit his Family, I was obliged to return and postpone it. Sickness has confined him, it is uncertain when he will be able to go, and in any Event he cannot be expected to return before the latter End of next Month. I am exceedingly embarrassed; I cannot think of leaving the State unrepresented, and yet it is of the most pressing Necessity that ten Days or a Fortnight from this Date at farthest, I should be at Home. I could not expect to succeed were I to request Leave of Absence from the Joint-meeting as the State would be left without a Vote, and therefore am compelled to mention the Alternative, that they would consider of appointing an additional Delegate, either to serve for the ensuing Year, or, if that will not comport with the Election law or is, for other reasons, disapproved, to serve till the first Day

of December next, when the ensuing Delegation will commence. Perhaps the Empowering of one to give the Vote of the State for the remainder of the Year would be preferred; I only mention it. I would have requested that a Member might be appointed in my room, and myself no longer continued in the Delegation, but that the Time is not long, and I would not wish, by any Act of my own, to shew an Inclination to retire wholly from Congress at this Time of Difficulty. Were I to be thought of in the Appointment for the ensuing Year, my Reasons for declining would be instantly conclusive to every Body.

In Addition to what is said above, I beg Leave further to remark; if it so happens that none of the present Delegates are in the appointment next year, the Gentlemen who then attend will find themselves much at a Loss, be their abilities what they may, and the Interests of the State may possibly suffer in some Point where a little Experience of any one Member, would secure it. With a View to Cases of this Nature, some of the States appoint their Members at two different Periods in the Year, six Months or thereabouts distant from each other, one Half at one the other at the other, that should a total Change take Place at either, they may not still be without one or more in Congress to whom the Routine of Business is familiar.

I submit this Matter without further Explanation except that should Objections occur, it is my Wish no Concerns of mine, however near or interesting, may interfere with the essential Business of the State, or take up the Time of it's representatives.¹

I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Emmet Collection). Addressed: "Honorable the Chairman of the Joint-meeting."

¹ Some of the concerns Houston voiced here were resolved on November 24 when the joint meeting of the New Jersey Council and Assembly elected three experienced delegates, Houston, Abraham Clark, and John Witherspoon, along with William Burnet and William Paterson, to constitute its new slate of delegates. However, New Jersey continued to require the vote of "any two or more of them" to cast the state's vote in Congress. See *JCC*, 18:1111-12.

Nathaniel Peabody to Josiah Bartlett

Dear Sir

Morristown 21 Sept 1780

In my last,¹ I inform'd you of my ill state of health, and my Circumstances, but then hop'd to recover my health, and finish the report of the Committee, in a fortnight, which time is now expired—and I am not in a Situation on any account to Set off for home, tho, I recover my health daily—and hope in about two weeks from this to be able to ride so as to set out—by which time the report will be Completed. Admiral Rodney with ten ships of the line and a

Number of Small Craft has arrived off the hook—but as Genl Folsom who is now on his way home² will be able to give you the Common News here it is needless for me to write.

As to those Cabinet matters I happen to be possess'd of I must defer mentioning till I see you which I hope will be in Short time. I am Dear Sir, your most obdt, & very Huml Sert,

Nathl Peabody

[P.S.] Complements to those that wish well to our Cause.

RC (NhD: Bartlett Papers).

¹ See Peabody to Bartlett, August 6, 1780.

² Nathaniel Folsom had obtained a leave of absence from Congress on September 15. *JCC*, 18:831.

Richard Howly to Horatio Gates

Sir. Philadelphia Septr. the 22d 1780

Major Magile, after being detained, for Some time, Setts off. The appearance of matters is Somewhat different, to that which it bore at the departure of Col. Senf. We then had an acct. of the Arrival of the French fleet and now we have certain advices of the Arrival of Admiral Rodney with ten Sail of the line at Sandy hook—and only the old report of the French fleet being on the Coast. Should this not be the case, I am in pain for the Ships under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay. We have accounts of an Embarkation preparing at York, the destination as is Said, for Virginia but nothing Certain—a Very few days will throw full light on this business.

Congress will be desirous of hearing from you often—the accts. of the redemption of the 150 Marylanders was recd. with Satisfaction. We are Sensible of the many difficulties which attend you—especially in a line of offensive operations, which it is the Wish of your friends you might be Enabled to undertake as Soon as possible. May I have the honor to be, Sir, with much truth, yr. huml. & Obedt. Servt.

Richd. Howly

[P.S.] I send you a few English papers.

RC (NH: Gates Papers).

Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Council

Gent. Philadelphia Sep. 22d. 1780

This will be handed to you by Colo Blane, who will lay before your Excellency and Honors, A Resolve of Congress,¹ recommending

to the State of Maryland, to furnish five hundred head of Cattle, for the immediate use of the Army. The great distress the army have for some time past been under, and which Still Continues for want of meat, have induced us to approve of that resolution, and beg leave to recommend it to your Excely and Honors, as a measure absolutely necessary to be Complied with; and hope you will give Colo. Blane every Assistance in your power in procuring them—if by Complying with the above resolution a Deficiency in the Quota of Meat heretofore required by Congress of the State of Maryland, Should be Occasioned, we think the State will Stand Justly excused.

We have the honor to be with much esteem, Your Excellencys
& Honors most hble Servts. Daniel of St Tho Jenifer

John Hanson

John Henry

RC (MdHi: Red Books).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:843. The resolve was actually transmitted to Gov. Thomas Sim Lee by Pres. Samuel Huntington in a letter of September 23, in which he explained that Col. Ephraim Blaine was “prevented by indisposition” from going to Maryland as planned. Red Books, MdAA; and PCC, item 15, fols. 117–18.

Nathaniel Peabody to Benjamin Lincoln

Dear sir,

Morris Town Sepr. 22d 1780

The small though agreeable personal acquaintance, I had the honor of having with you, at the time I found you in a disagreeable situation at Bennington;¹ induces me now to address you.

I have for some time been unwell at this place, but am now on the recovery, and employed in finishing the report of the Committee of Congress lately sent to Head Quarters, which will detain me here for the space of ten days yet to come, and hearing you were at Elizabeth Town have desir'd Mr. Brown, a gentlemen who has for some time been employed in our Office, to take the liberty of calling on you with my compliments to request, if it should be convenient in your present tour to come by way of Morris Town that you will not fail to honor me with a Visit.

I most sensibly feel for you on account of your situation, and for the many fatigues, trials, and distressing embarrassments you have had to encounter, in defence of our native Country, since your entering the present glorious conflict, and which so far as has come within my knowlege, you have surmounted with a judgment, and fortitude that would have done honor even to the first General in America Though I am not insensible that the ignorant and envious will always endeavor to place even unavoidable misfortune and censure in the same class.

In hopes of the pleasure of a visit from you, shall beg leave to subscribe, your sincere friend, Most Obedt. & very humble servt.
Nathl Peabody.

RC (NjR: New Jersey Letters). In the hand of Benjamin Brown and signed by Peabody.

¹ That is, at the time of the Battle of Bennington in 1777.

² Peabody also wrote a second letter this day, to Abraham Skinner the new commissary of prisoners, asking his assistance in procuring spectacles for his failing eyes.

“My late illness has made it Necessary for me to have recourse to artificial Eyes as Auxillaries to the Natural ones and induces me to trouble you upon the occasion. If you Can without too much trouble and will be so very obliging as to procure three pair of Green Spectacles, with double Jointed Stell Springs, viz 1 pr. for a person about 35 years old, 1 pr. 40 & the other pair from 50 to 60—and one pair of spectacles of white pebble, with Silver bows & Springs double Jointed—these to be Number 22, and Genteel with a Suitable Case—and send them with an acct. of the Cost and Expense to me at Colo Harrisons Morristown that I can have them within ten or twelve days at furthest, I will pay the hard money for them on Sight of your order to any person you shall please to direct. . . . P.S. I should not have troubled you on this occasion but there is not a pair to be found here that will Suit, and thought it probable you might procure them at Eliza Town or elsewhere in your Travels.” Miscellaneous Revolutionary Correspondence, Nh-Ar.

Samuel Huntington to Timothy Pickering

Sir, Philada September 23. 1780
You will receive herewith enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 22 Instant, authorizing the Board of Treasury to deliver you Bills of Exchange to the Amount of six thousand five Hundred & six Dollars for the Purpose of purchasing Tents for the Use of the southern Army.¹

I am Sir &c &c, S.H.

P.S. I was honored with your Letter the Day you left the City.²
S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ JCC, 18:846.

² Not found, but apparently one dated September 16, the day he “set off for the army,” according to his letter of that date to Charles Marshall. Pickering Papers, MHi.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philada September 24. 1780
You will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 19 Instant,¹ directing the Commander in Chief to enquire of Sir Henry

Clinton whether a Number of respectable Citizens of South Carolina, Prisoners of War by the Capitulation of Charlestown have been seised upon & confined on Board a Prison Ship, and for what Reason.

The Persons said to be confined are, the Lt Governor Gadsden—Mr Edward Rutledge—Mr Middleton—Mr Haywood & a Number of other respectable Characters.

It is desired this Enquiry may be made as soon as Time will permit.

If his Excellency Genl Washington is like to be absent any Time after this comes to Hand, please to forward Copies to him.²

I have the Honor to be, with much Esteem & respect, sir, your most obedient Servant,
S. Huntington

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ This resolve is actually one of September 23. See *JCC*, 18:851.

² For Washington's inquiry to General Clinton concerning the treatment of prisoners in South Carolina and his report to Congress on Clinton's response, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:128, 192, 194–95.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia September 24, 1780

By the enclosed Act of Congress of the 19 Instant, your Excellency will be informed of the Measures they have adopted in Consequence of your Letter of the 10 Instant, to obtain a Quantity of salted Beef & Pork therein mentioned.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ In his September 10 letter, Washington had asked if the meat recently captured from a British fleet bound for Quebec and taken to Massachusetts could be allocated to the Continental Army. See *JCC*, 18:824, 837–38; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:23–24; and Huntington to the Massachusetts Council, September 20, 1780.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir, Philadelphia Sepr. 24th. 1780

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you a few days ago by The Minister of France:¹ since which time, the Committee have brought in a partial report on the affairs of the army. It has been acted upon by Congress, & thus far agreed to.² To call on the States for an army of 32,000 men, to be in the field by the 1st day of January next. To reduce the remaining sixteen battalions, & all the light corps, & add them to state lines, so as to have no more than forty nine

battalions, & out of the horse, to reestablish four regiments. The infantry to consist of 580 privates, & the horse 320. The remaining 2300 to compose the artillery. The battalions of Infantry, Artillery, & horse, are quota'd on the several States, & the reduction, incorporation, & filling them up, submitted to them *altogether*. The mode recommended for engaging the men is, either for the war, or *one year*, & on the first day of every September the states are to be informed of the Deficiencies of their quotas of men in order that they may fill them up by the 1st of January. I stretched my abilities to their utmost extent, I exhausted every argument that nature, & my enquiries, & observations on this truly important subject, had furnished me with, to get the fatal alternative, "or, for one year" alter'd thus—That if the battalions could not be compleated by the 1st day of Decr. for the War, then, (the States to be called in the most forcible language) to fill them up by *drafts* for not less than one year, from the 1st of Jany., but if not then relieved, to be obliged to continue in the field untill such time as their places shall be *actually* supplied, by other drafts or enlistments for one year, or for the War. The Commander in Chief to be empow[er]ed to discharge from time to time, such of the men as he shall think proper, as their places shall be by others supplied. By this mode, whatever numbers are once fixed on, and got into the field, we should be certain of always having a permanent army & no longer be subject to the caprice, and intolerable delays, supineness, & negligence of the states. There would be an indispensable obligation laid on the states to relieve their annual recruits, if they did not, the fault would lay with them, but we would have the men—undeminished—not as hitherto has been the case as soon as the times of the men expire, to be left at liberty to return home, & the army thus dwindle to a mere skeleton, & through the shameful neglect of the States, remain in this disgraceful situation, untill the season for operation is early expired. I think such a plan is also founded on principles of true policy: for, it would operate on the minds of the people especially of the monied men, as a matter in terrorem. As soon as they find themselves subject to a draft (not on the spurs of the occasion, but that it is become an established maxim, & to which they must be annually subjected,) it immediately becomes their interest, to devise some means by which they can avoid what they will conceive to be, a tremendous inconvenience. The mode readily enough suggests itself to them, which is, by classing the people, & each class to furnish a certain number of men. In each class, no doubt will be found a sufficient number of men, who will be ready to take a good bounty, rather than pay a heavy fine: and if they manage matters with prudence, by making the proper distinction in the bounties, between men for the war, & those only for one year, I dare say, most of the men may be got for the war: for the nature of man is such, that he is but too lyable to be influenced by the powers

of that enchanting metal called gold, & there will be one strong incentive to their accepting the largest sum, which is, the people have strongly imbibed a notion that the war cannot last more than a year or two longer, therefore I suppose they will readily enough imbrace the old proverb “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.” Much more may be said on the subject, but your Excys experience, & knowledge of these matters renders it unnecessary. This was the plan sir I proposed, but after a very long, & warm debate, it was rejected, & what I have before mentioned, substituted. I am extremely anxious to have yr. Excys opinion on this matter, therefore must earnestly request it of you, I mean it only for my private information, as the business is already determined, & I suppose will not be altered.³

There is one objection I am aware of, that is, the enormous expense it would create. To this I would answer it is better at once to incur the *most* enormous expense, & let there be an end of it, than to be every year running into very heavy expences, to answer little, or no valuable purpose, on the contrary, rather tending to throw our affairs into the utmost confusion.

The reduction of the batallions, & consequently of a great many officers, yr. Excy will at once see the propriety of keeping private, untill finally determined by Congress.⁴

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect And the most sincere Esteem, Yr. Excys most Obedt servt,

Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See Mathews to Washington, September 15, 1780

² A report on a new arrangement of the army had been submitted on September 19 and “agreed to” on the 21st, but because planned revisions in the artillery, cavalry, and engineer regiments had not yet been reported, Congress voted the following day to suspend the resolves and Secretary Thomson added the following note in the margin of the journals to explain his revised entry. “By a vote of the house on reading the journals next morning [*i.e.*, September 22] it was resolved that this be taken off [f] the journal until the Comee shall make a farther report.” The provisions adopted on September 21 were therefore subsequently incorporated into the journal entry of October 3 when additional committee recommendations were adopted that day, and both sets of resolutions were combined under the later date in the printed edition of the journals prepared by Gaillard Hunt. See *JCC*, 18:893–97; *PCC*, item 1, 29:35–38, 96–97; and Ezekiel Cornell to Nathanael Greene, September 19, 1780, note 1. For an analysis of the provisions of the arrangement of October 1780, which specified the organization of the Continental Army for 1781 and required the states to provide recruits for not less than one year if they were unable to meet their quotas with troops enlisted for the duration of the war, see Wright, *The Continental Army*, pp. 154–61.

³ For Washington’s October 4 reply, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:113–16.

⁴ For Mathews’ continued discussion of the new arrangement for the army, see Mathews to Washington, October 17, 1780.

James Madison to the Virginia Auditors

Gentlemen

Philadelphia Sepr. 25th. 1780

The inclosed is a state of my receipts and expences from the 20 of March to the 20 of Sepr. being two complete quarters.¹ I am sensible that the law directs that it should have been transmitted at the end of the first quarter, but my account of extra expences, being mixed with that of some Gentlemen of the family who were absent,² I could not then do it with the precision I wished, and as no particular inconveniency seemed to attend it I postponed the settlement till the end of the second quarter. As I find by a resolution past the last session of Assembly that they make a point of it I shall not fail in future to conform punctually to the law.³

You will observe from the account that there is a ballance in favor of the State of 9962 $\frac{1}{3}$. The contrary being the case with Mr. Jones when he left this place, I advanced him upwards of that sum which he is to replace from the Treasury. I mention this circumstance, that my being out of money may expedite a compliance with his draughts.⁴

I am Gentlemen with due respect Yr. obt & humble Servt.

James Madison Junr.

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:96.

¹ Madison's expense account is printed in *ibid.*, p. 97.

² Madison is undoubtedly referring to Cyrus Griffin, who left Congress on June 13 before Madison's first quarter ended, and other boarders with whom he shared incidental living expenses at the Philadelphia home of Mrs. Mary House at Fifth and Market streets. See Irving Brant, *James Madison*, 6 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941-61), 2:16-17.

³ This resolution has been printed in Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:42.

⁴ For this transaction between Madison and Joseph Jones, see Jones' October 9 letter to Madison, *ibid.*, pp. 119-21.

Thomas Bee to Isaac Smith

Sir,

Philadelphia 26 September 1780

Inclosed I return the Loan Office Certificates you sent me by last Post—also Bills for the Interest due on the four that are Intitled thereto, but the Loan Office in this City being intirely out of Cash, & Mr Smith the Treasurer¹ informs me, he does not know, when he will be able to pay the Interest on that, of the 21 April 1778 for 600 Dollars, I thought it best to return it with the others, and now send them by Post, supposing it to be a safe conveyance as you sent them that way, & have no doubt of their getting safe to hand, Mrs. Bee joins me in Compliments to Mrs. Smith & family, I am Sir, Your most hum Sert,

Tho. Bee

[P.S.] 2 Setts of 4 Bills each for 120 Dollrs. in 600 Livres Tournais—240 Dollrs.

RC (MHi: Smith-Carter Collection). Addressed: "Isaac Smith Esqr., Boston."

¹ That is, Thomas Smith, the Continental loan officer for Pennsylvania.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir,

Philadelphia Sept. 26th 1780

Admiral Rodneys Arrival at Sandy Hook with ten Sail of the line is Confirmed beyond a doubt, preparations are makeing at New York for a Considerable embarkation of Troops. Virginia is Supposed to be the object. General Washingtons Army is Again in motion, to Cross the North River, with a View perhaps to divert the Enemy from Sending Troops to the Southward. I wish I Could Congratulate you on the Arrival of the Second Division of the French fleet, so long expected, And whose Arrival has been so often reported. Congress have had no Official Account of that matter and am therefore afraid the reports are without foundation. Our Army is Still distressed for Want of Meat but their Wants will in a little time I hope be removed—Pensylvania have engaged to furnish immediately, one thousand Head of Cattle. Supplies are Comeing in from the Eastern States, And I hope Colo Blane will be able to procure 500 head in our State.

The following is an Extract of a Letter from General Gates to Congress dated Hillsborough Sept. 5th. 1780.¹ "Two of our prisoners who escaped from Charles Town the 27th ultimo in the morning say, that all the preceeding Day Signal Guns were fireing from Fort Moultrie for the Approach of an Emies Fleet, and that the 27h in the morning Alarm Guns were fired from Charles Town up the Country. I also have Intelligence over Land from Georgia, that in Consequence of Augusta being Attacked the Hessians in the Garrison at Savanah, were ordered to March night and Day to reinforce Augustine".

I have the honor to be with great Esteem, Your Excellency most hble Servt,

John Hanson²

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ For the complete text, see PCC, item 154, 2:242-43.

² This day Hanson wrote a nearly identical letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which is in the Carroll Papers, MdHi.

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir Phila Sepr. 26th. 1780. Tuesday half past 11 oClock

I thank you for your favor of the 22d¹ wch. was this moment handed to me by the Prest. of Congress and as the Post will leave this at 12 oClock I cannot give you that general information which I wish & you desire.

I fear Gates was premature, it was from his information that I gave you the intelligence respecting the Maryland Line. For two or three days repeated Accounts by private Intelligence has been reced of the Arrival of 19 Sail of the Count de Guechens Fleet at Rhode Island but as Congress has received no Official information I fear, its News fabricated by Speculators. I am under the greatest apprehension for the French at that place.

The Delegates from the Eastern States say that the meeting of the Congress or Convention is for the purpose of falling upon ways & means to provide for the Army. I suspect something more—a little time will discover their design. Some late Moves by Virg. seconded by New York—has alarmed some Members of the Eastern States—And I hope will produce good Effects as it will probably attach them more to the Maryland claim than formerly.² I am glad to hear the Mercht. at Baltimore take our Money at 40 for one as it will soon in consequence thereof pass here indeed it is at least 50 Per Ct. better than Continental. As my Collegues Seem well satisfied with remaining here and as I am convinced I can be of little Service I shall soon take my final leave of Congress & return to Maryland.³ Present me to Mrs. Lee & believe me truly, Your Excellencys affectt friend,
Daniel of St. Thos Jenifer

RC (PP: Hampton L. Carson Collection).

¹ For the September 22 letter from Lee and the Maryland Council concerning the lack of clothing for Maryland troops, see *Md. Archives*, 43:299-300. See also Maryland Delegates to Lee, this date.

² Jenifer may be referring to the Virginia proposal, which was debated on September 18, to secure reimbursement for maintaining civil government in the western territory, for which see James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, 1780.

³ Although Jenifer cast his last vote of this congressional term this day, he remained in Philadelphia until October 9 because of illness and apparently out of a determination to influence the drafting of new instructions for John Jay concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi River. See *JCC*, 18:867; Jenifer to Lee, October 2; James Madison's Notes on Marbois' "Observations," October 6-16?, note 2; and John Hanson to Lee, October 9, 1780, note 3.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 26th. 1780

Yesterday's post disappointed me of the expected pleasure of a line from you. I hope the next will not fail to make amends for it.

I have nothing to add to the inclosed paper except that Ternay is yet unreinforced, Graves at Sea no one knows where, or for what purpose, and Rodney with 10 Ships of the line still at the Hook, though according to some private accounts he also is gone to Sea. In this state of uncertainty conjectures & speculations abound as usual. I shall not trouble you with them, because, as far as they are founded in reason they will be much better formed by yourself. We hear nothing further of an intended visit from N.Y. to Virginia.¹ With sincere respect & regard,

I am Dr. sr. Yrs. &c.

J. Madison Junr.²

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:103.

¹ That is, of an assault on Virginia by a British expeditionary force from New York.

² This day Madison also wrote a brief letter to Thomas Jefferson expressing disappointment at his inability to procure a seventeenth-century map of Virginia that Jefferson apparently believed was owned by Dr. William Smith. See *ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

Maryland Delegates to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir,

Philadela. Sepr. 26th. 1780.

The interval between the coming in and going out of the post is so short, that we have it not in our power at this Time, to give you the information which you desire.¹ We can assure you that very inconsiderable quanties have been imported by the Commercial Committee; some Linens have from Time to Time arrived but the quality and quantity we shall endeavour to inform you of in a few Days, as we are at present unacquainted with the amount of the returns. It has always been the object of Congress and the Duty of the Cloathier General to distribute the Cloth that was provided with impartiality, if it has not been the case, we shall be able soon to give your Excellency information upon the subject. The present Cloathier General² is a native of Maryland a man of Honor and a good officer and we believe no partial distribution has been made since his appointment.

We shall endeavour by the first oppertunity to inform you of the Cloathing & Military Stores annually imported by the United States.³ The quantity will be so small that we believe it will give your Excellency very little pleasure; and if the ten thousand Suits which

ought to have come out in the Alliance and is now daily expected in the Ariel, does not arrive, and the State cannot furnish Cloathing for their own Troops, they must be in a most deplorable Situation through the whole of the approaching Season; for little or none can be expected from the Board of War; we shall however take every step in our power to secure for our own Troops their share of that little, small as it is.

The Cloathing which Majr. Giles drew at Camp for the New-raised Regt. is now here, and we shall detain the officer, which he employed in this Business for five or six days, in which Time the Secretary of the Board of War assures us they shall be finished; we do this the more readily as it corresponds with the Majors orders.

Your Excellencys Letter to the Board of War we shall seal and deliver;⁴ and if our Exertion can avail any thing, they shall be employed in behalf of our gallant tho unfortunate Countrymen.

Brigadier Smallwood has been appointed by the unanimous voice of thirteen States a Majr. General. This will give the State some pleasure tho' it is not all that she has a right to expect from Congress; the Troops of other States have received the Thanks of Congress for displaying less gallantry than has lately been exhibited by the Delaware & Maryland line.

We have no intelligence to communicate: Reports prevail that the French Fleet is arrived at Rhode Island, but it wants confirmation. Admiral Rhodney is still at the Hook, and Graves is out. By the last letters from Camp preparations were making for an embarkation. The Conjecture respecting their destination was communicated to you a few Days ago.⁵

We are Sir with the highest respect & Esteem your Excellys. obdt.
 Servts, Geo Plater John Hanson
 Daniel of St Thos Jenifer J. Henry Junr

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Henry and signed by Henry, Hanson, Jenifer and Plater.

¹ For the "information" sought, see Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Lee, this date, note 1.

² James Wilkinson.

³ See Maryland Delegates to Lee, October 3, 1780.

⁴ Lee's September 22 letter to the Board of War, which accompanied his letter to the delegates, is in *Md. Archives*, 43:300. For the board's reply this day explaining the limited supply of clothing in Continental hands and the failure of French shipments to arrive, see *ibid.*, 45:120-21.

⁵ This day the delegates also replied briefly to the Maryland council's letter of September 19. "In Consequence of your Letter of the we inclose you Resolves of Congress of June 1780, and purpose to lay your letter before Congress this morning. If anything is done in Consequence thereof, it shall be Communicated." Red Books, MdAA. The Council had received a September 5 letter from Horatio Gates stating that he had been authorized by Congress to draw directly on the state for the southern army and that he had already executed three bills. Upon receipt of two of these, the council wrote to the delegates pleading an empty treasury and

asking for confirmation of Gates' authority. The enclosed "Resolves" were undoubtedly those of June 14 and 17 empowering Gates to take such measures in defense of the southern states "as he shall think most proper" and appropriating monies raised in Maryland and the southern states for "the military chest and exigencies of the war in the southern department." See *JCC*, 17:510-11, 524; and *Md. Archives*, 43:296, 45:79. For the council's October 6 letter to Gates "declining the Payment" of the bills submitted, see *ibid.*, 43:314. In response to an October 18 motion by the Maryland delegates, Congress ordered one of the bills to be paid on Continental account. *JCC*, 18:947.

John Morin Scott to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia 26th Sept. [1780]

I sit down not to give You any agreeable Information, but merely to give You my Opinion concerning the Event of the Controversy about the Grants if we push it to a determination. It is in short this I believe we may carry it by the Majority of a single State. New Hampshire now represented by General Sullivan alone seems too favorable to the People of the Grants; and countenances an Idea too prevalent in Congress, that the dispute between New Hampshire and New York should be first settled by a Court of Commissioners constituted agreeably to the Articles of Confederation. The End in View is evident.¹ It is to create delay & thereby to discourage the Subjects of our State & strengthen the Vermonteers. We have however gone thro' the Evidence on our part, a portion of which from Mr McKesson came just at the nick of Time. In short I am at a Loss what is best to be done. If we push for a determination we may gain it by a bare Majority; but even this depends upon the Prospects we have of New Jersey. Mr. Duane is of Opinion that Maryland will be with us. I differ with him. In short it seems to be the System of the smaller States to compel the larger (the western Bounds of which are undefined) to large Cessions. This they expect to effect by embarrassing us with respect to the settled part of the Country. General Sullivan is sick which has suspended the Business for a few days;² & I have been so much indisposed myself by a small fever hanging over me that I have not attended Congress for three or four days past. I am of Opinion the sooner we press the Matter to its Crisis the better, For I fear the Interest agt. us is growing. Not that I imagine a Majority will expressly decide agt. Us, but that it may eventually be done by procrastination.

Every Account we receive from the Southward convinces Us that our Troops, notwithstanding their General defeat are [hurt]ing the Enemy in detail. As to News from the Eastward You are so much nearer the Source of Intelligence that You must be better informed than We are. Yesterday a Report came from Camp that the Second

division of the French fleet was arrived at Rhode Island, & that our Army was in Motion.

I am sorry to be obliged Sir to tell You that the Want of Money will soon Occasion the State of New-York to be unrepresented. Its delegates can bear their disgraceful Situation but a few days longer. To be absolutely without Money in a place so expensive as this is intollerable. Mr. Livingston has been obliged to borrow £2000 on his private Credit to discharge his Board & defray his Expences home; and would have set off this day, had I not desuaded him from it. I owe about £4,000 for Board & have not a farthing to pay it with. Mr Duane talks of returning home in a few days & so must I if we do not get immediate Relief; & to get away I must endeavor to procure a Loan on my private Credit. How mortifying this will be to Us & disgraceful to the State, as the Cause cannot be concealed, you, Sir, can easily judge.

I am, Sir with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's Most obedient Servt.
Jno. Morin Scott

P.S. Should it be asked as to the 30,000 dollars expended I can answer that of the whole [. . .] fell into my hands. Mr. Livingston had 12,000—at that Time I owed near 15,000 for Board which I paid, 900 for Major Hunt & sundry advances for General Schuyler on a Warrt. for 10,000 dollars of which I have not yet been able to get more than one half. From this my poverty may be judged of. To shew that a large nominal Sum is of little real Value here, our board is £4 hard per week and only Water to drink—Exchange 75 for one. Add to this Barber, washerwoman & a little necessary Liquor in a very sickly place and then judge of the Expencc. In short I am very sorry for my Reappointment; For I would not wish to incur the Suspicion of extravagance.

RC (N: Clinton Papers). Tr (Clinton, *Papers* [Hastings], 6:254–56). RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

¹ For John Sullivan's reflections on this "End," see Sullivan to Meshech Weare, September 16, 1780.

² Congress reopened debate on the New Hampshire Grants the following day, but soon after hearing testimony from Sullivan again postponed the proceedings. *JCC*, 18:867–68.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada. 27 September 1780
10 oClock in the Evening

I shall come too late to give your Excellency the first Information, for doubtless you will have heard, of the infernal and traiterous Plot just discovered.¹ The strong Fortress of West-point, with the

Garrison, was within a few Hours of being betrayed to the Enemy by that Miscreant Arnold, and, notwithstanding the Discovery, may still have fallen, but I hope not. The Villain is fled to the Enemy; and Major Andrè the British Adjutant General, is seized as a spy, I think at the Fort; the Letters are not circumstantial. The Apprehension of this Officer led to the Discovery of Arnold, but not being present at the Time, and the Affair of Andrè, making some Stir, he made his Escape before he could be laid Hold of.

This Man has been long wearying Congress about the Allowance of a voluminous Account of Expenditures in Canada and elsewhere, trumped up with a View of cheating the Publick out of a large Sum of Money, but by the Firmness and Attention of the Chamber of Accounts and the Treasury-board; and the resolute Opposition of a great Majority of the Members of Congress, he has been disappointed.² Probably he has found better Success in getting Money from the Enemy, his dissipated and expensive Course of Living in this City, for fifteen months past, has so involved and improverished him that money was probably become very necessary to him.

Some Time since he went to the Army, where the Commander in Chief, in forming the Line for the Campaign, assigned him the Command of a Division according to his Rank which is well forward in the List of Major-Generals. Being lame with the Wounds he received at Saratogha, and not so fit for Duty on Horseback, he made this a Plea, and requested the Command of West-point, as better suited to his Condition for Service. The General, in Consideration of his Services heretofore which indeed have not been few nor small, assented. Here, no Doubt, he expected to put his Treachery in Practice and the Time of the General's Absence at Hartford, to which Place he went to have an Interview with the Comander of the French Armament at Rhode-Island, was probably fixed upon as most proper and convenient. It was concerted with Clinton that an Attack should be made on the Fort, which Arnold, with the best Face he could put on the Matter, would have given up. Thus he would have been an ostensible Prisoner, received his Wages as a Traitor, and eventually disposed of himself as he pleased. On the night of the 25th inst the horrid Villainy was to have been put in Execution. Lt. Colonel Hamilton, one of the General's Aids, and principally employed in making the Discovery, has behaved with much Credit. He dates his Letter to General Greene from Verplank's Pointt whither he pursued Arnold, but a little too late, the 25th, and General Greene dates to Congress the 25th 11 o'Clock at night. What has taken Place since we know not. The Express rode all Night, and I should have wrote Your Excellency this Morning, but that strict secrecy was commanded till Measures were taken to seize his Papers, and his Accomplices, if any, in Town or near it. About 9 o'Clock in the Forenoon his House was taken Possession of by a strong Guard, and his Papers secured.

The Examination is not finished. If he has any Accomplices here they will be detected, unless they save themselves by Flight previous to Suspicion. He had many Tory-relations and Acquaintances in and about Town, the Consequence of his marrying into a Tory-Family,³ but it is not likely he has trusted any of them with the Secret. One Letter written to his wife after he went to the Army, tells her by all Means to sell off every Thing for hard Money, and come to him; there is nothing more direct that I know of as yet. His Wife went to him about the Time, but there are Circumstances which look as if she was not acquainted with his Intentions, if he had indeed formed any precise Scheme at that Time. This however is only my Conjecture. He has, in all Likelihood his most material Papers with him at the Army, where they will be thoroughly searched for. As to Persons concerned with him, it is a Doubt with me whether he trusted many. They say Thomas Smith,⁴ Brother of William, has gone off with him. Having the Chief Command of the Fort, it was not so necessary to form a Party. A little Time will give us the Particulars when they will be circumstantially made public.

People of this sort have their Connections and Lines of Communication through the Country; if any Persons in New-Jersey fall under Suspicion, I hope your Excellency will have them seized without Ceremony.

In what a Situation must General Washington be, contending with such an unprincipled Castoff as Clinton. The Meanest of the Sons of Men, who is above nothing however infamous, diabolical and unmilitary. An Adjutant General, taken as a Spy in an Enemy's Camp is really Food for Story, and must make a Figure there, especially if he is hung up for his Pains, the inevitable Consequence by the Rules of War.

I am, Your Excellency's obedt Servt.

Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ For the discovery of Benedict Arnold's "traiterous Plot" to surrender West Point to the British, see Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene, this date.

² For the settlement of Arnold's accounts, see Elbridge Gerry to Samuel Huntington, May 18, 1780.

³ Arnold was married to Margaret Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, Jr., of Philadelphia.

⁴ That is, Joshua Hett Smith (1748-1818), brother of New York loyalist leader William Smith. Joshua's house, which was located near West Point, was a focal point of Arnold's treasonous activities. See Richard J. Koke, *Accomplice in Treason. Joshua Hett Smith and the Arnold Conspiracy* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1973); and James T. Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy. Benedict Arnold and John André* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953), chaps. 24-26.

William Churchill Houston to Robert Morris

Dear Sir,

Philada. 27 September 1780.

I have not received, except from the Speaker, any Intelligence from Trenton since the Meeting of the Legislature. In this Time of general Difficulty and Exertion, I would wish to hear frequently and fully. Ever since I was in publick Business, which has been for the greater Part, not to say almost all, of my Time since the Commencement of the War, I have been able to banish all Attention to my own Affairs, and to feel no Kind of Uneasiness about them so as to disqualify me, in the smallest Degree, for my Duty to the State. My Feelings and reflections have at this Time, in Spite of me, risen up as an Exception to this general Rule of Conduct. I need explain myself no further than to refer you to my Letter to the Chairman of the Joint meeting.¹ Mr. Clarke is gone Home; his Health is indeed in a very ill State; I am happy he is got out of Town. Your humble Servant is not as usual. Fatigue of Attendance and Anxiety of Mind. If I could get a few Weeks to settle my little Family, and pay some Attention to their Comfort and Subsistence, I should then return, in my ordinary Temperament, to Business, against which I have no other Objection. As my Time of Appointment expires first December, I am willing to be diligent while I have an Opportunity, after this Avocation.

No news of Importance in Congress. Your obedt hble Servant,
Wm C Houston

P.S. Is it not your Opinion C.J. Brearly or one of the other Judges could be spared to come to Congress? Are we not scarce of men?

RC (NjR: Robert Morris Papers). Addressed: "Robert Morris, Esqr. Member of Assembly, Trenton."

¹ See Houston to John Stevens, September 21, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir,

Philada September 27. 1780

I have been honored with your Despatches of the 24 & 25 Instant which have been communicated to Congress.¹ The latter which contained very unexpected Information of the black & infamous Conduct of Arnold was kept a profound Secret until Measures were taken to secure such of his Papers as could be found which hath been done, but the Examination is not yet finished.²

If any material Discoveries should be made in this City respecting this horrid Affair, the whole shall be communicated to you without Delay.

And in the mean Time I wish to be informed of what particular Discoveries you may have made as particularly as may be.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Greene's letters to Huntington, which were received on September 26 and 27 respectively, see *JCC*, 18:867-68; and PCC, item 155, 1:435-42.

² With his letter of the 25th, Greene had enclosed one of the same date from Alexander Hamilton reporting "the blackest treason." "Arnold has fled to the Enemy," Hamilton explained. "Andre the British Adj. Genl. is in our possession as a spy. His capture unravelled the mystery—West Point was to have been the sacrifice." Since Greene was in command at Headquarters during Washington's temporary absence, he was advised to put the army under marching orders immediately in case yet unknown aspects of the plot were still in train. Hamilton's letter is in Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 2:440-41; and PCC, item 155, 1:443-44.

Samuel Huntington to George Clinton

Sir,

Philadelphia September 29, 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 28 Instant, by which I am ordered to transmit you the other Papers enclosed to which it refers.¹

The Originals were found among General Arnolds Papers in this City which have been lately seized.

I have the Honor to be, with Sentiments of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most humble servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (MH-H: Sparks Manuscripts). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The enclosed resolve simply explained that Benedict Arnold's recently seized papers in Philadelphia indicated that he had formerly had commercial connections with John R. Livingston, who as a precautionary measure was apparently to be watched in case Arnold's treasonous plot had unsuspected ramifications involving former associates. See *JCC*, 18:871.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia September 29. 7 oClock P.M. 1780

I am honored with your Excellency's Despatches of the 26 Instant, which will be laid before Congress in the Morning.¹ We had before received Intelligence from General Greene, that Genl Arnold was gone over to the Enemy. Immediately Orders were given to search & seize his Papers & Effects to be found here, which was speedily executed, but I am not yet advised of what particular Discoveries have been made.

With Congratulations on your Return to the Army, I have the Honor to be, your most obedient Servant,
Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.
¹ JCC, 18:876. Washington’s letter to Huntington concerning Benedict Arnold’s treason is in PCC, item 152, 9:199–202; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:91–93.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir Philada. 30 September 1780

A new apportionment of the Quotas of Men in the several States will take Place in a little Time. It has, in my Opinion, been too long delayed, as the Troops for the next Campaign ought to be in the Field by the 1st of January coming, to give proper Opportunity of Manœuvring and fitting them for active Field-service. I hope it is the settled sentiment of the State, and of their Representatives in Legislature, to make no more Enlistments for short Periods, but to take measures for raising a solid permanent Force to serve during the War. I am convinced, from the most satisfactory Examination, that the Disbursements we have this year made in New-Jersey for partial Recruits, would have nearly, if not quite, produced our Proportion of Enlistments for the war. Perhaps I might say they would have done a great Deal more. It gives me Pleasure to inform you that the Preference of recruiting for the War is become general, and, if diligently practised upon, will be of innumerable good Consequences to the Union in general, and to each separate State in particular; more especially those which are the Seat of the War, or in the Vicinity of it.

The Legislature will be glad to begin their Preparations early. This Circumstance is essential to their Success and Effect. I have therefore used all possible Attention to get them the necessary Information. Our Quota will be about 1200 Men; I say this, not with perfect Certainty, because the Resolutions are not yet passed but with a Probability which may be pretty securely relied on; and if it should be a few over or under, it is better to risque that than to suffer the least Delay. The return of our Brigade the 1st current is as follows.....

1 Regiment	247 Rank and File
2 Do.....	320
3 Do.....	263
on Spencer’s of the addi[tional]	59
	889

There are a few more in some other Corps, I cannot ascertain what is the Amount. Nor do I know what Number of these are upon limited

Enlistments, but believe not many. However your Excellency by writing to the Commander in Chief, will obtain full Satisfaction upon every Particular; and he will give it with the highest Pleasure on hearing the State are adopting means to render their Quota of Force [ope]rable; as it has been the Source of inexpressible wretchedness and Suffering to him, when his Army has, from Time to Time, mouldered away under his Eyes, upon short Engagements. We may set down our present Deficiency from 250 to 300 Rank and File; perhaps the Medium between these Extremes will be tolerably exact. This is upon the Quota expected to be established, which will, we hope, be more nearly conformed to our Ability and just Proportion than some of the former have been.¹

I will not venture to say that this, that or the other mode of raising these men will be the *best*. The wisdom of the Legislature, comprehending fully the Ideas and Circumstances of the People in every Part of the State, will decide judiciously on this Object. I will only say that a few hard Dollars on the Drum-head, are a mighty Engine in recruiting; not indeed decisive with all, but with most who take up the Profession of Soldiership. A Specie-tax to the Amount, can, I should think, be collected without Difficulty; for if we compute every recruit to cost from 50 to 55 Dollars, which is not the lowest Bounty, the Duplicates would not average perhaps more than 6/3: and would it not be better for a man of any Substance or Business to pay ten Times that Sum, than submit to the Inconveniences we have suffered for several years past. The State of Maryland have lately raised about 500 Men to serve during the war, by assessing the proportionate number on each District throughout the State, the Districts to produce the Men as they could get them; the Bounty to be raised by Assessment of the taxable Estates of the District. If I am not mistaken, the Mode is similar to that we have more than once taken to raise Men for a few Months. Will endeavour to procure and forward a Copy of the Law, as it may possibly be preferred to try different Methods, if they can be prevented from interfering in their Operation.

I have been informed that some of the States who have Militia with the Army for the present Campaign, have recruited many of them for the War by putting some *hard* Money into the Hands of their Officers at Camp; and that some have been enlisted for that Period on the Notes of the Officers, engaging to pay the Bounty in hard Money at a stipulated Time. Perhaps some of the Men we have there might be obtained in this Way; and as it would not take long to raise so small a Tax as is before mentioned, it may be worth considering whether we had not better set about it immediately. It is to be hoped that the Clothing for the Army will arrive from abroad in some short Time, and a Suit to each Man enlisting, which the

Comander in Chief is empowered to order, would be no inconsiderable Temptation.

On the Circumstance of the Bounty, mentioned above, I observe, that it seems to be the Sum generally thought of. In hard Dollars it would make a powerful Show, especially as such have, for Some Time past, been very little in Sight. Gentlemen from the different Counties will be able to determine whether any Thing less would be sucessful, or whether more will be necessary. It is pretty certain Congress will fix upon that, or Something near it.

The Adopting and Executing of decisive Measures to fix a respectable Army in the Field for the Continuance of the war, will have a great Effect in securing an early Peace. The Nation we contend with, being old and settled in its Forms of Government and War, are more alarmed at seeing fixed Institutions and established Resources, though they should not be the most perfect and productive, than they are with the most formidable temporary Expedients. It would therefore be a desirable Thing to have a constant, standing mode of keeping our Quota of Troops full from Campaign to Campaign, and Time to Time, without being under the Necessity to pass a Law for that Purpose every Year, and perhaps oftener; and this, even if we were in Expectation of a Peace within a few months, because that is a matter of Uncertainty, and this would be a Means of procuring it.

One of the Recommendations of Congress will be as has been the Case heretofore, to keep a proper Officer or Officers constantly employed in the State for enlisting Recruits, and to direct the Officers at the Army to pay constant attention to the same Thing when Militia or temporary aides are detached to serve with them on Special Occasions. For this Purpose Money ought to be lodged in the Hands of the Executive, and of the Commanding Officer of the Troops of the State.

I have written your Excellency thus particularly, because I have this Subject greatly at Heart, and am convinced that the Interest of the State is much concerned in it. I hope in a little Time to be able to forward you the Proceedings of Congress respecting it, but as these may be delayed longer than is expected "I could wish the Occasion not to be lost, as every Day is precious. I am afraid the Army will crumble down again this Fall by the Expiration of Enlistments, and the State will again find it self in the perilous Situation it has seen more than once. It is true it wd be little available if only *we* perform the Duty we owe ourselves and to our Country, and the other States are delinquent. This however would not hold as an Excuse and the less so as we are most immediately interested. But I have better Hopes of all the States, some of whom are already at Work.

I have to beg Your Excellency will communicate this Letter with the Assistance which your Advice and better Reasoning is able to

give it. I make not the least Doubt it coincides with your Sentiments.

I have the Honour to be, with great Respect, your Excellency's
obedt. hble Servant.

Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ For the state quotas to be determined under the new arrangement of the Continental Army adopted on October 3, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 4, and to the States, October 6, 1780.

Willie Jones to Abner Nash

D'r Sir,

Philadelphia Octr. 1, 1780.

. . . . Mr. Hill and myself flattered ourselves that we should have received, ere this, an account of the proceedings of our late Assembly, and their Sentiments, as well as your private Opinion, respecting the Conduct of Genl. Gates. From the Circumstances of his Conduct, particularly his rapid Retreat, and the Length of it, and some Hints in one of his Letters, and Strictures in others, it appears to us that Genl. Gates can no longer continue in that Command with Satisfaction to himself, or with a prospect of rendering essential Service to the United States. We hope your next favour will throw some Light on this Subject¹

Congress has recommended to the several States to make provision for the support of their Delegates, so that they may not draw out of the Continental Treasury.² The Reasons are the exhausted state of the Treasury, and the obvious Impropriety of allowing Delegates to draw at Will. You will be pleased to mention this Circumstance to our Assembly, at their next meeting,³ that some provision may be made; otherwise their Delegation may possibly be defeated[?], or at least involved in distressing and shameful Circumstances.

By a Resolution of Congress it is recommended to the several States to surrender a part of Western Territory, to induce Maryland to confederate.⁴ Maryland surely has great Merit in the present Contest; yet I think it will be time enough for No. Carolina to deliberate on the surrender of Western Territory, when the States have vigorously supported and finally secured her in her Eastern Territory, and when they have moreover shewn a proper Liberality in the settlement of her accounts⁴

Reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 5:394, "from the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York."

¹ For the court of inquiry ordered by Congress on October 5, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 6, 1780.

² See Samuel Huntington to the States, October 3, 1780.

³ In February 1781 the North Carolina delegates themselves explained "this Circumstance" to the assembly in the following undated letter, written by Jones

and signed by Jones for himself and Whitmell Hill. The document, which is damaged, was undoubtedly written after the delegates had returned to the state.

"We beg Leave to remind your honorable Body of the Resolution of Congress recommending to the [States to Supply money for?] the Support [of their Delegates, . . .] Resolution [. . .] Reasons—the Insufficiency of the Continental Treasury to comply with the various and pressing demands on it, and the Impropriety of allowing any person whatever [to draw] at Discretion. It is now expected [. . .] that the Delegates of no State except Georgia, and So. Carolina, shall draw from the Continental Treasury, for the Expences of their Attendance. In this State of Affairs it is a absolutely necessary that some adequate provision be made for your Delegation: but as it is possible that Disappointments may happen, in this Respect, altho' the Fund established [by the State may] be apparently [sufficient, we respectfully sugges]t the propriety of authorising [the Delegates] of the State to draw on the Continental Treasury for their reasonable Expences in Cases of Necessity. Many of the States require two, or more, of their Delegates to attend in Congress, yet at [the same time] authorise any one of them, in the absence of the other, or others, to vote and represent the State. Perhaps it might be expedient, in the present moment, for this State to adopt the same Rule; and the rather, as it frequently happens that only two Delegates are attending at Philadelphia, and one or [the other may be absent through illness?] or attendance [to some other duty which?], of Necessity, [leaves the State unrepresented?].

"During our attendance in Congress last Summer we expended large Sums of Money, the greatest part of which we borrowed on our own Credit, as there was very little to be obtained from Congress, and our private funds proved insufficient, and are bound to make good the Depreciation. We found it impracticable to take Receipts for our Disbursements, it would have been an endless Work; therefore we only noticed the gross sum we expended. We request [that your] honorable Body [authorise a Board or?] a Committee [to provide for our support?] in such Manner as to you [may seem] just, which we are confident will be perfectly satisfactory." General Assembly Records, Nc-Ar.

The assembly responded by empowering the Commissioners of Trade to provide the delegates with funds for "reasonable Expenditures," but also permitting them to draw on the Continental treasury if necessary. They were also to be reimbursed money borrowed for support on their own credit with allowances for depreciation. The assembly further declared that two delegates were sufficient to represent the state and that the vote of either was binding in the absence of the other. See the *N.C. State Records*, 17:674, 708-9, 755, 791.

⁴ In a section of the letter omitted in this extract, Jones apparently also reported that the Board of War had procured 800 tents for the southern army. This point is also noted in Jones' October 10 letter to Nash where he stated that he had since learned that only 500 were obtained, "and I fear it will be a considerable time before they can be forwarded."

John Hanson to Philip Thomas

Dear Doctr.

Philadelphia Octo. 2d 1780

I am favoured with yours of the 27th ult. Which gave me more real Satisfaction than I can Well express. I almost dreaded to hear from you lest the account of Janey's health Should be unfavourable. I thank God She is in a fair way of recovery And hope She will Continue to make use of the means Which have been so beneficial to her. I most Ardently Wish to be at home but Cant leave Congress

for a few weeks yet. The following is an extract of Gen. Gates Letter to Gen. Washington dated the 3d ult.¹ "I had the day before yesterday the honor to receive your Excellencys letter of dated the 8th Augt from Orange Town. It gave me infinite Satisfaction to find you had baffled Sir Henry Clintons designs and was to all appearance in so prosperous a Situation, Heaven grant you the greatest Honor And Sucess". "If I can yet render good Service to the united States it will be necessary it should be seen, that I have the support of Congress And your Excellency; otherwise some men may think they please my Superiors by blaming me, and thus recommend themselves to favour. But you Sir will be too generous to lend your Ear to such men, if such there be, and Will Shew your greatness of Soul rather by protecting than Slighting the unfortunate. If on the Contrary I am not Supported, and Countenance is given to every one who will Speake disrespectfully of me, it will be better for Congress to remove me at once from a Command, where I Shall be unable to render them any good Service—this Sir I Submit to your Candor and Honor, and shall Chearfully await the decision of my Superiors. With the warmest wishes for your prosperity and the Sincerest Sentiments of esteem and regard. I am &c". How is the mighty fallen and the proud humbled. Who Could have expected Such humiliating language from the man who asspired to be placed at the Head of our Army, and to the man too Who he endeavoured to Supplant?

The inclosed letters² will inform you of the most horrid plot that ever was Conceived by the heart of man and had it Succeeded would have been a most fatal Stroke to the liberties of America. The fort at West point was not only to have been delivered up to the Enemy, but our worthy General was also to have been put into their hands. The General that day Came to Arnolds Quarters which was at Robinsons House on the opposite Side of the river from the Fort, Where he intended to have Stayed that night. A number of men who were prepared for the purpose Was to have Surrounded the House in the night, And Carried him off—but thank God all has been prevented by Apprehending the Villain Andre Who I hope Will Shortly be exalted.

Tho' we were led to believe that the great preparation for a large embarkation of Troops at New York, was intended to operate against Rhode Island or to the Southward, it now Appears their object Was West point. The french fleet is not Arrived And as the Season is so far Advanced, it is not probable I think they Will Come at all. Indeed I dont See Any great good Could be expected from them unless they were to go to the Southward. I never was very Sanguine in my expectations Against New York And it is now too late to attempt the taking that Place. It is now 10 oClock at night. I am tired of Writing And I am persuaded you Will be tired of reading

this long Epistle. Shall therefore Conclude With my best Wishes to both familys.

Dr Doct. Yours affectionately, John Hanson

[P.S.] Have you got George or have you disposed of him.

RC (MdHi: Hanson Letters).

¹ Gates' September 3 letter is in the Washington Papers, DLC. A copy is in PCC, item 154, 2:244-46.

² Not found.

Whitmell Hill to Thomas Burke

Dr. Mr. Burke, Sir, Philadelphia 2d Octr. 1780

Many Opportunities from your place have offered since I had the pleasure of receiving yr. last, and as you have not noticed them by a Line to me, must suppose, that you waited the Rise of the Assembly, when you would have it in your power to afford me some satisfaction in consequence of the measures adopted by them for the Defence of the Country, and for supplying the Army with necessaries immediately &c. I hope our State with the assistance it may receive from Virga. will be able to repel the Invasion from our own State, except a considerable Reinforcement should be sent Cornwallis this Winter which event we ought to be prepared for, as I know of no Obstacle to prevent it. The Campaign, in this quarter, has been altogether inactive, as yet; our Hopes and our Fears have been alternately wrought on; one day encouraged with the Intelligence of the arrival of the French Fleet, and the next depressed by receiving certain Accts. of a superior British Fleet being arrived at N. York. A very considerable Embarkation has taken place at N.Y. very lately, which it is one day said to be destined to attack the French Army and Fleet at Rhode Island, the next, that Virga. is their Object; however, the late discovery of yr. Friend Arnolds Treason, fully convinces me, that their great preparation was for the Reduction of Wt. Point, which it seems would have been an easy conquest, Arnold having previously sold that important Post; the particulars of this Villany has not reached us, but from what we can collect it is some Thing like the following. Mr. Andree, the Adjutant Genl. of the British Army came incog. to Arnolds head Quarters, and stipulated with him the essentials for his surrendering the Post, in consequence of which Arnold gave him in Writing the strength of the Garrison, the mode of attack to be made by the Enemy and the manner he should conduct the Defence, so as to render the Reduction certain and easy; having adjusted matters, Arnold gave Andree a Pass directing a free passage thro the several Guards; in this he

succeeded, and was twenty miles in his Return, when he was stopped by 4 Militia Men, without an officer, who being directed by Inspiration, would not suffer him to pass without a Search, in which the above papers were discovered, and they conducted him to the nearest Continental officer, as a Spye who immediately dispatched an Express to inform Arnold that there had been a Spye in his Camp, and that he was apprehended, at the same time described him so as to satisfy Arnold that it was Andree, on which, he immediately pushed down the River to a British Frigate, then lying about 15 Miles below; had this event took place it must have affected us more than any stroke we have recd since the War; as our Army would have been immediately cut off from the total supply of Meat, and had the British pushed their Arms into the Eastern States, there would have been no Regular Army to oppose them, and no Bread to have supported the Militia had they collected, in fact, I look on such an escape as equal to a small Victory. On Arnolds running to the Enemy, his papers at this place were siezed, and several of our speculating Gentry are discovered as being connected with him in Scenes of villainous Traffic with the Enemy &c. Yr. Friend Jas. Maise's Reputation suffers no small stain in consequence of these discoveries, among others; none of them have been apprehended yet, but suppose necessary steps will be fallen upon to punish such Treason.¹

RC (Nc-Ar: Burke Papers).

¹ For the continuation of this letter, see Hill to Burke, October 9, 1780.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada. 2 October 1780

Your Excellency has doubtless received, officially from the President, the Resolutions of Congress of 26 August last;¹ the Journals of that month for the Use of the legislature have also been forwarded.

The Recommendation for drawing in the old Bills of Credit, by Tax or Excha[nge] is exactly conformable to the Provisions made by the Act of Assembly of 9 June last. Our State was almost the only one who took the Precaution of [setting] an Exchange; all now see the Propriety of it. Without Doubt that [. . .] is an *apparent* Loss to the Community, if the Bills can be made to circul[ate at,] or nearly at, their value; but it does not appear to me a real [. . .] Detriment of having the old Bills in Circulation along with the new [. . .] length of Time, would be much greater. It is certainly the univer[sal] interest to have the old Bills destroyed as soon as possible, and I add [. . .] also; after these are sunk as the law prescribes, it will be the Wisdom [. . .] Country to have no more Paper-credit. When Trade is free we may [have] Specie enough; nothing ever made Paper Necessary

to us but the Dependence of America on Great Britain. It is only a Sign of the Sign of Wealth delusive and ensnaring by making People think they are richer than they are while it is but a mortgage on their future Industry, for which they will ever pay more than it is worth. Necessity only could justify the Use of it in the present Instance.

Two Things I will mention tending greatly to help the new Bills Credit when issued. Taxes as high as the People can conveniently pay, as near as possible to the publick Expenditures; and the Payment of these Taxes in the new Bills or Specie. If Taxes could keep Pace with th[e] Expenditures the Bills would be in full Credit at all Times to the End of their Term; therefore Taxes payable in them must be a good Mean[s.] With this View the three-Millions-Tax is recommended to be raised with[in] the present year, payable in these Bills or Specie. In our State, however and some others, it will not have the fullest Opportunity, as Certificates for Debts, due from the Community to Individuals, are intended to be received and must be made so from Necessity. Our Quota of this Tax is a fif[th] Part of the monthly Assessment of the State, as settled 7 October 1779, name[ly] 180,000 Dollars, or sixty-seven thousand five Hundred Pounds. If the Certificates in the States were proportionably distributed in the several Counties this Tax would be very easily paid, especially if proper Barriers were erected against Fraud, and they were allowed to be transferable. There are more than Certificates enough to pay it. It would be politick also, as we thereby discharge so much of our national Debt in an easy Way, while other States pay Money. The Transference of Certificates I have ever been opposed [to] as it has a direct Tendency to depreciate circulating Money by increasing it's Quantity without Limitation, and could only be advis[able] on the prospect of getting in the Certificates at once. We cann[ot] replay them in Money consistently with other Calls, and their Source of [disco]ntent to the People is very great. But if the Certificates are not [jus]tly distributed, or cannot become so by Transfer, there may be a Diffi[culty] in collecting this Tax which ought to be considered, provided the Taxes [. . .] by the Act of 9 June last are as much as can possibly be paid in Money [. . .] or none of the old Bills come in by Exchange, they must come in by Tax; if they do come [in] by Exchange, the Taxes laid by the Act just mentioned May be paid at a fortieth Part in Specie or the new Bills. However, as those Parts of the State which have no Certificates, or but few, have probably sold their Produce for Money, which is therefore more plentiful in those Parts; and as most People I find, consider the Taxes in themselves very easy and light, I would willingly hope that the Legislature will put this recommendation in Practice without Loss of Time. It will be of great Advantage to the Publick by paying Debts, and, it would seem, of no less to the State when duly attended to.

I find it is the Opinion of many that the United States could tax up to the Expenditures of the War, if Economy were properly established in the publick Departments. This with me, is a doubtful Position. Certain it is we could come much nearer it than we have hitherto. It has been the principal Business of Congress for some Time past, to retrench Expenses; and in this View the Scarcity of Money has been of real Use. One third is paired off already, and much may and will yet be done. I am, with great Respect, your Excellency's obedient humble Servt,

Wm Churchill Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers). RC torn.

¹ See Samuel Huntington to the States, September 2, 1780.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada. 2 October 1780.

Enclosed your Excellency will please to receive my humble Respects of 30th ult and of this Day. No. 1, Letter from General Greene, commanding the Army in the Absence of the Comander in Chief, to the President of Congress, of Date 25 Sepr. ult. 11 o'Clock at Night; enclosing No 2, of that Day's Date, from Lt Col. Hamilton, one of General Washington's Aids. No 3, Letter from General Washington to the President of Congress, dated 26 Sepr. ult, enclosing No 4 from B. Arnold to General Washington, dated 25th. No 5 Summary of late Intelligence from New-York.¹

Being scarce of Time, am to beg your Excellency will Communicate the Intelligence contained in these Papers to the Legislature. Instead of abstracting the News respecting Arnold's Treason and Flight, I have sent the Letters which contain all the authentick Particulars we have received.

The Materials are before a Committee and a proper State of Facts will be published by Order of Congress.

On Saturday Night last Arnold was carried in Effigy through the Streets of this City, and burnt at the Coffee-House, with his Friend the Devil, in the Presence of thousands of Spectatours.

I am, with great Regard, your Excellency's humble Servt.

WC Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ The numbered enclosures concerning the discovery of Arnold's treason, which are in Houston's hand, are in the Livingston Papers, NN. For the reception of these letters in Congress, see Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene, September 27 and to Washington, September 29, 1780.

Benjamin Huntington to Oliver Ellsworth

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia Octor.[2?] 1780¹

You will before this arrives have some Account of the Infernal Treason of Genl. Arnold who has in Fact been a Scourge to America Since the beginning of the Present War. The Inclosed² Contains what has been already Published Concerning him and his Associates in this Part of the Country. His Effigies with that of his Master were Carried through the Streets of this City in the Evening of the thirtieth of Sept^r and Burnt at Market Street Wharf amidst the Shouts of the Greatest Concourse of People I ever Saw. His Plot was at once to Betray the Commander in Chief with the Marquis De la Fyatt and Deliver up West Point into the Hand of the Enemy, but it was happily Discovered by Means of the British Adjutant General taken as a Spy. I shall Transmit you the Next Publications which will Doubtless give a full Account of the Affair as Represented to Congress. Mr Sherman will Give you an Account of the Late Doings of Congress to Whom I Refer you. I must beg Your Care to Inform the Gentlemen who Come next to Congress that they Must bring Money from home for their Expences as Congress have Resolved that the Delegates Draw no more from the Continental Treasury unless under Absolute Necessity meaning the Necessity of Such Delegates as Represent States in the Hand or Power of the Enemy. I wish to be Relieved before my Term Expires but shall be at Liberty the first of Novr. at all Events,³ the Gentlemen will not Neglect to be here by that Time. I hope you will find it in your Way or heart (I Care not which) to Come yourself.

I have Wrote the Inclosed Application to the Pay Table for a Draught of 160 Dollars of the New Emission for the Purpose of my Expences and to Clear my Debts before I Can Come home. I will Esteem it a Great Kindness if you will Present them the Enclosed Draught & Git the Money and Transmit by the Gentlemen who are Coming, it must be Exchanged for Old Continental as the New will not Pass here and I am afraid it will not for some Time as it has not yet appeared in this City and has some Powerful Enemies who will Do all they Can to Prevent its Passing at all. Any Trouble you Shall be at on my Account will be Retaliated with Pleasure & Gratitude when in my Power.

I am with Esteem & Respect, Sir your Most Obedt. Huml Servt,
Benj Huntington

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1649.5). Addressed: "To Hone. Oliver Ellsworth Esqr., Hartford, Connecticut. Per Hone Mr. Sherman."

¹ Although Huntington omitted the day from the dateline of this letter, he probably wrote it on October 2. Roger Sherman, who carried this letter to Connecticut,

obtained a leave of absence from Congress on October 2 and apparently last attended Congress on October 3. *JCC*, 18:891, 893.

² Probably the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 30.

³ Actually Huntington's credentials stated that he had been appointed to represent Connecticut "until the first Monday of November next," or November 6, 1780. *JCC*, 16:219. Since he was subsequently entrusted with the delivery of a November 9 letter to Connecticut, it is clear that he remained in Philadelphia to the end of his term. See Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, November 9, 1780.

Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir,

Phila. Octr. 2d. 1780

I have been confined to my room almost a week and a great part of the time to my bed. As soon as I can travel with safety I shall set out for Maryland.¹

Congress have it not in their power to do much service at present having neither Credit or Money, in such a distressed situation, who could wish to be of that body?

I do not know what is to be done with Gates. Our Brave Officers & Troops are prevented from receiving that Tribute which is justly due to their Merit, because it can not be done through him, and to do it through another channel would be condemning Gates it is said unheard. As General Smallwood is a Majr General I think the Command ought to be given to him. The Commander in chief probably has, or soon will appoint a Successor, for I take it for Granted that Gates will undergo a Court of enquiry as to his precipitate flight.

We have not heard from Genl Washington for several days. What has been done with Andre is not known; whether he is to be executed as a Spy, or pardoned on discovery of accomplices, is yet uncertain. We have reason to believe that the Spaniards have Sailed from the Havannah with upwards of 20 Sail of the Line & 20 thousand Troops for Pennsacola & Augustine. But not a word from the French Fleet I am apprehensive they have quitted these Seas. With my respectful [. . .], I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate friend,

Daniel of St Thos. Jenifer

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

¹ Jenifer's illness prevented him from leaving Philadelphia for another week, for which see John Hanson to Lee, October 9, 1780, note 3. For Jenifer's involvement in an effort to alter John Jay's instructions regarding the free navigation of the Mississippi River a few days later, see James Madison's Notes on Marbois' "Observations," October 6-16? 1780, note 2.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Philadelphia October 2d 1780

Since my Last by General Foulson¹ the affair of Vermont has been frequently on the Tapis but Congress have not as yet come to any Determination not Even to appoint Commissioners, but I believe a few days more will produce Something. Vermont has put in two pleas to the Jurisdictions, & Even threatens to form an Alliance with Great Britain in Case Congress Shall Declare them Dependant on any State. I Shall from time to time Acquaint you with the proceedings of Congress in this affair.

I need not Trouble you with a particular Relation of Arnolds villany as you will See all the Circumstances which have yet Transpired in the Inclosed Gazette: our Political affairs are So Deranged as to prevent my giving you any Tolerable Account respecting them, & was I to attempt it The Task would be Desagreable to me & painful to you. The Members of Congress are mostly new & I believe in General Honest; most of those who were governed by Party Spirit are Recalled but I am Sorry to Say that in my opinion Greater wisdom than the present members possess would be requisite to Conduct or rather to Restore our publick affairs from that Situation into which Ignorance Treachery or Inattention have thrown them. Our Confederation is not in force & Even if Acceeded to would be found weak & perhaps far from answering the Designs, our Treasury is Empty, our Credit Low, our Finances Deranged & the People at Large Suspicious of Every Species of our paper Emissions; particular States & Even among those who have Acceeded to the Confederation will comply with or Reject the requisitions of Congress as their own opinion or Interests Seems to Direct; Congress of Course becomes a Body without power & the States the Several Componant parts of a Monster with Thirteen heads. How we are to obtain Relief is the Important Inquiry. This can be Done only in one way that I can possibly Conceive which is to Call a Convention of the Several States to Declare what power Congress is to possess & to vest them with Authority to use Coercive measures with those States which refuse to Comply with reasonable requisitions. Measures Should be Instantly fallen upon to put an End to the Present war; for which purpose Aids both of Men & money together with a Strong Naval force Should be Demanded from France & Spain & we Should Tell them fully our Situation & The Distresses brought upon us by Supporting a war of Six years without Aid from Foreign Force or Foreign Loans & that we must at Last Sink under the weight unless powerfully Supported by our Allies. This will bring matters to a point, & I Doubt not answer the purpose of putting a Speedy & happy Conclusion to the present American War.

This matter will be Debated tomorrow & I hope the Most Decisive Measures will be pursued. Spain has requested to know if we will build Frigates for her, this will be Determined tomorrow & I hope in the affirmative as it will be a means of Introducing Large Quantities of Specie among us—which must Eventually become our Circulating medium as paper cannot much Longer answer the purpose—it is Easy to keep up the Credit of paper by Seasonable Taxes; but to restore it to Credit after it has been Imprudently Suffered to Depreciate requires more than Humane wisdom.

I have the honor to be with the highest Sentiments of Esteem & Respect Dear Sir yr most obedient & very Humble Servant,
Jno Sullivan

RC (MHi: Weare Papers).

¹ Probably Sullivan's letter to Weare of September 16. Nathaniel Folsom had obtained leave from Congress on September 15. JCC, 18:831.

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philade Octobe 3d 1780¹

I had the Pleasure last Week of receiving your very affectionate Letter of the 14th of Septr by the Post. You did not tell me expressly that you was well; a material Circumstance which you must never omit to mention. It is a great Satisfaction to me to be informd that Mr Arthur Lee was respectfully treated by my Friends. My Friends are his, and I beleive on the same Principle. But Mr ——² has not seen him. Is not Mr —— my Friend? He professes to be such, and I verily beleive he is as much so as he can be. If I could always adjust my Ideas of Politicks to his Views, I might perhaps ensure the most flattering Expressions of his Friendship.

I expect soon to see it announced in the Papers that Mr Hancock is elected Governor of the Common Wealth of Massachusetts.³ I confess I did not foresee that Boston would have been so united as I find they were, when two such Candidates as he and Mr. Bowdoin were set up. Their respective Characters, Abilities and Merit were well-known to the Electors, who therefore acted with their Eyes open. It is to be presumd they have been influencd to this Choice by the pure Motives of publick Affection. A due Attention to the Administration of Government I fancy, will soon determine whether they have acted with Wisdom or not.

By the inclosed Papers you will observe that the late General Arnold, after having committed the blackest Treason against his Country, has thrown himself into the Arms of its Enemies. The Particulars youl see in the Paper. You know that I have had my Suspensions of this Traitor, and therefore it is not wonderful that I

am not so astonished, as if some other officer had been detected of the Treason. He has been gibbeted in the Streets by the Populace, anathematized by some of the Clergy in the Pulpits, and his Name has with Indignation been struck out of the List of Officers by Order of Congress.

This City has for some time past been a complete Hospital, and many are still sick. I thank God, I am in good Health. Remember me to my Family & Friends. Adieu my dear—your affectionate,
S A

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ This letter is dated October 10, 1780, in Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 4:209–10. Cushing apparently printed it from a duplicate copy, which is also in the Adams Papers, NN, that Adams himself made at a later time and misdated “Oct 10 1780.”

² Not identified.

³ After receiving 90 percent of the votes cast in a contest against James Bowdoin, John Hancock was sworn in as governor of Massachusetts on October 25, 1780. William B. Fowler, *The Baron of Beacon Hill. A Biography of John Hancock* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1980), pp. 244–45.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philade Octob 3 1780.

I have not yet acknowledged your Favor of the of Sept. It is no Novelty to me to hear you expressing your laudable Zeal for the Safety and Welfare of our Country. I think your Apprehensions of Injury accruing to the Publick from a Misapplication of the Resolutions of Congress respecting British Effects, are well founded. A new Resolution is now on the Table to guard against such Injuries.¹

I have before me your Letter of the 17th of Sept, and am obligd to you for the favorable Allowance you make for my not having written to you lately. Without Affectation or Partiality I may say, you have done me but Justice. And yet I would have written by the last Post, if I could have given you any tollerable Assurance respecting a Matter of a private Nature which you formerly mentiond to me.² I will continue to press the Matter till it is finishd.

Why will you upbraid me, my Friend, with the Votes of “my beloved Town,” in Favor of a Man,³ whom neither you nor I would set up for the Governor of the Common Wealth? It is true, I love the People of Boston. I have spent much of my Time in their Service, and have labord to promote their Reputation and true Interest. I confess, I feel chagrind and disappointed at the Preference they have given. But is an honest & virtuous People incapable of Error? They acted, you will say, with their Eyes open. They knew the different Characters, Abilities and Merit of the Candidates. But may they not have been deciev'd with false Appearances for the Moment? A due Attention to the Administration of Government, will enable them

to measure the Capacity of him whom they have made the Object of Their present Choice. That Watchfulness and Jealousy which I still hold to be the best Securities of the publick Liberty will guard them against future Mistakes.

I have not Time at present to say to you so much as I intended. As I am determind that our Correspondence shall not be broken on my part, I will write to you by the next and every Opportunity. Before I conclude I must inform you that it is hinted to us in a Letter from a Boston Friend,⁴ that Colo Sears who has lately been at Camp has reported that Mr M——ws⁵ declared there repeatedly and without Hesitation that Congress consisted of a Set of Rogues or Rascals. I wish, if Mr Sears heard that Declaration, he would certify it, in order that proper Notice may be taken of it. No Member of any Body of Men would undertake to answer for the Character or Conduct of every Individual. As far as I am able to judge the Declaration is illiberal, indecent and unjust, and probably might be made in an unguarded Hour. I have heard of such Language before, coming from Persons of low & contemptible Characters, influenced by others who, to wound our Cause in the tenderest Part, would destroy the Confidence of the People in Congress. It is the Language of Tories, and in Times passd it would not be sufferd to be used among Citizens unpunishd. Adieu, Your faithful Friend, S A

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers). FC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Adams is referring to the recommendations of a September 29 committee report on the petition of Cumberland Dugan, a former resident of England living in Boston. Dugan had petitioned Congress for permission to travel to Britain and return with the proceeds of property he owned in Bristol and "the North of Ireland," but Congress was still smarting from its encounter with New England authorities over George Howell's similar request to bring goods into Rhode Island, and reacted cautiously to Dugan's plea. The committee recommended that such passports be issued only after permission had been granted by the state into which property was to be imported, but Congress refused to act upon Dugan's request even under this proposed restriction, and the following March resolved to end the practice of issuing such passports under any condition, "In order to remove every colorable pretence" for continuing intercourse with the enemy. See *JCC*, 18:851, 874-76, 19:316; *PCC*, item 19, 2:177-80; and Samuel Adams to Caleb Davis, April 3, 1781. See also Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 1, 1780.

In the meantime, however, Congress demonstrated its erratic treatment of such cases by its response to a similar appeal of December 26, 1780, from Peter January of Philadelphia, which was apparently approved with little debate on January 4, 1781, after receiving a committee report on the case stating that it had "received full Satisfaction as to the Character of Mr January & his Attachment to the Cause of America as also to the Truth of his . . . Petition." See *JCC*, 18:1195, 19:13, 21; and *PCC*, item 19, 3:279-80, item 42, 4:46-49.

² In the FC Adams had written "respecting your Affair with Mr. B," apparently a reference to John Bradford, the Continental agent at Boston, whose removal from office had been sought for some time. See Nathaniel Peabody to Woodbury Langdon, February 7, 1780, note 3.

³ That is, John Hancock.

⁴ Probably Elbridge Gerry, whose letter of September 18 to James Lovell

apparently contained the story “hinted to us,” for which see Lovell to Gerry, this date.

⁵ That is, John Mathews, a member of the Committee at Headquarters, who had returned to Congress in early September and reported in a September 15 letter to George Washington that he had been “made to *feel*” the “rancour of these demagogues.”

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir,

Philadelphia October 3d. 1780

Yours of the 2d September I have Just received. No Accounts of the French fleet and as the Season is so far Advanced it is probable they will not be here at all—indeed their Arrival is not now so desirable. I never was very Sanguine in my Expectations Against New York And it is now quite too late to attempt A reduction of that place. They might render good Service to the Southward. The great preparations lately at New York for a large embarkation of Troops which were generally Supposed to have been intended Against Rhode Island or Virginia Appears now to have been designed to Carry Arnolds Wicked plot Against West point into Execution, in which it is probable they would have Succeeded had it not been timely discovered. By the inclosed papers you will be informed of that treacherous Affair so far as is Come to hand. Our assembly you are so Kind as to inform me is to meet the 17th instant—the important matters they will have under Consideration will it is probable Occasion a long Session. I pray god Something Substantial may be done. I hope our Troops will be particularly Attended to. They must be in a wretched Condition for want of Cloathing having lost all their Baggage in the late Action. We have no very material intelligence from the Southward, What we have is rather favourable, Some Skirmishing in which we have been Successful. The Army increasing fast and is now pretty formidable. Governor Nash has requested General Smallwood to take the Command of the Troops in that State, by which it would Seem that Gen. Gates has lost his Confidence and it is more than probable that of the whole Army, should this be the Case no good Can be expected from his being Continued in the Command. The post is just Setting out and therefore am obliged to Conclude with assuring you of the high esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be, Yr. Excellencys most Obedt & humble Sevt,

John Hanson

[P.S.] Your not writing by the last post I am afraid was occasioned by your Ill State of health.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada 3 October 1780

I take the Liberty of mentioning to your Excellency the Bearer of this Letter, Andrew Ragg, Esqr [of the] State of Maryland. Some Time since, in March 17[79 he ob]tained a Pass from the Executive of that State, signed [by his] Excellency Thomas Johnson, Governour, and [addressed?] to whom it might concern, for Permission to go into New York and take his Passage for Great-Britain, [. . .] Country.¹ He has been hitherto detained, settling his [affairs?] but is now on his Way. The Delegates of Maryland speak well of his inoffensive and principled Behaviour, and under an Impression of the Certainty of this, Your Excellency will consider his Application. He is not to return, which will make a Difference, as it generally does in such Cases. His little Daughter is with him.

I have the Honour to be, your Excellency's very obedt. and humble
 Servant, W C Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ For Andrew Ragg's application to Maryland for permission to return to Great Britain, see these *Letters*, 11:367-68.

Samuel Huntington to William Greene

Sir,

Philada October 3. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, a Copy of an Act of Congress of the 2 Instant,¹ recommending to the State of Rhode Island to take effectual Measures for procuring for the Use of the Army, such Part of the Cargo of the Schooner Le Comite consigned by Messrs P. Penet, du Costa Brothers & Company Merchants at Nantz to the State of Virginia, lately recaptured from the Enemy and carried into Providence, Rhode Island; as shall be adjudged to the recaptors, and may be suitable to the Use of the Army.

Congress will draw upon the Loan Officer in that State for Payment thereof out of the new Bills reserved for the Use of the United States.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, &c, &c,
 S. Huntington

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:890.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philadelphia October 3. 1780

By the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 2 Instant your Excellency will be informed, that they approve of the Measures you have taken for remounting the Cavalry with the southern Army, and request a Continuance of your Exertions for that Purpose on the same Principles as formerly.¹

I have the Honor to be with the greatest regard, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,
Sam Huntington President

P.S. Your Letter of the 26 Ulto with the Despatches enclosed have been received & laid before Congress.² Your Excellency will doubtless have received Intelligence of the aggravated Treason of Genl Arnold before this comes to Hand.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The enclosed resolve was adopted in response to Jefferson's letter to Huntington of September 8, for which see *JCC*, 18:824, 850-51, 874, 889; PCC, item 71, 1:413-16; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:615-16.

² Jefferson's letter is in PCC, item 71, 1:425-28; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:663.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir Circular. Philadelphia October 3. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 29 Ulto, recommending to the States respectively to supply their Delegates with Money for their Support by other Means than drawing on the Treasury of the United States, except only in such Cases as may render that Mode indispensably necessary.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Delegates from several states had often expressed concern over the refusal of their legislatures to provide adequately for their expenses while attending Congress, and were particularly exasperated when requests for reimbursement were answered with suggestions that they simply draw upon the state's account with the Continent. The repeated abuse of this device finally led Timothy Matlack to propose the enclosed resolution on September 29, which apparently generated little controversy. *JCC*, 18:876.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Sir,

Octr. 3d. 1780

Your Favor of Sepr. 18th reached me yesterday. I believe I have acknowledged the Rect. of those by Col. Wigglesworth, already by post. I have certainly written an Answer by him tho' he is yet not yet gone.¹ His affair was only finished yesterday. He will deliver you all your Bills of Exchange and Loan Certificates. I could use none for Want of yr. Endorsemt. as I did not timely think of that Circumstance & take Certifits. of the Interest Money in my own Name. I presume it will not derange you if I draw on you for 5325 Dollars by him to repay me for

2451 11/90 Commissary

1718 Horses

570 To Shelden

520 Tickets

66 60/90 Mr. Smith to equalize a Certif[ica]te

5325 71/90

I wish you had not gutted the Story about d——d R——s. It is hard to tell whether we are Rogues, Raskals or Rebels. I do sincerely desire to know the Story so as to conduct my self on good Grounds. It has strong Features. I ask the names. Even as it is I do not think I shall be able to refrain from putting Mr. Mathews upon Exculpation.²

Arnold has now, for the first Time, *shocked* you with his Baseness of Heart. He has made it difficult to tell what is *undue* Jealousy in such a War as ours. He has turned People mad here. There is an infamous use made of his Doings in this Day's Paper regarding Genl. Lee it is diabolically far strained.

I am far from well tho' I have been forced into the Practice of Tartar Emetic, Sal Merseille & Warm Baths. From feverish Weathers we have a Change of the cold bilious Kind.

I notice what you say very justly about Embarrassments. It took the Frogs Time to know the Difference between a Log & a Stork. Let other Societies take time to examine minutely their Tertium-Quid.

I shall endeavor to follow your Wishes if Jones arrives here from France while I am on the Status.

Mrs Clymar hopes to be *brought* to drink your Health by Way of a Salt Mackrel. She only does it now by Way of motherly Affection.

Whenever you have made any Settlemt. of yr. Accts. let me know the mode of Estimating my Time & Service that I may endeavor to settle my affairs in that Kind.

Mr. & Mrs. Plater are here. She submits to the Trouble of lodging up two Pr. of Stairs rather than not be in Philada. with her Husband

and He I presume wishes to be near his former Intimates. I wish it was so that I could better their Accommodations.

Yr. affectionaly,

J.L.

[P.S.] Mr. Adams desires very particularly that I would send Compliments while his "shaking hand" is otherwise necessarily employed.

RC (MHi: Gerry Papers).

¹ See Lovell to Gerry, September 26, 1780.

² See Samuel Adams to James Warren, this date, notes 4 and 5.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Oct. 3d. 1780.

I thank you for your Remembrance of Sepr. 21st. I hope your absence of four weeks was for the purpose of *enjoying* Health, not to *seek* it. Oh Doctor, I feel at this moment, Let me say it without wilful offence to any Class of Men! I feel, Doctor, like a forlorn old cold sour Batchelor. Tartar Emetic warmed me a little but *Sal Sennet* has made me blue to the Fingers Ends. A pretty Figure of a Gentleman I am indeed to go to Congress in raw northeast drizly weather to contrive how to raise feed cloath & pay an Army without one dollar in the Treasury! Very genial Employment to be sure it will be to listen to all the minute Detail of the Circumstances of a black-died treason! By the Bye Doctor, you are so good a Soul that "Altho' you have been a *little perplexed* about his accounts, you could not have thought that the *honorable Gentleman* would have done *just so* as he has done."

You see I am not too sick to divert myself by taking you off in *your own Style*: for I am sure you have not been brought to say any Thing more *uncomplimentary* of Major General Benedict Arnold. Oh, dear Doctor, this Laugh of mine has its attendant Sigh. To what alas! are we exposed in this best of earthly Struggles! When will our Country be at Rest & her Liberty secured?!!!

I have I think already done myself the pleasure of sending you the Journals you mention. I renew the numbers which you may give into the Secretary's office for common Use if you find your own compleated since your Date of Request.

Your Friend & h. Servt.

James Lovell

[P.S.] Compliments to Mr. Avery. I thank him for returning the Index. I will not omit water Carriage for the Journals of 1778 for him tho' he has not yet acknowledged those sent by Capt. Burke for 1777. He told me once he had not got them but I suppose he

afterwards had them. Burke went in a little Boat to Providence Rh. Island.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 217-18.

James Lovell to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir,

Octr. 3d. 1780

I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 30th.¹ I thought I had sent you the Journals of the Months of this year preceedg. August. I aim to preserve the setts more than was accomplished in 1779. The Bearer has now the 7 months wch. it appears I neglected to forward before.

Many are *mightily shocked* at the West Point Plot. I presume you escaped *that* Degree of Surprize respecting Arnold's *Baseness*, as you had been *prepared* here on "the Comtee for his Accounts."

Genl. Sullivan is better able than I to tell you the State of the Vermont Contest. I was not in health to attend the Evening Adjournments. I have been worse than when I wrote you last but Tartar emet: & Sal Merseille have given me something of a New Outfit so that I may float awhile Longer.

Mr. Gerry writes that he has a Line from Carmichael informing that Mr. Ross in France will ship some Things for him by Capt. Jones in the Ariel which he supposes will arrive *here*.² He mentions "sending *with Col. Peabody* a Mem. for a few Articles of Cloathing." If you quit these Parts what Direction wd. you give about the articles? He says I "will order the Package to be delivered to Miss Dalley pay the Freight and thank Capt. Jones". It is probable the Packages will be distinct. Your directions shall be followed if you think fit to give any to, yr. Frd & h Sevt.

Jas Lovell

[P.S.] Mr. Partridge says it is probable Mess. Gerry & Holten will be Senators.

RC (PHC: Roberts Collection). Endorsed by Peabody: "Recd. Oct. 7th. 1780. answer'd the 8th in part, promised to write farther respecting the Goods—&c."

¹ Not found.

² Lovell is undoubtedly referring to Gerry's September 18 letter, which he acknowledged in his letter to Gerry of this date.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Phila. Octr. 3d. 1780

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 25. Ulo¹ yesterday and am sorry it is not yet in my power to gratify your hopes with any

prospect of a successful issue to this campaign. The reports of the approach or arrival of a French fleet continue to be circulated, and to prove groundless. If any foreign operations are undertaken on the continent it will probably be against the Floridas by the Spaniards. A Spanish Gentleman who resides in this City² has received information from the Governor of Cuba that an armament would pass from the Havannah to Pensacola towards the end of last month, and that 10 or 12 ships of the line and as many thousand troops would soon be in readiness for an expedition against St Augustine. It would be much more for the credit of that nation as well as for the common good, if instead of wasting their time & resources in these separate and unimportant enterprizes, they would join heartily with the French in attacking the Enemy where success would produce the desired effect.

The inclosed papers contain all the particulars which have been received concerning the apostacy & plot of Arnold. A variety of his iniquitous jobs prior to this chef d'oeuvres of his villainy, carried on under cover of his military authority, have been detected among his papers, and involve a number of persons both within & without the Enemies lines. The embarkation lately going on at N York, and given out to be destined for Virginia or Rhode Island, was pretty certainly a part of the plot against West Point; although the first representation of it has not yet been officially contradicted. With sincere regard, I am D Sir Yr Obt & humble servt., J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:109.

¹ For which see *ibid.*, pp. 99-102.

² Undoubtedly Don Francisco Rendón, the Spanish agent in Philadelphia, for whom see Robert R. Livingston to the Marquis Barbé-Marbois, May 3, 1780, note 2.

Rendón was not only keeping Congress abreast of operations planned by Spain against the Floridas, but was also arranging the export of provisions for subsisting Spanish forces in Havana, an especially difficult task in the face of the American embargo on provisions and the simultaneous competition over provisions for French forces in America. He reported to his superiors in mid-June that the chevalier de La Luzerne had intervened in his behalf to obtain the tacit assent of Congress for the limited export of flour, meat, and vegetables to Havana, and had accordingly opened negotiations with Robert Morris to arrange such cargoes. The general outline of Rendón's activities can be reconstructed from his correspondence, of which several reports to his superiors concerning these efforts are located in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, in *Procedentes de Cuba*, Legajo 1282, and *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, Legajo 2598. Almost the entire American correspondence of Rendón as well as that of his predecessor Juan de Miralles for the period 1777-85 has been collected by Aileen Moore Topping, whose translations of the material have been deposited in the Manuscript Division, DLC.

Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Council

Gentlemen

Philadelphia Octo 3d 1780

From the last return of the Clothier Gen's. dated in August, there appeared to be about one thousand Suits of Clothing on hand; besides which, there are in the hands of the different purchasing Agents, Cloath enough for 3500 Suits, linen for 20,000 Shirts, Baize (which was a Considerable time Ago ordered to be Milled) for 14,000 Blanketts, a great Sufficiency of Shoes, and Variety of Articles for the Summer Season, Such as linen Overhalls, Hunting Shirts &c. Out of the Stock which was on hand in August, the new raised Maryland regiment has been Supplied.

The deficiency of Clothing, which is necessary to be made up, depends principally on the Supplies expected from France, which it is more than probable will not now Arrive in time—be assured we Shall allways endeavour to have Strict Justice done our Troops, in the distribution of what Cloathing there is now on hand, and also of Any that, may hereafter be procured, but as most of what is now on hand, lyes in the Eastern States, and will be transported to Head Quarters, it is probable the Army there will be first Supplied.¹

We have laid your two letters respecting General Gates's drafts, before Congress, who have not yet Come to any determination on the Subject.²

We have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem, Your Excellency and Honors most Obed. & humble Servants,

Geo. Plater

J. Henry Jun

John Hanson

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Henry and signed by Henry, Hanson, and Plater.

¹ Although not explicitly stated, the delegates appear to be answering the Council's request of September 22 for an account of the "Cloathing annually imported" in order to determine if Maryland troops had received a proportionate share. See *Md. Archives*, 43:299-300; and the delegates' September 26 letter to Thomas Sim Lee, note 3.

² There is no indication in the journals when the Maryland delegates presented the council's "two letters" of unspecified date to Congress, but for their intention to submit the council's September 19 letter on the subject of "Gates's drafts" on the morning of September 26, see the delegates' letter of that date to Thomas Sim Lee, note 5.

John Mathews to Nathaniel Peabody

Philadelphia Octr. 3d. 1780

Yours of the 23 & 29 Ult^o.¹ came safe to hand yesterday. The one of the 23 contains a variety of important matters, as well as [. . .] enclosures, which I shall now reply to.

What am I to understand by "Genl. Greene's letter of resignation to Congress." We have received no such letter, therefore, am both puzzled & alarmed.² Pray explain this matter to me as soon as you can, untill when, I shall feel great anxiety. Great part of your other extracts were new, for which I am much obliged to you. Arnold's affair rests where it did, when I wrote you last, we have received no further information respecting it.

You ask me what is done about a P—t.³ I think of all the men of ambition I have ever met with in the course of my peregrinations (which have not been confined within a very narrow compass) S.H. bears away the prize in triumph. So far from his manifesting the least disposition to quit, he seemed to be highly pleased with the opinions of his [you may fill the space as you please] "that he had a right to set there for life." This is true Republican doctrine. Ay! you may laugh, or get into a passion about it—but I tell you it must be so, because the *Greatest Republican*⁴ in America said so. Damnation sieze such Sycophants! Who will sell their consciencies to the Devil for the sake of carrying a favourite point? After four hours hard struggle, all we could obtain was, that all future P—ts, should be for elected for one year only, but maugre every exertion, they obtruded their favourite upon us for another year. Could Old Randolph⁵ have risen from the Dead, & been in the chair, I wou'd have opposed his continuance, with the same activity & spirit, I did the present person, on the principles of *true* Republicanism, more especially when I so evidently saw, an elevated station had made a man forget himself, who from being a very modest one, had so strongly inibed the sweets of power, as to become a very conceited, & ambitious one. Did the man possess abilities for the station, I could have acquiesced with a tolerable degree of content, but when I know he possesses no one requisite for it, I must confess my feelings are egregiously hurt. I think, had almost any other man been in his situation, when he found how extremely disagreeable his continuance in office was, to a number of members, he would have made it a point to have had a new election, & taken his chance, but he verified the Old proverb "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." I have much more to Say on this subject, but will reserve it for a tete à tete.⁶

I come now to the most interesting part of your letter, i.e. the opening, & garbling your letters. Great God! how humiliating is it

to generous minds, to behold the depravity of a part of thy creatures. What baseness, & villany is it that some men will not descend to, to gratify the rancour of their damnd black hearts. The most intimate ties, are made to give place to this hellish principle. Friendship amoung men, is become a sounding brass, or a tinckling symbol.

If I take your meaning right, you suspect some who have professed a friendship for you to have been the authors of this piece of treachery, as black almost as the infernal Arnold's, in my opinion there is little difference "for he that filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him, but is to me worse than death." My suspicions bend the same way yours do. But alas! my Dear sir, how can I trace this dark & rascally deed? Do you think he, or they, will be so unguarded as ever to let me penetrate them? No. No. be assured they are too hackneyed in their ways, their contract with the devil is too indissoluble, ever to suffer me to come near enough to them, even, (like Alexander) to *cut* the knot.

Thus much, from my friendship—I almost blush at writing the word—you may rely on. That no man shall take your name in vain.

As to "the Committee's wanting to be made Lords and Protectors." I can say thus much—That by the Great God that made me! If I thought I could have influence enough, to make any honest set of men, the REAL PROTECTORS of this grievously injured people, I would harange the multitude, night & day! I would rush into the midnight cabals of artful & designing men & drag them forth to public view! In short, what is it I would not do, at the hazard of my life, to save this land from impending ruin! I each day more visibly perceive the rocks & shoals present their ghastly forms to us, Yet alas! my forebodings are treated with derision, & our helmsmen invariably steer the same course. It will take no great length of time, to shew what will be the event. I tremble for our fate.

I have at last found the papers, & now inclose them. Blane has not had time enough to get me the returns you want, but has promissed it me in a day or two.

Sullivan has shewed me the letter you allude to, I wish your remarks may not be verified: appearances *<certainly>* almost authorizes it.

I hope your health continues to mend, & that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here 'ere long. In the mean time be assured, that I am with sincerity, yr. friend, & most Obedt. servt.

Jno. Mathews

[P.S.] I will thank you to forward the inclosed to Miss Livingston.⁷

RC (DLC: Peter Force Collection). Endorsed by Peabody: "Recd. Octr 7. 1780, answd. the 8th short. Copies of Greens letter to the Comtte and his letter of Resignation to Congress & Copy of answer."

¹ Not found.

² Peabody was undoubtedly referring to Nathanael Greene's July 26 letter of

resignation as quartermaster general, for which see his endorsement above and the Committee at Headquarters' letters to Samuel Huntington, July 27, and to Greene, July 28, 1780.

³ The question had arisen because September 28 marked the anniversary of Samuel Huntington's election as president of Congress. The same day John Henry moved "That the rule laid down in the Articles of Confederation respecting the election of the President of Congress [i.e., to a one-year term] be henceforward observed," but only Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia supported the motion. Nevertheless, after agreeing unanimously that "no rule or practice of the house" limited the term for which a president was elected, the delegates went on to affirm that henceforth "the continuance of the President in office shall not be longer than one year from this day, and that all future elections shall be agreeable to the rule marked out by the Confederation." *JCC*, 18:869-71.

⁴ Probably Samuel Adams.

⁵ Peyton Randolph, the first president of Congress.

⁶ For a characterization of Mathews' attack on Huntington, see Larry R. Gerlach, *Connecticut Congressman: Samuel Huntington, 1731-1796* (Hartford, Conn., American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut, 1976), pp. 66-68.

⁷ See Mathews to Catharine W. Livingston, September 12, 1780, note 1.

Committee for Foreign Affairs to Mr. McCarrick

Sir¹ Philadelphia 4 Oct 1780

Your Letter of July 22 to the honorable James Searle Esqr introducing Mr Magnall² was put into my hands, and leads me to take the freedom of recommending to your care a packet for the Honorable Mr Jay at Madrid, to whom, by order of Congress, the business on which Mr Magnall came is communicated. With an offer of mutual services, and in the name of the Committee of Foreign affairs, I am your Friend,

Signed James Lovell

FC (DNA: PCC, item 79). In a clerical hand.

¹ Lovell later identified his correspondent as "Mr. McCarrick of St. Cruz" de Tenerife, in a June 4, 1781, letter to John Jay.

² Mangnall, often spelled Magnall, an American sailor, had been detained by Spanish authorities after he, Thomas Shuker, and several other former American prisoners sailed a "captured" British cutter, the *Dover*, into Santa Cruz de Tenerife in the Spanish Canary Islands, while attempting to reach the United States.

The Americans claimed the *Dover* under Congress' October 14, 1777, resolution awarding crews of British ships the prize value of their ships if they could capture and bring them into American ports. In this case, the Spanish governor of Tenerife seized the *Dover* and claimed it as a lawful prize of a British owned ship, thus disregarding the captors' claims under American law. As a result the Americans appealed to Congress to plead their case with Spanish authorities.

Thomas Shuker first wrote from Tenerife on April 27, 1780, pleading the crew's case, but the letter, which was read on May 26, 1780, elicited no response from Congress. John Mangnall then wrote letters of July 15 and 16, 1780, from Tenerife which were read on August 23 and assigned to the Committee for Foreign Affairs. The issue might have died there if Mangnall had not reached Philadelphia, from whence he addressed Congress on September 22, apparently prodding Congress to direct John Jay to intervene with Spain to preserve the benefits of the October 14, 1777, resolution for the *Dover's* captors.

See *JCC*, 17:460, 760, 18:868; and *PCC*, item 78, 16:61-69. Copies of Mangnall's letters and other related documents are also located in the Jefferson Papers, DLC, because the case remained unsettled until Thomas Jefferson's term as secretary of state in 1791, when Jefferson made another fruitless attempt to obtain satisfaction from the Spanish government. For further information on the case, see also Lovell to Jay, June 4, 1781; Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 20:205-9; and Jay, *Papers* (Morris), 1:783-86, 2:87-89.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 4. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith inclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 3 Instant, containing a new Arrangement of the Army.¹

You will please to observe that, if in your Opinion there shall appear no material Objection to this Plan of Arrangement it is the Pleasure of Congress that the same be carried into immediate Effect.²

Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign; but to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War, to consist of such Numbers as may probably be adequate to the Service; and at the same Time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise, recruit and constantly maintain fit for Service. To accomplish this desirable Purpose it is but too obvious, that every practicable retrenchment of Expences, and the greatest Oeconomy is indispensably necessary.

Under these Considerations having but a Choice of Difficulties, Congress have adopted the Plan enclosed, as subject to the least Objections of any that could be devised.

Should your Excellency's Opinion coincide therewith, the returns of Deficiencies in each State may be laid before their respective Assemblies; most of which meet before the End of this Month, which may enable them to facilitate the recruiting Service in proper Season to comply with the Intentions of Congress.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Congress actually adopted the major provisions of this "new Arrangement" on September 21, but the following day resolved to postpone this action "until the Committee shall make a farther report," which was subsequently adopted on October 3. See *JCC*, 18:844n.1, 893-97. The section of the new arrangement that was actually adopted on the later date consists only of the last five paragraphs of the resolves printed by Gaillard Hunt, for which see *JCC*, 18:895-96, and *PCC*, item 1, 29:35-38, 95-97. See also Ezekiel Cornell to Nathanael Greene, September 19, note 1; and John Mathews to Washington, September 24, 1780, note 2.

² Washington made several observations on this "Plan of Arrangement" in a lengthy letter of October 11, in response to which Congress adopted a number of resolves on October 21 modifying the plan. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:157-67; and *JCC*, 18:931, 956, 958-61.

³ See also Huntington to the States, October 6, 1780.

Jared Ingersoll to Joseph Reed

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Octr. 4th. 1780

As it is my Duty, so I shall ever receive the most particular Satisfaction, in being able to contribute in the least to your Amusement, while engaged in the arduous business of your Station; it is for this reason I take up my pen to inform you of the News of the Day. With regard to Arnold, we have very little Intelligence more than what is contained in the Public News papers. His very foolish & impertinent Letter to Genl. Washington is in some Prints at large. André was detected by some Militia-Men in a manner that does them the highest honor—as soon as their Names are transmitted, Congress will reward them in every way that is in their power.¹ Genl. Washington writes that on examination he finds Varricks & Franks innocent. The Council have ordered old David Franks, Billy Hamilton, Seagrove & Constable to be committed.² Clarkson is left to the decision of Mr. Chief-Justice. Congress have ordered Arnolds name to be erased out of the List of Continental Officers. Mrs. Arnold has returned to her Father's—what will be thought of her Residence among us I don't know. Wilkinson is ready to burst with Indignation—is drawing up Associations against any Intercourse with Tory & Suspicious Characters. He will find enough to Subscribe but I am afraid few, or at least not all, will observe the Engagements they enter into.

Congress have nearly finished their Arrangements for the Army of next year—the Expençe is calculating. This Day we have been uncommonly busy on a report in Answer to a Letter of Mr. Jayes.³ It seems that the Court of Madrid oppose violently our claims of a free Navigation up the River Mississippi & make that the chief pretence for delaying to Conclude a Treaty with us. We have however determined unanimously that we will not relinquish this, which we think a most important & clear Right—that however our Minister is at liberty to make any reasonable Regulations to assure the Spanish Nation that we do not wish to carry on any contraband Trade to their prejudice. In the Course of the Conversation which Mr. Jay had with the Spanish Minister the latter mentioned with the appearance of great Satisfaction, that he believed by the beginning of next year, they might be able to lend these States forty thousand pounds—the naming such a pitifull Sum, the strange objections about

the Mississippi and some other parts of the discourse by no means seem flattering. The Spanish Minister has also proposed, & that we shall take into Consideration tomorrow, a Contract for the building of Frigates & other Vessels for the Court of Madrid.⁴ After finishing this business, we shall immediately enter on the Report of the Committee of Ways & Means. We have it in Contemplation to desire the States to enable Congress to lay some general Imposts, that may furnish us with a Revenue & which it might be difficult for the States to do separately. This however is but a Scheme in Embryo. What will finally be thought of it I do not know. Information has been received this Day from one of our Captains just returned from his Captivity at New York, that the British have determined to exchange no more Sailors, but oblige our Seamen to serve on board their Ships of War. I was at your house this Afternoon—all are well I believe as I heard no Complaints. Mrs. Cox is in town—whether Mrs. DeBerdt returns with her or not I do not know.

I am, Dr sir, Your much obliged & very hum servt,
Jared Ingersoll

P.S. I forgot to mention that we have Information that there is danger of a Continental War in Europe. A Coadjutor is about to be elected to the Elector of Cologne. Austria contended for it. Prussia opposes. The Elector of Hanover supports Austria. France Prussia. J.I.

RC (NHi: Reed Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to George Washington, November 8, 1780, note 1.

² For the use made by the Pennsylvania Council of Arnold's treason to vindicate their persistent efforts to prosecute the general since the autumn of 1778, see Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942), pp. 88-89.

³ This day Congress adopted the report of the committee to whom Jay's letter had been referred in August, in consequence of which instructions for Jay concerning United States claims to the Mississippi were prepared and approved on October 17. See Roger Sherman to Oliver Wolcott, August 14, note 2; and James Madison's Notes, October 6, 1780.

⁴ See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, October 5, 1780, note 1.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philadelphia, October [5?], 1780¹

Some overtures having been made to Congress, through Mr. Jay our Commissioner at the Court of Madrid, for Building Frigates in America for and on account of his Catholic Majesty and the Proposals having been referred to the Admiralty to Confer with the Navy Boards of the Eastern and Middle district and obtain from them estimates of what would be the Cost of a frigate of forty Guns—and there being no Navy Board in Virginia it was moved in Congress by the Delegates

from that State, that the Admiralty shd. also lay before Congress Estimates of the Cost &c. of Building such frigates in Virginia in which it wd. be proper to specify the terms, and the time it wd. take to Compleat one or more such frigates, we have thought it Proper to inform you thereof, that proper persons may be applyed to, to make out such Estimates for Government, in order that they may be given in to the Admiralty to report upon [to] Congress, as we are not willing that such lucrative, and advantageous contracts, the Execution of which must in the end be attended with so many ad[v]antages shd. be lost to our state and engrossed by others already so far advanced before us in the Establishing a Marine. This Estimate transmitted as early as possible will put it in the power of the Delegates from Virginia to press its being transmitted to our Commissioner at Madrid with the Estimates from the Other States, and the subject itself together with a speedy compliance we have no doubt will strike you in the same important light in which it has us. The perfect tranquility which has reigned here with regard to news has been lately disturbed by a most extraordinary and unexpected event, no less than the sudden defection of Major Genl. Arnold from the American Cause, and his flight to the Enemy. He on the 23d ultimo Shamefully treacherously and ignominiously deserted the important Post at West point which Garrison he Commanded, after having Concerted Measures with the British Adjutant Genl. Colo. André in the Quality of a Spy for delivering it up to the Enemy, with the Blackest Circumstances of treason and Perfidy that ever entered the heart of any, wretch, but his own. Our Great General Washington, the French Ambassador, and the Marquis de la fayette were to have been his Peace offering to the Enemy. But Mr. Andre was accidentally taken, by a Small party of Militia and is now in our Hands & has probably before this paid his last tribute of Loyalty to his Royal Master together with his infamous Coadjutor Joseph Smith of N. York.² This occasiond Arnolds precipitate flight on board a British Man of War which was ready to receive him in case of Accident. The Genl. and other Gentn. above Mentioned arrived at Arnolds Quarters a few minutes after his flight, and he has taken effectual measures to prevent further Mischief. Arnold has wrote him a letter dated on Board the Vulture Sloop imploring his interposition in favor of his Wife whom he has left behind. His Papers have been seized in this City where he some time ago resided And lay open several Scenes of Vilany transacted in the Commercial way while he had the Command here between him and other Miscreants, and have laid a train perhaps for further discoveries. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis Auri Sacra fames?*³ Every Mark of horror and resentment has been expressed by the Army at such atrocious and Complicated Villainy, And the Mob in this City have burnt the traitor in Effigy after Exposing it through the streets with a long purse in one hand

and a Mask in the other and labels descriptive of the Character thus consigned to public infamy and odium. Thus with ignominy have faded the laurels of a hero, and the apellat[ion of] Arnold must be everlastingly changed for one of the Blackest infamy.

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:110-12, from a MS in the hand of Theodorick Bland, NH; and Theodorick Bland, *The Bland Papers*, ed. Charles Campbell, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund & Julian C. Ruffin, 1840-43), 2:34-36.

¹ The use of "we" and "us" in this letter indicates that Bland drafted it in behalf of the Virginia delegation; and the two subjects discussed—the proposal to build frigates in the United States for Spain and the Arnold-André conspiracy—establish its approximate date. Overtures from Spanish foreign minister the Conde de Floridablanca for a contract for "light frigates, cutters, or swift-sailing vessels" had come in a lengthy May 26, 1780, letter from John Jay spelling out Spanish policy. It was read in Congress on August 14 and referred to the committee for foreign affairs. See Roger Sherman to Oliver Wolcott, August 14, note 2; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:723. It is not known when the committee reported, but John Sullivan speculated that the Spanish proposal would be discussed on October 3, when it was apparently postponed, and Jared Ingersoll expected on the 4th it would be taken up "tomorrow." See Sullivan to Meschec Weare, October 2, and Ingersoll to Joseph Reed, October 4, 1780. Moreover, the fact that the delegates had not yet learned of the execution of John André indicates that the letter was written before they received word of his death, which reached them on October 7.

² That is, Joshua Hett Smith.

³ "What lengths is the heart of man driven to by this cursed craving for gold!" Virgil *Aeneid* 3, 56-57.

James Duane's Notes of Debates

In Congress Fryday Evning 6th Octobr 1780.

Notes of the Debates on the Claim of Vermont

Motion Resolved that¹

That² if the Resolution should pass it woud deprive the new State of an Opportunity of supporting their Claim. That he understood they had many things to insist on in favour of their Independancy: That an ex parte hearing woud be unjust: That it was true they had notice and he wished they woud have submitted their Claim to Congress: but as they had rejected our Authority we ought not to decide against them: That Commissioners ought to be appointed by Congress agreeable to the Laws of New York and New Hampshire and the Vermonteers called upon to support their Claims before them: & then Congress might determine the Cause.³

Col. Bland. That he never coud agree to the Resolution moved for. It was an indirect & unfair manner of deciding the Question. It woud deprive the Vermonteers of all future opportunity of Vindicating their Independance. That they had been grievously oppressed by New York. Their Persons imprisoned & their Land seized; and had a Right to Independance. That New York had proved

that New Hampshire had no Title and New Hampshire that New York had None: That therefore it belonged to *Neither*: That the Charter to the Duke of York comprehended New Jersey And Delaware and parts of Connecticut and Pensylvania and could not be admitted to establish a Title: That there were several independant Nations besides Vermont in the Bounds of the United States: the Cherokees, Creeks &c. That

He therefore moved that the Resolution under Consideration should be postponed to make place for another which he moved—to witt—the People of Vermont declared an Independant State. But he was not seconded.

Mr. Maddison. Expressed his surprize that the Motion should be represented as unfair or indirect. That he intended it to bring the true Question before Congress: for that if the District in Question was comprehended within the Jurisdiction of one or more of the United States, it must necessarily follow, that the Inhabitants could have no Right to set up an independant State. That it had been clearly proved to lie within New York or New Hampshire: for as these States were bounded upon each other there could be no Room between them for another Jurisdiction. That Congress *having the Rights of peace and war could not and* by the original Union of the States must have a *Controlling* Superior [deciding ?] power over the states and that⁴

Mr. Howly. That Gentlemen had not touched on the true Grounds which ought to decide the present Question. The Right ought not to be considered: it was premature and tho' much might be said upon it, at this time it was improper. The Expediency of a Decision in the critical Situation of our Affairs ought alone to be the Basis of the determination. He then insisted that it was no time to controvert our Jurisdictions but to oppose the common Enemy. After expatiations on this Topic, he said that he must make some Remarks on the Right. That the people ought to be considered as direlict for New Hampshire had given up & abandond them: And that the King of Great Britain had no power without their own Consent to annex them to New York. That they never did Acquiesce under that Government. That the Crown of England could not like an arbitrary German prince make over his People as if they were a Flock of Sheep. That New York did not begit the Inhabitants of the Grant: that they had treated them cruelly, imprisond their persons and seized their Lands: that they had a Right to become Independant on the same principles which had Authorized these States to shake off the British Yoke.

Mr. Ingersole That⁵

MS (NHi: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

¹ Apparently a motion by James Madison of September 16, which had become a focal point of the New Hampshire Grants debate. JCC, 18:832-33.

² In the margin beside this paragraph, Duane wrote the following list of "Speakers." "Honl Messrs. Huntington Cont, Bland Virg, Maddison Virg, Howley

Georgia, Ingersole Pens., Matthews S. Car, Henry Maryl, Van Dyke Del., Bee S. Carol." However, only his account of the remarks of Huntington, Bland, Madison, and Howly were recorded here.

³ The speaker here was undoubtedly one of the Huntingtons of Connecticut, but both Benjamin and Samuel were attending Congress at this time.

⁴ This account of Madison's speech ends abruptly here.

⁵ Duane's notes end abruptly at this point.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Philada. 6 October 1780

I have this moment stopt Mr Ray who was geting into his Carriage to inform your Excellency that the Vermont business is to be decided this Evening; The Event uncertain from the Strange and unjustifible Measures of the Vermonteers which I shall explain in my next.¹ The Requisition for the draft on the Treasury meets with opposition from the *Example*; as the four tenths of the new Emission is All the present dependance of Congress to pay & move the Army: this as well as the Resolution respecting the Change of a Supply of Beef for Flour are under Commitment. You Sir will see the necessity of preserving in every Event a Magazine for the Forts in the high Lands and I trust Measures will be taken by the State that no Contingency will oblige the Garrison to evacuate it for want of provisions.

General Scott has been confind by Indisposition near a month and is really in a bad way having lost his Appetite and daily loosing his Strength. I have advised Dr. McKnight to remove him home. In the mean time both he & I [are involved] in debt having no provision from the State. I entreat your Excellency to advise me on this Subject, Having in vain written to the Legislature and to the Treasurer.

Mr Ray is impatient for my Letter which obliges me to break off. Accept my respectful compliments to Mrs Clinton And the most perfect Esteem and Regard for your Excellency. NB The Chancellor is on his way home & will give you the politics & news.

I am Sir, Your Excellency's most obedt & very humble Servt.

Jas. Duane

P.S. Arnold struck off the List of Generals with Infamy.

Genl. Gates recalled for a Court of Enquiry. Commander in Chief to appoint a Successor.² No news of the French Fleet. Spaniards in motion to the Southward: nothing important from Europe. A new Arrangement of the Army agreed to & Submitted to the General for his opinion if approved to take Effect.

RC (PHi: Jenkins Collection).

¹ See the preceding entry, and Duane to Clinton, October 7, 1780.

² Congress took this action on October 5. See *JCC*, 18:906; and Samuel Huntington to George Washington, this date.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir Circular Philada October 6. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed an Act of Congress of the 21 Ulto, containing a new Arrangement of the Army. Special Reasons have delayed the Sending of it forward to the several States until this Time.¹

By this Arrangement the Number of Battallions is greatly reduced, and of Consequence many of the Officers now retained in the Service must retire for the present; but after just & equitable Compensation is made to them, the Saving of Expençe will be very great.

Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Dangers & Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign; but also to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War, to consist of such Numbers as may be adequate to the Service, and at the same Time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise & support, and constantly recruit so as to keep up the Number.

It is recommended to the States in the most pressing Manner to have their Regiments completed & in the Field by the first Day of January next at farthest. The Commander in Chief will cause immediate Returns to be made of the Deficiencies of each State according to this Arrangement.²

You will observe Sir, that, the respective States are to select from the Line of the Army the Number of Officers to command the several Regiments to them respectively assigned; taking Notice that no new Appointment is to be made of higher Rank than Lieut. Colonel Commandant, for substantial Reasons supposed to be known to all the States.

But the first & immediate Object is to complete the Regiments to their full Number of non Commissioned Officers & Privates; which is recommended in the most pressing Manner as of the greatest Importance.

I have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of Esteem & Respect, your Excellencys most obedient servt, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Copies of this letter addressed to the four "eastern" states were intercepted at Stratford Landing, Conn., on October 20. See Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, November 9, 1780.

¹ For an explanation of this delay, see John Mathews to Washington, September 24, note 2; and Huntington to Washington, October 4, 1780, note 1. Although the "new Arrangement of the Army" actually consisted of provisions adopted by Congress on September 21 and October 3, Huntington's enclosure consisted only of copies of the former resolves. These were certified by Secretary Thomson and dated September 21. In addition to the previously cited letters of Mathews and Huntington, cf. *JCC*, 18:893-97, and Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:279-81.

² See Huntington to Washington, October 4, 1780, notes 2 and 3.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 6. 1780¹

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency Copies of two Acts of Congress of the 4 & 5 Instant.²

By the former the Board of War are directed to erase from the register of the Names of the Officers of the Army of the United States, the Name of Benedict Arnold, which Order hath been executed.

By the latter you are directed to order a Court of Enquiry respecting the Conduct of Major General Gates as Commander of the southern Army, and to appoint an Officer to command the southern Army in the room of Major General Gates until such Enquiry be made.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest Sentiments of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. I am honored with your Letter of the first instant.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This day Huntington also wrote the following brief, personal letter to John Jay.

"I am honoured with your kind favour of the 28th of May with the prints which your lady has been pleased to present to Mrs. Huntington.

"Be assured, Sir, it gave me much pleasure to find yourself and family safe arrived at Madrid after a dangerous and tedious passage; and that it is peculiarly acceptable to Mrs. Huntington to receive those prints from so amiable a personage as was pleased to bestow them.

"Congress have been pleased to signify their desire that I should continue in the Chair another year, but the burden and fatigue of the business, to which you are no stranger, makes me doubtful whether I can endure it much longer.

"Mrs. Huntington joins with me in compliments to yourself and lady. Wishing health and happiness may attend your person and family, and your embassy be crowned with honour and desired success, I am most sincerely yours, Saml. Huntington." John Jay, *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay, 1763-1826*, ed., Henry P. Johnston, 4 vols. (1890-93; reprinted., New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 1:436-37.

² See JCC, 18:899, 906.

³ Washington's letter is in PCC, item 152, 9:203-6, and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:105-6.

James Madison's Notes on Marbois' "Observations"

[October 6-16? 1780]¹

Sketch of the Observations on the boundary between the Spanish Settlements & the United States (by de Marbois)²

The King of France though anxious to effect the Triple alliance, yet thinkg. the pretensions on both sides exorbitant, did not chuse

to interfere in support of either. But directed his Ministers at Phila. & Madrid to press the importance of mutual concessions. With this view the former represents to Congress the necessity of concentrating the force agst. the common enemy, for want of which the events of the present campaign have proved inadequate to the exertions. The advantages of an alliance are obvious, in case of a negociation for peace. It will be conducted with perfect harmony between the 3 allied powers. The Spaniards will be as much disposed as the french to support the just claims of U. States. They will not threaten to make a peace excluding them if the others shall be satisfied—on pretence that they are tied to France only, and had no motives to exhaust their resources for a people whose ambition prevented a treaty with a power on whom their safety depended. a continental war to be dreaded by France, as it depends on the death of 2 crowned heads old & sickly and it is 18 years since she was engaged in one—Hence the necessity of seeking a present peace by united efforts. Another advantage of an Alliance arises from the impression an acknowledgmt. of independence would make on other Powers of Europe, and on England herself.

The necessity of the Alliance being shewn the means of bringing it about are next to be considered, the observations on which are to be taken not as ministerial communications, but the private sentiments of one more impartially attached to the good of both parties, than acquainted with the pretensions of either.

Spain claims the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; and as much I can guess that part of the continent which lies eastward of the Mississippi & formerly called the Orientalis Louisiana. On this head the following objections were suggested by the Committee to the french minister in Jany. last, when urging the necessity of satisfying Spain.³

Obj: 1. The Charters of the Southern States forbid such a cession.

Answer. The transactions of a power with its own subjects [is] not binding on another power unless communicated, acknowledged, and in a case like the present, unless actual possession can be pleaded. were it otherwise perpetual contests wd. prevail among the Southern powers of Europe, as they have most of them granted such [charters at sundry]⁴ times to [their subjects.] The charters of the Colonies [interfere with each other,] most of them having disputes not only with their neigh[bours, but with those] at a distance how then can they be a rule for another [power? How will it ap]pear for the States at the time they are requesting of Spain [an acknowledgment of their] independence to apply to the very record which is the proof [of their subjection? Is it] not plain that in such a case, there is no other solid [plea but actual occupation], or at least a former public manifest possission? The King of Spain however will not recur to these arguments: he will only say—those lands have been ceded 18 years ago by france to G.B. (treaty of

Paris 63. art. 7) not to the Colonies. If they become the property of any common enemy, I have a full right to make the conquest of and so I do.

Obj: 2. The lands in question [are] necessary to the safety & prosperity of the States.

Ans: This is not certain. The case of Vermont, Kentucke & some Counties in Massachussets, show the danger of such ext[ensiv]e territories. It is in vain to attempt to convince either party that their claims are agst. their interest, as they are the best judges of it. It rests therefore on the respective possibility of making the conquest, and it may be left even to a partial judge to decide on this point.

Obj: 3. Spain would take advantage of the present situation of the United States to Treat with them on unequal principles.

Ans: This is the case in 99 treaties of a 100—no such inequality—rather on the side of America. Spain will acknowledge her independence and does not need hers to be so. Spain will grant commercial and very likely other advantages and can not expect the same from America. The benefits she is to reap are not of such a positive nature.

Obj: 4. If these demands were granted Spain might think herself entitled to the demand or conquest of Georgia, Penobscot, N. York &c.

Ans: This objection is extravagant & cannot be seriously made. The most explicit assurances on this point might at any time be obtained.

Obj: 5. Such conduct in Spain neithe[r generous] nor liberal.

Ans: The Spanish Ministry have probably on this said to the French Ambassador *that the conduct of the Americans is neither liberal nor generous.*

Obj: 6. A war even a long war preferable to such conditions.

Ans: A Patient extremely ill might as well say to his Phycician death is better than not to drink spirituous liquors & other things not to be found on the island where he was.

Obj: 7. The Spaniards would hereafter be the sacrifices of their own ambition. No unequal treaty can last long—the injured party will soon or later break it.

Ans: The cautiousness of Spain may be trusted to provide agst. this evil. She may perhaps upon better ground suggest the same danger to the States. They will chuse rather however to confine themselves to their right of conquest upon a country possessed by their Enemy.

Obj: 8. The territory cannot be given up with out the previous consent of the interested States.

Ans: As this argumt. is founded on the charters, if it be valid, it would prove that no treaty would be valid unless it secured to the States [the lands] as far as the South Sea.

In this manner would reason a Minister of the [Court of Spain,

and it would seem] no solid objection could be made to it. If any restricti[ons ought to be laid on these princi]ples, they ought to be taken from the actual settlement [of Americans on the territories] claimed by the Spaniards. By settlement is mea[n]t, not temporary incursions] of a few troops, but actual occupancy supported [by the exercise of jurisdiction, and] by building of houses, clearing & inhabiting the [land, &c., without contradiction. Here an] impartial mediator might find the line to be drawn be[tween the contending parties. But I shall] Confine myself to represent to the friends of this case that[, in missing the present fair opportunity of ob]taining solid & lasting advantages to run after a shadow & a chimerical object, they expose themselves to the everlasting reproaches of their Country.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). In the hand of James Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:114-16.

¹ Madison undoubtedly made these notes in connection with his work on the committee appointed on October 6 to draft a letter explaining the new instructions for John Jay that had been adopted on October 4, for the background of which see Roger Sherman to Oliver Wolcott, August 14, note 2; and Jared Ingersoll to Joseph Reed, October 4, 1780, note 3. The committee, consisting of Madison, James Duane, and John Sullivan, was charged with drafting a letter for Franklin and Jay to "explain the reasons and principles" on which Jay's instructions were founded so that France and Spain could be satisfied "of the justice and equity of the intentions of Congress." The committee's report, in Madison's hand, was submitted on October 16 and adopted the following day. See *JCC*, 18:908, 934-47; and *PCC*, item 25, 1:239-50.

² Marbois' "Observations" on the conflicting claims of the United States and Spain were given to Madison in a last-ditch effort to alter Jay's instructions to bring them into line with French aspirations. In its action of October 4, Congress had affirmed that Jay was to "adhere to his former instructions respecting the right of the United States of America to the free navigation of the river Mississippi," arousing fears that American intransigence might undermine French efforts to negotiate a triple alliance and bring Spain more directly into the war against Britain. The marquis de Barbé-Marbois, Secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia and chargé de affaires while La Luzerne was on a trip at this time to Connecticut to meet with Washington and Rochambeau, thereupon seized the moment to attempt to influence Madison and reclaim a position that had already been lost on the floor of Congress.

Because what is known about the attempt rests primarily upon Marbois' dispatches to the comte de Vergennes, significant questions about his campaign cannot be answered. Marbois' reports indicate that Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a Maryland delegate who had long advocated closer ties with France, had a hand in drafting the "Observations" submitted to Madison, and that Francisco Rendón, the Spanish agent in Philadelphia, had also conferred with him about the necessity of moderating Jay's instructions. Furthermore, the document Madison received from Marbois has not survived, and the text of the "Observations" Marbois sent to Vergennes differs so substantially from Madison's "Sketch" it seems clear that more than one such document was prepared. The general outline of Marbois' attempt is nevertheless quite clear, and Madison's draft of the letter for Jay, affirming Jay's 1779 instructions and the position reasserted by Congress on October 4, testifies to the essential failure of Marbois' effort.

For Marbois' dispatches to Vergennes of October 10, 17, and 21, 1780, and the "Observations Sur les points contestés dans la négociation actuellement existante

entre l'Espagne et les Etats unis de l'amerique" enclosed with his letter of the 17th, see Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondence politique, États-Unis, 14:68-73, 106-15, 118-35, 139-47. For discussions of Marbois' purposes in preparing his "Observations," all of which rely too exclusively upon the marquis' own account of the episode, see Paul C. Phillips, *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (1913; reprint ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), pp. 180-83; Kathryn Sullivan, *Maryland and France, 1774-1789* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 88-90; and William E. O'Donnell, *The Chevalier De La Luzerne. French Minister to the United States, 1779-1784* (Bruges: Desclee de Brouwer, 1938), pp. 109-11.

For evidence that Jenifer may have been less active in this attempt than Marbois hinted to Vergennes, because of illness that kept him from attending Congress and his eagerness to return to Maryland at this time, see Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Thomas Sim Lee, October 2, 1780.

Rendón, on the other hand, seems to have learned of the congressional debate on Jay's instructions some time after Madison's committee had been appointed, and accordingly consulted Marbois, probably after the latter and Jenifer had already sought to influence Madison. At Marbois' suggestion, Rendón thereupon prepared a letter dated October 14 which Marbois employed in his own campaign to gain the ear of Congress, and which succeeded to the degree that the French and Spanish concerns over Jay's instructions were fully aired in committee of the whole. Rendón's explanation of Congress' proceedings on the subject, which he clearly derived from second and third hand reports, is found in the following letter to José de Gálvez, Spanish minister of the Indies. "I have been informed confidentially," Rendón wrote to Gálvez on October 20, "that the receipt of an official paper from their minister Mr. Jay has caused in the Congress different controversies about the cited claims [*i.e.* '*freedom to navigate the Mississippi River*'], and that far from giving up such privilege, they were deciding unalterably to obtain it, based on the fact that by no other way will they be able, without insuperable difficulty and enormous costs, to export the productions which will be supplied by the vast territories which they possess on the Ohio, which flows into the Mississippi, down which they propose to navigate and to go out into the Gulf of Mexico.

"This information, and the knowledge of how much effort had been expended in this matter, as well as my inexpressable desire for the glory and augmentation of the Royal Dominions of our Gracious Sovereign, impelled me to consult M. Marbois, chargé d'affaires of His Most Christian Majesty in the absence of the minister plenipotentiary, to request that as far as his authority permitted he would endeavour to prevent the Congress from passing the resolution regarding those claims, and that on the contrary it change the instructions which to that effect had been given to its minister, by virtue of the fact that the members had offered that in various conferences which they had held with the previous minister plenipotentiary of France, M. Gerard. M. Marbois answered my plea by saying that he knew positively that the Congress was discussing the matter at present and that the majority of its members were determined not to change in any manner the articles which deal with that privilege in the said instructions which they gave to their minister, but that, nevertheless, if I should write a letter to him with that request, he would by virtue of it make a representation to the Congress, explaining the injustice and baselessness of its claims, and he would bring to bear all his influence to dissuade the Congress from that resolution.

"Consequently I proceeded to write the letter, with the date of the 14th instant, limiting its content entirely to the points expressed above, and the said M. Marbois introduced his representation, explaining in it with the greatest energy that no right afforded them that privilege, making them comprehend that in no manner would the King our Sire agree to its concession, as well as that it was surely the time to choose means of gaining the powerful protection of that sovereign, whose sponsorship would facilitate their greatest successes, and that on the contrary they were acting

to offend his Royal benign inclination to favour them. That paper was read in a plenary session of the Congress, and it seems to have caused the greatest effect on the representatives, for the said M. Marbois has told me that several of them have promised him to accede and to cooperate for the achievement of whatever contributes to the satisfaction and desire of our Gracious King, assuring him that the majority has agreed to that, and therefore the conferences have ceased for now discussion of the matter.

“The notable defect of not having the necessary facility for communicating these facts to your Excellency in cipher deprives me of the distinguished honour of relating them in all their details, for all that has happened and may occur as a result of them requires that they not be risked as is public news to the danger that the inexperience or carelessness of the captain who convey them to European ports might allow the enemy to know of them, an accident that could be extremely adverse. Therefore, M. Marbois has said that he will send to his Court the documents which give the particulars, so that Your Excellency can thus be informed. I offer my obedience, etc.” Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo 1233, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, (Aileen Moore Topping translation, Manuscript Division, DLC).

³ See *JCC*, 16:114–15.

⁴ Since this manuscript has been damaged, readings in brackets here and below have been taken from the three-volume edition of *The Papers of James Madison* (Washington: Langtree & O’Sullivan, 1840), vol. 1, Appx., pp. iii–v, edited by Henry D. Gilpin less than four years after Madison’s death.

John Mathews to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia Octr. 6th. 1780

Congress having Ordered a Court of enquiry on the conduct of Majr. Genl. Gates as Commander of the southern army, And directed your Excellency to appoint an Officer to that command,¹ I am authorized by the Delegates of the three Southern States to communicate to your Excellency their wish that Majr. Genl. Greene may be the Officer appointed to the Command of the Southern department, if it would not be incompatible with the rules of the Army.²

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect & the most sincere Esteem & regard, yr. Excys most Obed. servt. Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ The October 5 resolutions ordering a court of inquiry for Horatio Gates and the appointment of a new southern commander were adopted on a motion of Mathews and seconded by Whitmell Hill of North Carolina. *JCC*, 18:906.

² Washington offered Nathanael Greene command of the southern department on October 14, so informing Congress the following day. See Washington, *Papers* (Fitzpatrick), 20:181–83, 189–90; and PCC, item 152, 9:297–99. Greene’s October 16 letter of acceptance is in the Washington Papers, DLC. On October 22 Washington prepared instructions for Greene and notified Congress of Greene’s acceptance. On the 27th Greene also informed Congress of his appointment and requested information concerning Congress’ plans for the prosecution of the war in the south. Washington, *Papers* (Fitzpatrick), 20:238–40, 244–45; PCC, item 152, 9:323–24, item 155, 1:447–48. That day Congress referred these letters from Washington and Greene to a committee of five, chaired by William Sharpe, which

reported the 30th. Congress thereupon approved and specified the terms of Greene's appointment. *JCC*, 18:982, 994-96. See also Samuel Huntington's letters to Greene and to Certain States, October 31, 1780.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir

[October 7, 1780]¹

Yesterday I wrote to your Excellency by Mr. Ray. As I then led you to expect Congress went in the Evening upon the Subject of Vermont and altho' there was a great disagreement in Opinion the Debates took a Turn *most injurious to New York* which could not have *<been>* looked for and clearly satisfied me that several States were disposed to support the Independence of our revolted Citizens. The Deleg[ates] of Pennsylvania act under the Influence of Instructions from their Legislature requiring them to consent to no Act of Coercion agt any people friendly to the Revolution nor, to suffer at this critical Conjunction the Time of Congress to be taken up by the Concerns of any particular State. General Cor[n]el the Delegate from Rhode Island has declared that many of the principal People of that State & the Officers & Soldiers of their Cont. Bat.² have accepted Grants under the assumd States. It is even affirmed that the Governour is one & that he has desired the Delegates to take Care of his Interest. General Cornel has candidly confessed that he cannot Vote agt the Independ. of Vermont because it woud in effect Vacate those Grants. The Delegate from Delaware³ who did not hear a Word of the Evidence pronounced his opinion clearly that Congress could not interfere. Some other Members doubted their own Authority. Col Bland a New Member from Virginia bluntly proposed a Resolution that Vermont should be declared independent tho his Coleagues are of a different opinion; nor was he seconded.⁴

Nothing therefore is to be expected from Congress.⁵ The Embarrasmt of our publick Affairs & the bold Declarations of the Vermonters that they have allies & can make a separate peace are not I presume without Influence on this Occasion. But the Acts of our Antagonists & the shameful prostitution of the disputed lands to gain a party in some of the States have in my Judgement no inconsiderable weight.

I am of Opinion that our Legislature must depend on their own Wisdom to manage this unhappy Business. I refer you to Mr. Knolton who has acted with the utmost firmness, Diligence & propriety for further Information.

The Time of my retiring from Congress swiftly approaches merely for want of a Supply of money to defray necessary Expences. I feel myself Hurt to be obliged to mention this Subject again. But it is

necessary that I may not be censured. With the utmost Respect I beg Leave to assure your Excellency that I am &c

FC (NHi: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

¹ Although undated by Duane, this letter was clearly written on October 7, the day after he wrote "by Mr. Ray" on the Vermont debate in Congress, as noted in the opening of this letter. See Duane to Clinton, October 6, 1780.

² That is, Continental battalions.

³ Probably Nicholas Van Dyke, who was listed by Duane as one of the speakers in the October 6 debates on Vermont. See Duane's Notes of Debates, October 6, 1780, note 2.

⁴ See Duane's Notes of Debates, October 6, 1780.

⁵ Congress did "Nothing" further on the Vermont controversy after this day's lengthy debate, because none of the interested parties, particularly the New York delegates, wanted to press the matter to a conclusion. As New Hampshire delegate John Sullivan reported to Meshech Weare, the "Arguments ran so much against New York that the Agents who were before pressing a Decision have never Mentioned it since & thus it rests at present." See Sullivan to Weare, November 15; and Duane to Clinton, October 18, November 14 and 29, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Certain States

Sir, Philada October 7. 1780

I am directed by Congress to inform you that a Letter hath been received from the Commander in Chief at Head Quarters, representing that, "the Army must again be reduced to Extremity for Want of Flour except a Supply should arrive in a few Days." It is therefore the earnest request of Congress that what remains of the Quota of Flour from your State may be sent on with all possible Despatch.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c

S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To Governors Clinton, Livingston & Lee and President Reed."

¹ Washington's recent appeal for flour, contained in his letter to Huntington of October 1, had been referred to the committee that had negotiated with the directors of the Bank of Philadelphia to underwrite emergency needs of the army, but this experiment in supplying Continental troops through volunteer efforts was drawing to an end as the entire system of in-kind requisitions from the states neared collapse. The committee's initial recommendation, which Congress adopted on the 5th, was simply to call upon Delaware for its 1780 flour quota, of which it was in default, but since Washington's needs exceeded what could be expected from a single state, Congress also resolved the following day to urge New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland to forward immediately what remained of their quotas. See *JCC*, 18:893, 905, 907; PCC, item 152, 9:203-6; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:105-6.

Huntington's letter of this date to Delaware president Caesar Rodney, which differs slightly from the present document, is in PCC, item 15, fol. 125.

² Flour was also desperately needed to feed the American prisoners held at New York. Accordingly Huntington wrote brief letters this day to Gov. George Clinton

and to commissary general of prisoners Abraham Skinner to implement an October 6 resolve of Congress calling upon New York to deliver 200 barrels of flour to Skinner for this use. See *JCC*, 18:906-7; and *PCC*, item 15, fol. 128.

Samuel Huntington to the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois

Sir,

Philada October 7, 1780

I have the Honor to transmit you as *Chargé des Affaires* of his most Christian Majesty in the Absence of the Honorable the Minister of France the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 5 Instant by which you will be informed of their Sentiments relative to the regulations contained in the Declaration of the Empress of Russia respecting the rights of Neutrality;¹ that willing to testify their regards to the rights of Commerce, and respect for the Sovereign who hath proposed & the Powers that have approved those regulations, they have directed the Board of Admiralty to prepare & report Instructions for the Commanders of armed Vessels,² Commissioned by the United States, conformable to the Principles contained in that Declaration respecting the rights of neutral Vessels; and have also authorized the Ministers plenipotentiary of these United States, if invited thereto, to accede to such regulations conformable to the Spirit of the Declaration, as may be agreed upon by the Congress expected to assemble in Pursuance of the Invitation of her Imperial Majesty.

It is the Desire of Congress that these Sentiments & Proceedings on the important Subject contained in the Act enclosed should by the earliest Opportunity be laid before his most Christian Majesty our great & good Ally.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The "Declaration of the Empress of Russia" had been sent to Congress by John Adams in a letter of April 10, 1780, that was received and referred to committee on September 2. The committee's recommendations were debated on September 26, but were then recommitted to a second committee which submitted its report to Congress on October 4. That report, the work of Robert R. Livingston, provided the substance of the resolves adopted the following day which were enclosed with this letter to Marbois. See *JCC*, 17:802, 18:864-67, 899, 905-6; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:606-8; and *PCC*, item 25, 1:337-42, item 84, 1:337-40. For the receipt of the news in July that the formation of a League of Armed Neutrality was under discussion in Europe, see also Huntington to James Cogswell, July 22, 1780, note.

² For these instructions, which Congress eventually adopted on November 27, see *JCC*, 18:1008, 1097-98.

Willie Jones to Abner Nash

Dr. sr.

Philad. Octr. 7th. 1780

I wrote to you fully a few days per fav. of Mr. Stanley; but he has been detained by bad Weather, and is now here. Mr. Sharp arrived the Day before yesterday,¹ by whom I received your favors of 10th & 14th ulto. Congress yesterday resolv'd that Genl. Washington order a Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Genl. Gates as Commander of the Southern Army; and that he appoint an Officer to take that Command, in the Room of Genl. Gates, until the Inquiry shall be had. I will write to you again soon. I am, Dr. Sr., Yours sincerely,

Willie Jones

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

¹ Jones probably drafted this letter on October 6, since William Sharpe actually took his seat in Congress on October 4 and the resolves of "yesterday" mentioned in the next sentence were adopted on October 5. See *JCC*, 18:898; and Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 6, 1780.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Philadelphia Octr. the 8th or 9th

Dr. Tucker

I dont know which

Tit for Tat I have Just time to write you that I am well, there is no news but what I wrote you in my last except that Majr. Andre was hanged the 2d Inst. He died like a Gent and a Soldier as tis said—the Small circumstance of the *Rope* excepted. Josua Smith of N-York will tis expected hurry in a few days one of Arnolds Accomplices and the Underworker of his Villainous plot. *Poor Clarkson* Arnolds former aid is in Goal here, on Suspicion of having been engaged with Arnold in some nefarious practices in Commerce. Seagrove has been confined (but we hear is bailed) on the same acct. and your Acquaintance C——¹ has likewise been examined and admitted to Bail without confinement. Wonderfull discoveries are said to be made by Arnolds papers—but the Business of Congress which is at this Juncture of the most important and interesting nature engrosses my whole attention so that I have no time to inquire into the particulars of these matters. God Bless you all my love to Fanny and the boys and Girls if in the Plural Number. God Bless you all adieu & beleive me to be, yrs. most affectly.

Theok. Bland

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ That is, Maj. Mathew Clarkson, James Seagrove, and apparently William Constable.

John Sullivan to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir

Philadelphia October 8th 1780

I was on Tuesday Last honored with your favor of the 27th ulto.¹ & you will believe me when I tell you that I was Compelled to wait till Sunday to give an answer. Every moment of my time Last week was Employed in Congress & in Committees; & I flatter myself that this will Sufficiently apologize for Delaying the acknowledgment. I am Exceedingly unhappy that I was So unfortunate as to be Deprived the pleasure of Seeing you on my Journey as I was Equally Desirous of a private Conversation which prudence forbids us to Commit to paper. I am Convinced of the Fact you are pleased to mention Respecting persons being prejudiced against me as I have often felt the Effect of it; but am at a Loss to know Individuals & by the misfortune of not Seeing you must for the present remain in Ignorance.

I am much Indebted for the part you have Ever taken respecting me & the opinion you have been pleased to form of my publick Conduct & hope no future Transactions of my Life will Compell you to alter your Sentiments. I cannot perswade myself but my Dismission from the Army in the manner I was Conducted furnishes the most Striking Evidence of prejudice in the Southern States against the Northern; but a Contrary Conduct at that time could not have prevented the Same Event from taking place.² I have Examined the Copy of your Letter to Colo Bartlet³ & think it replete with Solemn Truths Such as at this Day we Compell Congress to hear with Patience, this will at Least Excuse you from the Crime of high Treason; I have Conversed with Mr Mathes⁴ respecting the affair but hear no mention of your Letter from any Quarter. I think your friend Mathes an honest & Sincere man, he is Joined with a number of us who are Determined to Eradicate party Spirit & Silence or at Lest Lessen the Influence of party men. I Sincerely thank you for the Intelligence you Inclosed respecting Arnold &c and I Shall be happy in keeping up a Constant Correspondance with you.

The Journals of Congress belonging to you were Left by General Foulson at my Lodging. I wish you to Inform me how I may forward them. Those which come out in future I shall Inclose you from time to time as they are published.

We have no foreign Intelligence & Indeed none of the Domestic kind Save that of General Gates's being recalled from the Southern Department & ordered to be tryed for his Conduct.⁵ I take the Liberty of Inclosing you a Letter to General Foulson which I brought from Exeter but being mislaid by my Servant was not Delivered to him.

I beg you will forward it by a Safe Conveyance.

I have the honor to be with the most Sincere attachment Dr Sir
your most obedt & very Humble Servant, Jno Sullivan

RC (NCooHi: Generals of the Revolution Collection).

¹ Not found.

² Sullivan was referring to his chagrin at Congress' acceptance of his resignation from the Continental Army in November 1779—an action, Sullivan had explained in a November 30, 1779, letter to Nathanael Greene, “which I am Led to believe will not be granted.” Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:161–63, 165–67.

Despite Sullivan's assertion of “prejudice” by “the Southern States,” North Carolina had joined New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island in supporting an effort that instead would have permitted him “to retire from the service so long as he shall judge necessary for the recovery of his health.” *JCC*, 15:1333. See also these *Letters*, 14:184.

³ Probably Peabody's August 6, 1780, letter to Josiah Bartlett.

⁴ Apparently John Mathews.

⁵ See Samuel Huntington to George Washington, October 6, 1780.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir

Philadelphia Octo 9th 1780

I am obliged to you for your favours of the 5th and 6th Instant. The officer Who was intrusted by Maj. Gile to procure the necessary Cloathing for our new regiment has been Supplied with Shirts and other Cloathing Sufficient for those Troops and I believe left this place Eight or ten days Ago. Six hundred Tents are preparing for the Southern Army and will be ready (the Board of War say) and Sent forward in about three or four Weeks. These are all that Can be had at this place and will be insufficient to supply the Army to the Southward, and as they will I suppose be immediately to Virginia the regiment At Annapolis will have but little Chance in Coming upon a part of them unless they Shall have joined the Army before the Tents Arrive. A great quantity of Canvas is now lying And has been for Some time at Boston—yet so it has been managed that it has not been brought forward. And the Season being so far Advanced, our people must I am afraid Suffer greatly before it Can be transported So great a distance. Andrie was hanged on Monday last. He made no discoveries. He was asked at the gallows if he had Anything to say. His answer was that he was not afraid to dye that, he was prepared for it, but was Concerned as to the manner, that he had much rather have been Shot and desired that it might be observed that his behaviour was becoming that of a Gentleman and Soldier. He was dressed in a new suit of Regimentals with his Sword by his side. Smith it is Said will Share the Same fate in a little time. Old Franks is taken up on Suspicion of treasonable practices, and Imprisoned. His son one of Arnolds Aids it is said is gone off.¹

On the 5th Instant the Commander in chief was by a Resolve of Congress directed to order a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Gen. Gates And to appoint an officer to take the Command of the Southern Army untill Such enquiry be made. Some honorable notice will be taken of the Baron de Kalb who fell So gloriously in the Cause of America—And the thanks of Congress will be returned to Generals Smallwood And Gist And to the officers and men for their Conduct And bravery in the late Action near Camden. All expectations of the Arrival of the French fleet are now at an End. Ternay by erecting fortifications on different parts of Rhode Island has Secured his fleet and the Army against Any Attempts of the Enemy—this being the Case and Clinton having failed in his designs against Wes point, it is more than probable his next object Will be to the Southward—the Climate is favourable for a winter Campaign, And a Considerable number of men may be Spared from New York without Hazarding that place, as no attempt Can be made on it by us, while the Enemy is so far superior at Sea.

I have inclosed you the Crisis Extraordinary upon finance² And the last papers. And am with Compliments to Mrs. Lee, Dear sir with great esteem & regard, Your most hble Servt,

John Hanson

[P.S.] The Major³ Set out this Morning on his return home. I write in great haste indeed there is so little time between the post Coming in and going out that we have Scarce time to write at all.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ That is, David Franks, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, and Maj. David Salisbury Franks, possibly a cousin but not his son. See John T. Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953), p. 221.

² Thomas Paine's pamphlet *The Crisis Extraordinary* published in Philadelphia on October 4, 1780, under the pen name "Common Sense." The ninth essay in the "Crisis" series that Paine had begun in December 1776, the "Extraordinary" was a reasoned argument for a more efficient national and state tax system for financing the war effort. See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 16,918.

³ That is, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.

John Henry to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadela. Octr. 9th 1780

Reports prevail to Day that all Regts are embarking at New-York bound for our Bay. It is spoke of with confidence, but I still have many Doubts, and principally because we have had no hint of it from the General; so important a movement would not escape his attention; if there is any ground for it, a few Days must afford us authentic information.¹

Majr. Andre was executed last Monday. He disclosed nothing, as was first reported, but died like a Soldier and a Man of Honor, lamenting that he had failed in his enterprize and rejoicing that he died for his King & Country. The General has not as yet informed Congress of the particulars of this transaction when he does I shall be happy in communicating them to you.

Congress has ordered the General to hold a Court of enquiry on the Conduct of Majr. General Gates in the late Action near Camden, and to appoint an officer to take the command of the Southern Army.

You will receive by this post one pound of Tea which is all that I could procure for the Money that was left me by Mr. Green. Maj. Jenifer left Town earlier than I expected,² or I should have sent it by him. I am hoping to find it is agreeable to Mrs. Lees taste. This and every other command of hers I shall execute with peculiar pleasure.

I propose to be at the Assembly but have little hopes that it will be at the commencement of it. The enquiries that are made on this head are very flattering to my vanity. You have never as yet found Time to acknowledge a voluminous letter of mine,³ drawn from me by a passage in one of yours of a former Date in which something is suggested, very similar to what is contained in your last. You will there find my opinion of the to whom you allude; nothing can give me so much pleasure as being the happy instrument of communicating "complete Satisfaction" to them. I would speake to you with freedom, but the danger of having ones letters opened, requires a degree of caution. The to whom you allude is extremely delicious; the evening Society of such *Company* is more desirable than all the celebrated Wits of the Augustan Age.

In my former letter of to Day⁴ you will receive information respecting Tents for the Northern Army and Clothing for the New Regts.

Give my Complements to Mrs. Lee and believe me to be with
Sincerity & affection Yr, J. Henry

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ For Washington's report on October 17 of the recent departure of a British fleet from New York presumed headed southward, see Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, October 21, 1780, note 2.

² See the preceding entry, note 3.

³ Not found.

⁴ That is, the letter of the Maryland Delegates to Lee, this date.

Whitmell Hill to Thomas Burke

[October 9, 1780]

Octr. 9th. Since writing the within have recd. yours per Mr. Sharpe, and was really astonished at your mention of not having recd. a Line from me, since you left this City, as I have wrote you three long Epistles¹ beside the present, and certainly some extraordinary mishap befalls them on the Road, it is no neglect of mine, as I have embraced several direct opportunities to your place, in order to communicate what events, worthy your Attention, had taken place, since you left us. I have no particular matter to engage your attention now, except our wretched prospect of succeeding in our *great Enterprise*, and for a moment view this Continent contending with the most powerful people on Earth, without one shilling of Money in the Treasury, no public Magazines of Provisions, Forage &c laid up for the Army which during this Campaign have been ten times without Bread, and as often without one mouth full of Meat, notwithstanding there is a great plenty in the Country, in fact we have nothing to buy it with, but Certificates issued by the Commissary & of these the People are quite tired, and when it is to grow better I know not, as I am very apprehensive the new Emission will not have a Circulation, when the attempt is made. Are you not alarmed at our Situation? must confess I am exceedingly; perhaps it may arise from my natural Timidity, but the more I reflect on our affairs, the more gloomy prospects throw themselves within my View. Amidst all our domestic Inefficiency, our Allies appear to be at least inactive; the Armament sent to our Relief has been locked up in Rhode Island, ever since their Arrival. The British, by the latest accounts, keep the command of the Channel, having, by putting to Sea early, prevented the Junction of the combined Fleets, and notwithstanding the very great superiority of the combined Fleets in the West Indies, they have been hitherto inactive, and at last dwindled to nothing, in short, I know not what is to become of us.

I observe with pain the Restrictions you are obliged to make on Genl. Gates's Conduct, and have since the Recpt. of your Letter prevailed on Congress to direct Genl. Washinton to order a Court of Enquiry into his Conduct and to send a proper Officer to succeed him, I dont yet know who it will be, but have some Expectation it will be Green.

I write Mr. Hart per this opportunity relative to his little Daughter, and find there is some small Difficulty in Mr. Morris's settling her Accts as Mrs. Bordeau seems to press very much for the payments to be made in Specie, I waited on Mrs. Bordeau on the Business and she informs me that it is necessary that her several Masters should be paid in Specie, as they would not engage to receive Paper. I believe

it would be well that Col. Hart transmit to Mr. Morris a Sum in Specie to answer their Demands, it being disagreeable to every person here to make advances of Money, as they are all engaged in Speculations of one kind or other. For my part it is not in my power to make advances, as it will be with great difficulty I shall be able to get away without borrowing which must have been the case, had I not sent home for a considerable Sum. I am Dr. Sir with great Esteem yr. most Obdt. Sert,

W. Hill

RC (Nc-Ar: Burke Papers). A continuation of Hill to Burke, October 2, 1780.

¹ Apparently Hill's letters to Burke of August 20 and September 12, 1780, and a third not found.

Samuel Huntington to William Shippen, Jr.

Sir, Philada October 9. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 6 Instant, containing the Appointment of the Officers elected by Congress in the Hospital Department on the new Arrangement, and a Surgeon to the regiment of Invalids.¹

I am Sir &c &c, S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The "new Arrangement" of the hospital department had been adopted on September 30, and Congress had proceeded to the election of officers under the new plan on October 6 and 7. Shippen was reappointed director general on October 6, along with Dr. John Cochran as "chief physician and surgeon of the army," with Drs. James Craik, Malachi Treat, and Charles McKnight as "chief hospital physicians." The "Surgeon to the regiment of Invalids" was actually appointed on October 7. See *JCC*, 18:878-88, 908-10.

Huntington's letter of this date to Col. Lewis Nicola, commander of the Invalid Regiment, notifying him of the appointment of Dr. Matthew Maus as the regiment's surgeon and authorizing Nicola to appoint a surgeon's mate "when the Number of sick shall make it necessary," is in PCC, item 15, fol. 129.

² Huntington also sent a list of the new appointments in the hospital department to General Washington with a brief cover letter of the 10th, in addition to sending letters of appointment to each of the new appointees the same day. PCC, item 15, fol. 132; and Washington Papers, DLC.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 9. 1780

Agreeable to the request of General Gates I transmit your Excellency the enclosed Papers No 1, 2, 3 & 4 this Day received.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's obedient, humble servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ In his letter to Congress of September 27, Horatio Gates had requested that these enclosures be forwarded to the commander in chief, so that it might never be "insinuated" that he was "guilty of the smallest Neglect to the exalted Character, who so eminently fills that Station." See *JCC*, 18:911; and *PCC*, item 154, 2:247-50. They consisted of the following letters: No. 1. Gates to Congress, September 27; No. 2. Assistant Deputy Quartermaster George Elliot to Gates, September 19; No. 3. Gates to Deputy Quartermaster William Finnie, September 27; and No. 4. Gates to Thomas Jefferson, September 27, 1780, all in the Washington Papers, DLC.

Maryland Delegates to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadela. Octr. 9th. 1780

Before Majr. Giles left Town we had some expectations of procuring a number of Tents from the State of Pennsylvania, but they have since informed us, through their Delegates that they cannot supply us. The Board of War will have in the course of four weeks six hundred for the Southern Army. As many as may be necessary for the New raised Regt. we shall request to be sent to Annapolis or such place as you may direct. If there are other recruits who will stand in need of them, we beg to be informed of it.

The Shirts which detained Majr. Giles' officer was ready some Days ago, and we suppose he is now on his way to Maryland with the Clothing.

Mr. Matlock the Secretary of Pennsylvania informed us yesterday that they had received intelligence of an embarkation of all Regts, now going forward at New-York. It is spoken of with some Confidence. We have received no Intimation of it from the General, which induces us to believe, the report is groundless, as we cannot suppose so important a movement would escape his observation.¹

Major Andrie the British adjutant was executed on Monday last. He disclosed nothing as was reported; but observed to those who were about him that he died like a Soldier & a Man of Honor, lamenting the failure of his enterprizes and rejoicing that he died for his King and Country. The General has not informed Congress of the particulars of this transaction, when he does we shall have the Honor of communicating them to you.

Congress has directed the Commander in chief to hold a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Majr. General Gates in the late Action near Camden and to appoint an officer to take the command of the Southern Army. General Smallwood has lately been honoured with the command of all the Militia of North Carolina by the General Assembly of that State.

Congress is happy to find that the requisition for cattle is likely to be carried into effect; we hope as little delay as possible will attend this Business. The distresses of the Army still continue and we wish

we could point out to you the period when they would probably terminate.

We have the honor to be, Sir with the highest respect and Esteem
your obedient Servants,

Geo. Plater

J. Henry.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985). Written by Henry and signed by Henry and Plater.

¹ See Henry to Lee, this date, note 1.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Committee of Congress, Committee Chamber
Monday October 9. 1780

Present Hnble Thos. McKean, Mr. Walker and Mr. Matlack.¹
Mr. Gibson, Mr. Forman²

Letter from F. Hopkinson Esqr. dated July 6th. 1780 to Comte.
of Congress, was read.³

Of undue Pride and insolence of Office.

Mr. Hopkinsons evidence and Mr. Palfreys evidence was given
in substance, nearly in the words given by the evidence.

After the Committee had expressed their sentiments of the conduct
of Mr Gibson & Mr Forman in appealing to the representatives of
the respective states in writing upon their case now in hearing, and
declaring they considered the same as a farther disrespect of the
Committee—and having refused to admit their written defence so
applied to be read⁴—

Agreed, To proceed in rehearing the Whole evidence as if the same
had not been heard—And thereupon Mr. Hopkinson offered in
evidence.⁵

Mr. Saml. Caldwell, Having been employed by the Bd. of W.
in purchasing cloathing at the desire of that Bd. he waited on the
Treasury—lest any explanation he could give of his contracts might
be wanted—at some times the doorway shut, wch. he mentioned to
Mr Gibson. Called one Morning 10 oClock. Lee came out & asked
what was his business. Caldwell replied he called (as above) upon
some accots. exhibitted—he went in, and Caldwell returned & said
the Board could not be seen at that hour—in a manner not quite
civil or decent—that they had published their duty and they ought
to be regarded—hours were 9 & 12, 2 & 5. Called again at 12 oclock,
& saw Mr Gibson and opened his business. The state of the Treasury
would not admit of payment but in certificates—he observed some
of the contracts did not require money and they might have satisfied
them any day from then to the day of contract—& explained it to



Timothy Matlack

him—and asked him a question—respecting the propriety of certificates being paid in the case when Bills were contracted for. He G. observed the impossibility of the Public paying their contracts—he G. observed that if justice was not to be attended to it was in vain to apply for it. Applied to B. Wr.—and was informed that B.T. would now attend it. He applied & met Mr Foreman ought of their hours who did not understand the business—and declared that the business, had never been laid before the business [board?]
—but it appeared notwithstanding in the minutes. Mr. F. said there was a lapse some where—for that it had never come to the Knowledge of the board. C. refered to the Minutes—F. could not find it, but C. showed it him—he said it must have been when he was abroad for six weeks. C. said it had been neglected in the treasury office.

Qu[estion]. Mr. F. Hopkinson. For what particular purpose was that contract made?

A[nswer]. To Supply the first Virginia troops with cloathing; which I was informed they could not proceed without them.

Qu. Have the Treasury board compleated that contract; is the amount paid?

An. No: not a farthing of it. I ought to have said that Mr. Gibson requested the state of the Contract to be committed to writing.

Qu. Have the Treasury board issued any warrants for the payment of their Contracts?

A. No. those Contracts were principally for the use of the troops Marching to the Southward—some few for other purposes.

Qu. by Mr. Gibson. What was it that Mr Forman had said to you?

An. That Mr Forman said he would answer upon his Memory that it had not been made to the board on the business. Afterwards that it must have been Made in his six weeks absence—And that he was very much surprised to hear him say that Justice was not concerned in it.

Qu. What was it that the Board of war answered to you?

An. That the Board of war found fault with the Treasury for delays. The words not remembered; but this was the sentinent.

Qu. Repeated.

An. That the Board, in their conversation on the subject blamed the Treasury as raising unnecessary delays and objections in their business.

Qu. by Mr Forman. Was this application to the Treasury from the Board of war; or from the Congress?

An. He did not certainly know, but supposed from the Board of War.

Qu. by Mr Gibson. Was you ever treated by the Treasury or any of them with undue pride or insolence &c?

An. Except in the instance of the reply, that they were not considering the justice of the case—And that he thought Mr. Forman

therefore was irritated by the earnestness of his (C.) applications.

Obs[ervation]. By Mr. Hopkinson. That the Time he had in examining this evidence cannot ascertain whether the end for which the authority was given B.T. was answered.

Mr. Pettit.⁶ Has had much business with the Treasury; some to his satisfaction, some otherwise. Has only one personal complaint. Some time last spring he applied to B.T. on some business, knocked at the door and hearing somebody within, supposed he was invited in as is usual. He went in and was met by one of the board who appeared frustrated—and told him the board did no business at that hour—he informed them his business was very short & was urgent, and pressed earnestly but decently to be heard: he was informed that he could not be heard then.

Mr P. then asked at what hour he might be heard in terms in which he endeavoured to be respectful & to suppress his feeling—it was replied at 12 o'clock.

Mr P. then walked round a square and came as near to 12 as he could which he affected within 5 Min.—the board was then risen & his business delayed.

Qu. By Mr Forman. What Member of the board met you at the door?

An. Mr. Forman.

Qu. by Do [i.e. Forman]. Did I treat you disrespectfully?

An. No. so far as was consistent with getting me peremptorily out of the room.

Q. by Mr Gibson. Was you ever treated by any of the board with any undue pride or insolence of office?

An. When I have had occasion to apply personally I have been treated with civility: the only appearance of incivility was in the instance mentioned [. . .] only those which are referred to in the written [. . .]sy between us.

Qu. by Mr McKean. Were you personally offended in those letters?

An: In one instance I thought I was; but perhaps I was not a judge in [. . .] Case.

Q. by Mr. Gibson to Mr. Hopkinson.

Did I ever treat you with insolence or undue Pride?

A. I don't know that you ever did. Mr. Forman did so.

Mr. Hopkinson—as to the Charge of incorrect & absurd orders from the board of Treasury.

Of which Mr. Hopkinson produced the following Instances viz.

1 of the 1st June.

2 of the 25th July.

3 of the 28th June.

4 of the 24 July.

5 of the 29 Sept.

6 of the 18 Sept.

7 The same set of Bills of Exchange differing in Tenor. Mr. Hopkinson by Letter submitted the propriety of preventing the Issuing of said bills—but they were emitted.

Mr. Gibsons Ques. to Mr. Delany.⁸ In your Interview with F. how were you treated?

A. With due Civility. No disputes had hapned between them.

Mr. Jas Mease⁹—has always been civilly treated by the Board.

Mr. Dunlap.¹⁰ Complains of Negligence in the Settlement of an acct. for printing Loan Office Certificates done 18 months ago & not paid yet.

Mr. Hopkinson. Says that the board of Treasury have not passed upon any account of his for six months past, tho two of them have been before the board for abt. that time.

Mr. Geddis. Observed, That one account of Mr. Hopkinsons would have been twice passed; but for the care of the Chamber of Accots.

An Altercation between Mr. Hopkinson & the Commissioners respecting the word “*injury*”—not material in the case.

Mr. Blaine.¹¹ Qu. Have the Commissioners of the Treasury ever behaved with insolence in office?

An. No. I have not had any very frequent transactions but in the instances I have, the Board have behaved very respectfully and I have been readily dispatched; Except in some late cases, when I have reason to believe there was not money.

Mr. Hillegas.¹² I have heard frequent complaints; and have mentioned them before; but I was wrong as it is but hearsay evidence.

<That of the Loan Office Commissioners acknowledge the receipt of Certificates and credit them in their account; N.B. This relates to a former board.>

That he has a very particular reproof given him in consequence of his paying a small order of 100 dollars or thereabout to the Doorkeeper of Congress & for paying the like sums some foreigners.

That in a Case of mere forwarding of business in sending money &c the Clerks of the Treasury have called & received information from him verbally. Upon which return was made in writing that the information must be given in writing which he accordingly did.

(here he repeated the Case of a Man expressing surprize at the payment &c) Also the Case of Mr. Lee.¹³

Mr Geddis—observed That the permission for Mr Nicholson to leave the Commissioners of Accounts was in Writing.

Mr. Nicholson. Applied to the Treasury on being summoned to appear without his arms &c and obtained a permission in writing from the board of the Treasury.

Mr Geddis. Observed, That Mr Nicholson had been long encouraged in a disregard of the Chamber of accounts.

Mr. Thomas Smith. In transacting business with the Treasury My applications have been attended to and readily dispatched—,

til lately they were generally personally—lately I have called and had My business done as heretofore; but was at the same time informed that the business must in future be done in writing, which it struck me was proper, and has been accordingly complied with on my part. I have been treated with decency and propriety. The Nature of my business with treasury has been short—and my orders have been in writing.

Qu. By Mr. McKean. Have you reced any incorrect or inconsistent orders?

An. I have some idea of somethings of this kind; but cannot now recollect what they were—not things of any great Consequence. In examining some Accts. of Mr. Hopkinsons there was some error in consequence of some eight bills returned as damaged each 36 dollars, which probably arose from it being not attended to that they were returned as damaged.¹⁴

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack.

¹ The work of this committee originated in the submission of charges against the commissioners of the treasury, William Denning, Ezekiel Forman, and John Gibson, by the treasurer of loans, Francis Hopkinson, on July 6, for which see Committee of Congress to the Board of Treasury, August 7, 1780, note. Its initial findings were embodied in a report by Thomas McKean that was submitted to Congress on August 25, but upon the receipt of complaints from Forman and Gibson protesting the committee's conduct and findings the report was recommitted. See *JCC*, 17:779–80, 18:811, 814–15 and *PCC*, item 78, 9:333–36, item 136, 4:573–74. Behind its recommendations—especially concerning the removal of Forman and Gibson and their secretary Charles Lee, for “very reprehensible, extremely disgusting” conduct—lay a remarkable story of bureaucratic infighting and obstructionism that signified great erosion in the administration of Continental affairs and an ominous lapse in effective congressional oversight. Indeed, the subsequent work of the committee in October and November did little to restore administrative efficiency or to demonstrate congressional competence in executive management, and probably strengthened the movement for administrative reform, hastening the creation of executive departments of government in 1781.

The committee's findings against Forman and Gibson in August rested not only upon the testimony of witnesses but also upon their surprisingly obstructionist conduct—refusing to appear at hearings, questioning the committee's authority, challenging its procedures, and perhaps tampering with the journals of Congress. And having fended off the blow of the committee's call for their removal, by securing the recommitment of its report, they not only persisted in hindering the committee's investigation but even attempted a daring appeal to Congress over the head of its committee. In view of this extraordinary pattern of events, it is puzzling that the committee's recommendations were never implemented, or that none of the officials under investigation were removed.

The primary objection to McKean's August 25 report was that its conclusions rested upon testimony taken *ex parte*, which the committee had warned would be its recourse if the commissioners refused to heed its summonses. In an earlier period, Congress would probably have dismissed the officers summarily for such conduct, but insofar as Hopkinson's charges were concerned, there was much to be said in their behalf. And many delegates were sympathetic to the defendants' claim that Hopkinson's charges were personal and trifling compared to other ills plaguing treasury administration, which required a broader investigation extending as well

to the conduct of the commissioners of the chambers of accounts—particularly William Geddes, William Govett, John Dyer Mercier, and Resolve Smith. These officers, according to Forman and Gibson, were responsible for much of the treasury's inefficiency, and therefore should be the primary object of the committee's inquiry. Among other offenses, Forman and Gibson insisted, the commissioners of accounts should be investigated for "1. Neglect of Duty; 2. Indolence; 3. Inattention to the public Interest; 4. Incapacity and 5. Partiality."

Furthermore, other questions raised in the course of the committee's previous work—such as the demand of the commissioners of accounts for removal of their secretary, John Nicholson, for leaking office documents; and a tantalizing hint by Charles Thomson that his journals had been tampered with to aid Forman's and Gibson's defense—suggested the desirability of continuing and broadening the investigation. See PCC, item 62, fols. 381–88, 397–400, 451–55, 474–77.

The delay in resuming the inquiry was apparently due to both McKean's announced plan to retire from Congress (see McKean to Joseph Reed, August 29, 1780), and continued sparring between Forman and Gibson and the committee in late September. The two treasury commissioners informed the committee on September 27 that they were now looking forward to "an opportunity of being heard," in keeping with Congress' September 9 resolution recommitting McKean's report, and enclosed with their letter "a hasty Sketch of our Defence," along with "Charges against the Commissioners of the Chambers of Accounts," which they believed would explain their innocence of the charges levelled at them by Hopkinson. But instead of simply stating their position in this manner, Forman and Gibson then proceeded to write a circular letter to each of the state delegations in Congress, enclosing a copy of their "Defence" and hinting the necessity of this resort to ensure that they would receive a fair hearing. See PCC, item 62, fols. 605–10, 613–20 (where a pagination error obscures the identity of their circular letter, dated September 30, located at fols. 605 and 607).

Despite this attack on the committee's integrity, the inquiry was reopened this date and continued on October 11, 12, 16, 21, 23, 25, and 26, and then was resumed November 17, 18, 20, and 23 to hear Forman's and Gibson's charges against the commissioners of accounts. The October hearings were structured to elicit testimony and evidence on each of Hopkinson's four original charges—that the commissioners were guilty of "1. Undue Pride & Insolence of Office; 2. Absurd and incorrect Orders issued by the Board; 3. A dangerous Usurpation of Power in prohibiting the Payment of Monies on the Warrant of Congress unless such Warrants be accompanied with their special License; [and] 4. Interlining & altering Accounts filed in the Records of the Office." PCC, item 78, 12:39–44. The course of the committee's work can be followed through the 12 entries of committee minutes printed in this volume and through the papers generated by the parties involved in these hearings, in item 62, fols. 255–638, and elsewhere in PCC as cited in notes accompanying these minutes.

² Although Francis Hopkinson's charges had been directed at all three commissioners of the board of treasury, William Denning, Ezekiel Forman, and John Gibson, Forman and Gibson were the focus of the hearings for which minutes have survived. Denning, the junior member of the board, solicited permission from Congress to resign his post during the course of this inquiry, and when he failed to obtain the necessary permission requested and was granted leave of absence. See *JCC*, 18:1002, 1047; and PCC, item 78, 7:309–14.

³ Hopkinson's letter is in PCC, item 78, 12:39–44.

⁴ Gibson's and Forman's appeal "to the representatives of the respective states in writing" is in PCC, item 62, fols. 605, 607; their "written defence" at fols. 613–20.

⁵ Probably the documents marked Nos. 1–12 at PCC, item 62, fols. 577–604.

⁶ Charles Pettit, assistant quartermaster general. The following day, October 10, Pettit submitted a number of letters to the committee "alluded to in the testimony

I gave yesterday respecting the Board of Treasury," which are in PCC, item 62, fols. 351-71. For Pettit's "business with the Treasury. . . . Some time last spring," see Thomas Burke to Pettit, May 15, 1780, note.

⁷ Matlack appears to have left the hearing at this point in the proceedings. The following question and answer were recorded by Thomas McKean, and the next several entries are in an unidentified hand before Matlack resumed the minutes.

⁸ Sharp Delany, one of the managers of the Continental lottery.

⁹ James Mease, former clothier general.

¹⁰ Philadelphia printer John Dunlap.

¹¹ Ephraim Blaine, commissary general of purchases.

¹² Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States.

¹³ Probably Charles Lee, secretary of the Board of Treasury.

¹⁴ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 11, 1780.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, Oct. 10, 1780

I do myself the honour to write to your Excellency by this day's post; and when I reflect that I have been honoured by only two letters from you since I arrived at this place,¹ I fear my scrolls have been disagreeable, but shall continue them until I am informed.

The arrangements of the army hath passed in Congress in the same form I mentioned in my last.² So far as respects the reducing officers, is referred to General Washington for his opinion on the mode proposed before it will be published. So far as it respects the number of troops and time of service for the ensuing year, is ordered to be sent to the respective States,³ which I apprehend you will receive before this will reach you, by which you will see our quota is five hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates. I trust the State will have no objection to the number, and I flatter myself they will take measures to have the quota compleated for the war, and in the field by the time limited, at least it is my most earnest wish; and I hope to be so happy as to have the Honourable General Assembly to concur with me in sentiments.

Congress is busily employed in Committee and otherwise, in reducing the public expences and devising ways and means for raising money and supplies, and preparing an estimate of the national expense for the year ensuing.

The affair of the Hampshire grants is yet before Congress undetermined, and I am not able to say positively what will be done, but have reason to believe Commissioners will be appointed agreeable to the confederation, to enquire into and settle the claims between the States of New York and New Hampshire, and report to Congress: after which it is probable the independence of Vermont will be taken into consideration.

Congress have ordered an enquiry to be made into General Gates's

conduct during his command to the southward, and that he be suspended from his command until such enquiry be made; and directed General Washington to send a Major General to take the command of the southern army.

Your Excellency was pleased to inform, in your letter of the 25th of July, that the General Assembly had, at their last session, adopted the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last, and fixed sufficient funds for the redemption of the State's quota. I expected the act would have been sent forward long before this, but as it hath not come to hand, I wish to know the reason, that I may be able to answer Congress when I am called upon, which hath been done often.⁴ I have not the least doubt but it hath been kept back upon just principles, and I wish the prospect of the new bills having a quick circulation, was greater than I have any assurance of in those States that have received them.

Congress last week compleated the system of the hospital department,⁵ and made choice of the necessary surgeons, physicians, and hospital officers, by which means more than fifty surgeons, &c. have gone to the right about by the number being lessened, by which means I am sure much money will be saved, and I trust the sick will be better taken care of.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
Ezekial Cornell.

Reprinted from the *New York Royal Gazette*, "Extraordinary," October 25, 1780. Tr (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). In the hand of Cornell, who informed Greene in a letter of November 9 that he made this copy after learning that the original was intercepted on October 20 at Stratford, Conn., along with the entire packet of the "eastern" post. This was the first of two "eastern" packets captured within a month at Stratford Landing. Selected letters from both were subsequently published in James Rivington's *Royal Gazette*. See also John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

¹ These letters, of July 22 and 25, are in PCC, item 64, fols. 478-85; and Staples, *Rhode Island*, pp. 296-97.

² See Cornell to William Greene, September 19, 1780.

³ See Samuel Huntington to the States, October 6, 1780, which was also among the letters captured by the British on October 20.

⁴ A copy of the Rhode Island act arrived on October 16. See Cornell to Greene, August 15, note 2, and October 17, 1780.

⁵ See Samuel Huntington to William Shippen, October 9, 1780.

James Duane to George Washington

My dear General,

Philadelphia 10th October 1780

Yesterday I had the Honour of your Excellency's very friendly Letter of the 4th Instant¹ for which be pleased to accept my warmest Thanks.

Before this reaches your Hands you will have received the new Arrangement of the Army, submitted, as it is, to your Opinion it is only to be considered as an Essay open to such Alterations as you may suggest. The Idea of a Majority of Congress was clear that it would be too hazardous to risk the Defence of America on the practicability of drawing an Army for the War into the Field by the first of January: the Alternative therefore, as you will find it guarded, was thought necessary tho' All admitted a permanent Force to be most desirable. I saw and explained the danger of an *Alternative* however cautiously expressed. The States may think they do enough if they comply with either of the Injunctions; and, while Men who make Arms a *profession*, have a prospect of being annually retained, for high premiums, they will hardly tie themselves at once for the War.

In the original proposition there was another Alternative—for the war, or *for three years*, besides that which gives your Excellency so much and such Just Apprehension: This last was rejected by a Majority: perhaps unfortunately as in the opinion of many it strengthend the Reasons for the annual Supply By drafts. I do not think it too late to correct this Error if pointed out with the Force that every thing falls from your Pen. The manner of Reduction is I am confident liable to great Objection, and I have no doubt but you will suggest a Rule or *principle as Seniority* or any thing you may think better, which will avoid the difficulty you suggest and meet with Approbation: for I do not conceive that a single Member will be tenacious of the provision on this Article. Indeed I am perswaded that your Excellency's Representations on this and every Subject will have as much Influence as you can wish, and that on this particular Occasion nothing but a Clear Conviction of Impracticability will induce Congress to overrule your Opinion.²

A false Estimate of the power and Perseverance of our Enemies was friendly to the present Revolution: and inspired that Confidence of Success in all Ranks of people, which was necessary to unite them in so arduous a Cause. You cannot forget the Opinions which were Current on this Floor at the first and second Congresses and how firmly they established this Error. We seem to part with it with Reluctance; it still hangs heavy upon us; and has produced the Indecision the Expedients and the Debility of which you complain. I hope Misfortunes and distresses will at length rouse us to Just

Sentiments and vigorous Exertions; and with your Excellency I pray God That the fatal Delusion which has marked our Conduct may end here.

When the Enemy turn their Eyes to the Southward they see too much Imbecility not to be encouraged to attempt to extend their Conquest and improve Advantages which they have derived in no small Degree from our own Temerity and Misconduct: I believe we shall not want *Men* to oppose them, Virginia having made Efforts the Expansiveness of which is incredible, and North Carolina being equally disposed to act vigorously tho' not so capable to raise their Quota for a fixed and certain period. I wish we may have it in our power to provide the necessary Supplies: your Excellency too well knows and feels our difficulties and Embarrassments, and that they are only to be surmounted by great Exertions. I flatter myself that you do me no more than Justice in believing that Duty and Inclination equally demand my Assiduous Endeavours to correct our past Errors and draw forth our Resources.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for your Account of the Interview at Hartford;³ and beg you to believe that no Man can be with greater Affection and personal Estachment, than I am, My dear General, Your most Obedient and very humble Servant,
Jas Duane

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 10:117-18.

² For Washington's lengthy October 11 response to Congress, and the October 21 resolutions adopted in consequence of his "Representations," see *ibid.*, pp. 157-67; and Samuel Huntington's first letter to the States, October 26, 1780.

³ In his October 4 letter to Duane, Washington had explained that his "Interview at Hartford" with the comte de Rochambeau and the chevalier de Ternay had "produced nothing conclusive because neither side knew with certainty what was to be expected." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:76-81, 118.

John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

My Dear sir

Philadelphia October 10th 1780

I am much obliged to you for your favour by the last post. The Letters inclosed Shall be taken Care of. Mr McCarty is now in Town. I now inclose you the Crisis Extraordinary¹ and the last papers, to which I beg leave to refer you for news. All expectations of the Arrival of the French fleet seems now to be at an end. Ternay by raising fortifications on Rhode Island has it is thought Secured His fleet and the Army Against Any Attack of the Enemy. This being the Case, And Clinton haveing failed putting in Execution his designs Against West Point, it is probable his next object will be to the Southward. The Climate is favourable for a Winter Campaign, and a number

of Troops may be Spared from new york Without Hazarding the loss of that place, as we Can make no attempts on it with any prospect of Success While the Enemy is So Superior at Sea. On the 5th Instant the Commander in Chief by a Resolve of Congress is directed to order a Court of enquiry on the Conduct of General Gates, and to appoint an officer to take the Command of the Southern Army untill such enquirey be made. Some honorable notice will be taken of the Baron de Kalb, who fell so gloriously in the Cause of America. A Committee of Congress is appointed for that purpose.² The thanks of Congress will be transmitted to Generals Smallwood And Gist and to the Officers and men under their Command, for their Conduct and bravery in the late Action near Camden. Our assembly I am informed is to meet the 17th. I heartly wish a good Choice of representatives may have been made throughout the State at the last Election. Never was there a time when the assistance of men of experience integrity and Abilities were more wanting than the present to Conduct our public affairs. Matters of the greatest importance will be under your Consideration. The affairs of Congress Are So embarrassed for want of money, that the most dreadful Consequences may be expected, unless the States Can fall upon Some Way to furnish what is required of them and pay up their Arrears the doing of which I am afraid will be Attended with difficulties allmost insurmountable. I hope for the best. I am perswaded that every that Can be done by our State, Will be done. I pray God we had an Honorable peace. My most respectful Compliments to Mr Carroll and the Ladies. And Am with usual esteem And regard, Dear sir your most Obedient & hble Sevt,

John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Carroll Papers).

¹ See Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee, October 9, 1780, note 2.

² The committee that had been appointed September 22 "to consider what honours are due to the memory of the late Major General the Baron de Kalb" reported October 11. On the 14th Congress resolved that a monument with a lengthy inscription be erected in Annapolis, Md., for which see *JCC*, 18:849, 917, 923.

John Hanson to Philip Thomas

Dear Doct.

Philadelphia Octo. 10th. 1780

I received your by Mr Faw, who sets out again this morning and it being post day and obliged to Answer Several letters I yesterday received by the post I have scarce time to Say Anything. I wrote you by the last post¹ and inclosed you the papers which I hope you have received. As to the Election I care not how it has been determined and Shall never be anxious of representing a people who are to be altogether influenced by two or three Ignorant Dutchmen.

And while this is the Case in our County, I apprehend we Shall be misserably represented. Andre was hanged on Monday last. He made no discoveries. He was asked at the Gallows if he had Any thing to Say. His Answer was that he was not afraid to dye, That he was prepared for it, but was Concerned at the manner, he would much rather have been Shot, desired that it might be taken notice that his behaviour at his Execution was Such as became a Gentleman and a Soldier. He was dressed in a new Suit of Regimentals with his Sword by his Side. His friend Smith it is said will Share the Same fate in a few days. Old Franks of this City is taken up on Suspicion of Treasonable practices and Imprisoned. His Son one of Arnolds Aids it is said is gone off.

On the 5th Instant the Commander in Chief by a Resolve of Congress is directed to order a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Gen Gates, and to appoint an officer to take the Command of the Southern Army untill such inquiry be made. Some honorable notice will be taken of the Baron de Kalb who fell so gloriously in the Cause of America And the thanks of Congress will be returned to Generals Smallwood & Gist, and to the Officers and men under their Command for their Conduct and bravery in the late Action near Camden.

All expectations of the Arrival of the French fleet are at an End. Ternay by erecting fortifications on different parts of Rhode Island has secured His fleet and the Army Against Any Attempts of the Enemy—this being the Case, and Clinton haveing failed in his designs Against West Point, it is more than probable His next object will be to the Southward. The Climate is favourable for a Winter Campaign, and a Considerable number of men may be Spared from New York without Hazarding that place, as no Attempt Can be made by us on that place with any prospect of Success while the Enemy is so far Superior at Sea. Mr. Faw tells me he is to sell George—at £100 gold in Case he Can get no more. This is a low price when it is Considered gold is depreciated at best 100 Per Cent, however it is better to part with him at allmost Any price than exercise the Cruelty which would be necessary to oblige him to Stay with you. Exchange here is 75. It may perhaps be worth while to Send the gold here to be Exchanged if you intend to turn it into paper.

I have inclosed the Crisis-Extraordinary on finance, And the last papers. My Love to your Mother, Janey, Sammy and little ones hope I shall be with you the last of next month or the first week in December tell Sammy I have not time to write to him. Tell him the Colour of his Cloath is a mixed blue Such as Alley formerly had a Coat of. Farewell,

J.H.

[P.S.] Please to tell Taney to get his Horses fat or I shall be much displeased when I return.

RC (MdHi: Hanson Letters).

¹ See Hanson to Thomas, October 2, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Bradford

Sir,

Philada October 10. 1780

Enclosed you will receive for your Information and Government, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 9 Instant, relative to the Petitions of Philips & Bensey, two British Prisoners.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15) Addressed: "To Mr Thomas Bradford Depy Com[missar]y of Prisoners."

¹ Peter Bensey and John S. Phillips, former British prisoners who had deserted from the Convention Army and since taken up residence and established families in Philadelphia, had petitioned Congress for permission to take an oath of allegiance preparatory to becoming citizens of Pennsylvania. The committee to whom their petitions had been referred found that such a step would be contrary to the terms of the Saratoga Convention, however, and therefore might work to the detriment of American prisoners with the enemy. The committee's recommendation that the petitioners' prayer be denied was adopted by Congress on October 9. See *JCC*, 18:819, 822, 899, 913; and PCC, item 27, fols. 109-10, item 42, 1:220, 6:240.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir,

Philadelphia October 10. 1780

Enclosed your Excellency will receive an Act of Congress of the 7 Instant, appointing Commissioners to endorse the new Bills of Credit to be issued by Virginia; and Letters to the Gentlemen informing them of their Appointment, which I request the favor of you to forward, as I am unacquainted with the Places of their residence.¹

I have the Honor to be with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. I have been favored with your Letters of the 27 of September & 3 of October.²

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For the appointment of Charles Fleming and Foster Webb as commissioners to sign bills of credit issued by Virginia "pursuant to the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last," see *JCC*, 18:910-11.

Huntington's letter of this date to Fleming and Webb notifying them of this appointment is in PCC, item 15, fol. 130.

² Jefferson's letter of September 27 has not been found, but see *JCC*, 18:912; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:669-70. His October 3 letter is in *ibid.*, 4:7; and PCC, item 71, 1:431-34.

Samuel Huntington to Lewis Pintard

Sir

Philadelphia October 10. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 9 Instant, directing you to issue Supplies to the Navy Prisoners in the same Manner as to those of the land Army, as practised heretofore; and to make distinct Returns to the Board of Admiralty of all such Supplies issued—distinguishing those in Continental Service from those in private Ships, in the Manner directed by the Act inclosed.¹

I am with Respect & Esteem, sir, most obedient Servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (ViU: Davis Marshall Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington. LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To Mr Lewis Pintard, Ag[en]t for Continental Prisoners, N.York."

¹ See *JCC*, 18:912.

Willie Jones to Abner Nash

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr. 10. 1780.

I recd. your favrs. of 10 & 14 ulto. by Mr. Sharp, for which I am much obliged to you. Genl. Washington is directed to order a Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Genl. Gates and to appoint an Officer to take the Command of the Southern Army, until the Inquiry shall be made.

I wrote to you fully on the 1st instt., & another short Lettr., subsequent, Per favr. of Mr. Stanley.¹ In the first of these I informed you that the Board of War had procured 800 Tents for the Southern Army; when they told me so, they counted upon 300 Tents, which they made no doubt of obtaining from the Executive of this State, in which however they were disappointed, and this reduces the Number to 500, and I fear it will be a considerable time before they can be forwarded.

It was yesterday reported that eleven Regiments had embarked at New York, bound into Chesapeak Bay. Had I not the utmost Confidence in the consummate Virtue & Wisdom of Genl. Washington, I should murmur that greater Reinforcements have not been detached from the Grand Army to march to the Southward. Colo. De Buisson told me that he met the new Maryland Regiment, on its March to Carolina, (which was complete in number of Men when they left this) and that it was reduced by Desertion to about 150 Men: I flatter myself the Colo. was mistaken.

I expect the British will make vigorous Efforts against No. Carolina

in the Course of the ensuing Winter; but as Virginia seems to be somewhat roused from the Lethargy in which she slept, and the Spirit of our Coutrymen is yet unbroken, I make no doubt they will in the End prove ineffectual.

Colo. Andrie was executed the 2d instt.

He refused to disclose any thing, and died like a gallant Soldier.

My Compliments to Mrs. Nash & my Friends at Newbern. I am,
Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Humble Servt. Willie Jones

[P.S.] I inclose the paper of the day.

RC (NcU: Jethro Sumner Papers).

¹ See Jones to Nash, October 7, 1780.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Philada. [October 10, 1781]¹

I received yesterday yours of the 2d inst.² Some of the questions mentioned in it I anticipated in my last. The clause of the resolutions you left on the table relating to Indian purchases is still undetermined.³ Many attempts have been made to bring the Vermont dispute to an issue, but the diversity of opinions that prevail on one side & the dilatory artifices employed on the other have frustrated them. All the evidence has been heard and a proposition for including it within the jursidiction of some one of the States debated for some time, but the decision was suspended. An arrangement of the Army founded on G. Washington's letter, has passed Congress and is now with the Genl. for his observations on it. It includes a recommendation to the States to fill up their quotas. No arrangement of the Civil departments has taken place. A new medical system has been passed. Shippen is again at the head of it. Craig & Cockran have not been forgotten. The instructions relating to the Mississippi have passed entirely to my satisfaction. A committee is now preparing a state of the reasons & principles on which they stand. Dr Lee has not yet arrived.⁴

No military or naval intelligence has come to hand since my last except a further report that a very large embarkation is actually going on at N. York. It will be prudent for Virginia not to neglect the precautions necessary for her defence in case she should be the object of it.

Andrè was hung the 2d inst. He submitted to his fate in a manner that shewed him to be worthy of a better one. His coadjutor Smith will soon follow him. The Hero of the plot, it is *said* is to be made a Brigadier and employed in some predatory expedition suited to his genius & his thirst for pelf. It is said with more probability that

his baseness is heartily despised by those who have taken advantage of it, and that some resentment is mixed with their contempt on account of the loss of their darling officer.

Our domestic controversy is still sub judice. This day I believe will certainly decide it in its present stage. If it should be unfortunate it will be carried into the Court of Errors. Some propositions founded on an amicable separation have been made on the part of Bulkley but they were so pregnant with ruin to the old lady that her friends could not advise her to accede to them.⁵

Your compliments were presented to the family as you desired, and are returned with very great sincerity. I hope your lady and son have by this time recovered, and that no other impediment will keep you from the Assembly when it meets, or from returning hither as soon as it rises.

I am Dr. Sir yr Affecte friend & Servt,

James Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:122-23.

¹ Although this letter is undated, it is clear from the first paragraph that Madison wrote it after October 6, when Congress appointed a committee to draft instructions on the navigation of the Mississippi River, but before the October 10 vote in Congress on Jones' September 6 motion on western lands. Since Madison habitually wrote to Jones and Edmund Pendleton on Tuesdays and his letter to Pendleton this day contains virtually the same information regarding Arnold and André, it is probable that both letters were written in the morning before Madison attended Congress.

² See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:105-7.

³ See Madison to Jones, September 19, note 1, and October 17, 1780, note 1.

⁴ That is, Arthur Lee.

⁵ The "domestic controversy" to which Madison refers was between Mrs. Mary House ("the old lady"), who owned the dwelling at 5th and Market in which a number of southern and New York delegates resided, and Joseph Bulkley, who was pressing a court claim for the furniture in the house, some of which belonged to the delegates, if not for the house itself. Mrs. House was represented by New York delegate John Morin Scott who won an initial judgement for her in late October. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:92n.8, 123n.6. For the issue of congressional immunity eventually raised by this case, see James Duane's letters to Joseph Reed, November 30 and December 16, 1780.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Phila. Octr. 10th. 1780

Your favor of the first Inst. came safe to hand yesterday. The inclosed was sent to Mr. Pendleton who is still in town.¹

All we know of the several fleets in the American Seas is that Rodney with a few ships is at N. York, the remainder having joined Graves & Arbuthnot whom we know nothing about. Ternay is still at Rhode Island. The main french fleet under Guichen left the West

Indies about the time first mentioned with a large fleet of Merchantmen under its convoy, and has not since been heard of. The residue of the french fleet is in the W. Indies but we do not hear of their being any way employed. It is said an English expedition is preparing at Jamaica against some of the Spanish Settlements. The Spanish expeditions against the Floridas I believe I mentioned in my last.

We have private accounts through a channel which has seldom deceived that a very large embarkation is still going on at N. York. I hope Virginia will not be surprized in case she should be the meditated victim.

Andrè was hung as a spy on the 2d inst. Clinton made a frivolous attempt to save him by pleading the passport granted by Arnold. He submitted to his fate in a manner that shewed him to be worthy of a better one. His coadjutor Smith will soon follow him. The Hero of the Plot, although he may for the present escape an ignominious death must lead an ignominious life which if any of his feelings remain will be a sorer punishment. It is *said* that he is to be made a Brigadier and employed in some predatory expedition against the Spaniards in which he may gratify his thirst for gold. It is said with more probability that his baseness is universally despised by those who have taken advantage of it, and that some degree of resentment is mixed with their contempt on account of the loss of their darling officer to which he was accessory. With sincere regard, I am Dr. Sir yr obt & humbl servt.

James Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:125.

¹ That is, judge Henry Pendleton of South Carolina (1750-89), Edmund's nephew. Captured at Charleston, Henry had broken his parole and had come to Philadelphia "to justify his conduct." Because of the unusual expense he had incurred he had petitioned Congress on October 4, "as one of the principal Magistrates of a sister State," for an advance of money "for the State of South Carolina." The petition had been referred to a committee which reported this day, recommending "that it is not expedient to grant the prayer of the petition." It was probably a copy of this recommendation that Madison had "inclosed" to the Pendletons. Following final debate on the petition on October 23, Congress ordered "that it be postponed." No further action is recorded, but in response to an application from the South Carolina delegates thereafter, Congress immediately ordered that a warrant be issued "in their favour, for twenty thousand dollars for the special and particular use of the said state." See *JCC*, 18:908, 914, 965; and *PCC*, item 41, 8:136-37, item 78, 22:479-81.

Maryland Delegates to John H. Stone

Dear Sir¹

Philadela. Octr. 10th. 1780

We had the Honor of your favour by the last post. The Act of the State of pennsylvania for prohibiting the exportation of provisions

is continued for six months and from thence to the End of the next setting of the General Assembly. The Act continuing the Embargo is in the enclosed paper to which we have the Honor of referring you.²

For the News of the Day we must refer you to our letter to the Governor and Council,³ and have the honor to be with the most perfect [Esteem], Yrs.

Geo Plater

J. Henry

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Henry and signed by Henry and Plater.

¹ John Hoskins Stone (1750–1804) of Charles County, Md., was the brother of former Maryland delegate Thomas Stone and nephew of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. A lawyer and merchant, Stone was at this time a member of the state executive council. *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 2:784–85.

² The “enclosed paper” was the October 10 issue of John Dunlap’s *Pennsylvania Packet*. For the Maryland council’s October 6 letter requesting a copy of the law, see *Md. Archives*, 43:317.

³ That is, the letter of the Maryland Delegates to Thomas Sim Lee, October 9, 1780.

John Sullivan to John Langdon

Dear Sir

Philadelphia October 10th 1780

I am honored with your favor of the 15th ulto. I am Exceeding Sorry that I was Deprived the pleasure of Seeing You before my Departure from New Hampshire. Shall be happy to keep up a Correspondence with you & as *Earnest* Send of you a newspaper which Contains all the news of this Dull village. I waited on Mr Smith agreeable to your request. He Says he will write you fully by the next post. The Trunk You mention Contains only his Sons Sea Cloathes of Little value which he wishes you to keep till his Sons return from France.¹

All the Congress news I can give you is that General Gates is recalled & ordered for Tryal. Major Andree Arnolds Sortuer is hanged & Arnold is made a Brigadier in the British Service.

I am with much respect &, Esteem Dr Sir yr most obedt Servt,
Jno Sullivan

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

¹ For Langdon’s November 13 response to this letter, see Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:199–200.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Tuesday October 11. 1780

Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Walker & Mr. Matlack.

Mr Huston.¹ Has sat at the treasury board for six months, that in the first about 3 months they did business as may be said with open doors—that it was found very inconvenient especially when applications became very frequent, that he does not precisely recollect the hours appointed; but was of opinion that there was a real occasion for setting apart particular hours to hear application, and others for the Purpose of drawing reports to Congress. That as to the particular hours appointed he had never given his dissent to the times.

Offered in Evidence Minutes of Treasury Board.

April 1 1780. Present Mr. Huston, Mr. Burke,² Mr. Forman. And Advertisement of the hours for receiving business by application—appointing the hours from 12 'til two and from four to five.

Second charge³ of assuming a dangerous power of preference to particular warrants &c.

Mr. Huston. Ordered, That the Treasurer be directed to discharge the warrant in favour of Mr Pettit, for forwarding the troops to the southward, should be paid in preference of all others—agreeably to the spirit of the order of Congress for the forwarding that purpose—But that it was not understood to extend generally to all cases. This necessity continued when the Maryland troops passed forward.

22nd April 1780. Minutes of the Board of Treasury.

Present Mr Gibson, Mr Huston & Mr Burke.

“That the Treasurer pay such monies only upon warrants accompanied by a letter of advice from this Board.”

Mr. Hopkinson. Appeals to the minutes for a reprimand given to Mr Hillegas for advancing a small sum to clerks in the offices when in great distress—and shortly after giving a draft in favour of Mr Forman for the sum of 30,000 dollars which was directed to be paid.

Minutes forbidding payment by the Treasury but on special order.

May 2. Present Gibson, Burke, Huston, Order to Mr. Forman for 30,000 Dollars. 1st June. Order for payment on the 24th with many others—intermediately others were paid.

Minutes, June 16. Present Gibson, Forman, Henry,⁴ Denning. The Treasurer have advice to pay the warrants on him contained in his return dated the same day. Ordered that the strictest attention be paid to the orders of 22nd April & 2nd May last respecting monies [that] may be in the Treasury.

The examining of the account admitted and the accot. having been seen before and the facts agreed the same was not now examined.

Note alteration in general of the manner of [ar]ranging the names

of the Commissioners present after 22nd April—the Commissioner always first named.

Remarks by Mr Gibson. The Treasury Board is no board of Account. The accounts are to be kept by the Chamber of Accounts—and the Treasury only keep Journals. That inconsistent or erroneous orders have been founded on the Errors of returns from the Treasurer of Loans.⁵

Adjourned to 10 tomorrow morning.⁶

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 9, 1780.

¹ New Jersey delegate William Churchill Houston.

² North Carolina delegate Thomas Burke.

³ Actually this was the third charge directed against the treasury commissioners by Francis Hopkinson, for which see Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 9, 1780, note 1.

⁴ Virginia delegate James Henry, who was elected to the Board of Treasury on May 10, 1780, in the place of James Duane. *JCC*, 17:420, 18:1230.

⁵ The miscellaneous papers related to this inquiry located in the PCC also include two pages of detached notes in Matlack's hand whose precise relationship to the minutes of proceedings cannot be determined. As the first of these consists of a comment on "incorrect Orders &c," they are quoted together here in the absence of a better place to intrude them.

"As to incorrect Orders &c. The Superintends. of the Press say they have received such, but imputed them rather to the Inattention of the Secretaries & Clerks in the Treasury office than to the Fault of the Board itself." PCC, item 62, fol. 87.

"Mr. Hopkinson. Sent his account, which he desired might have been settled, that it was desired to have been sent, Mr. H. proved that he had sent it sealed to the Board. He was then told it was lost and a second and a third account was sent in different form.

"Mr. Nicholson has obtained leave of absence from the Treasury Board without the chamber of accounts being consulted.

"Q. To the Managers of the Lottery put by Comsonssrs. of Treasury. Have you discovered in the Board of Tr. any degree of undue pride or Insolence of office?

"A. We have always been treated with due respect & civility by the Comonss. of the Treasury.

"Q. The same. To the Superintdts. of the Press.

"A. The same as above." Ibid., fol. 388.

⁶ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 12, 1780.

Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir, Philada Octr. 12. 1780

I have received your letter of 27 May And the duplicate with the Prints for which I am much obliged and will embrace the first opportunity of transmitting one set of the Prints agreeable to your request to Gen. Schuyler.¹ I have been anxious with respect to your being informed regularly of what is passing here. Many things have happened of which you ought to be acquainted. I perceive the

Minister of Spain is desirous to know the state of our Finances. They have undergone a considerable change since you left us, particularly with regard to the Money or paper bills heretofore emitted for the purpose of carrying on the War. On this subject though I can explain myself to you it will be no easy Matter for you to give a satisfactory account to people in Europe, who are entire strangers to our paper Money. And yet this ought to be done to prevent the ill impressions that may be made by the clamours of disappointed Men who hoped to accumulate Mountains of wealth from our Misfortunes. Congress having before your departure resolved not to emit a greater quantity of bills than 200 Millions dollars, and having in order to stop a farther depreciation & fix the value that seem settled by the Mode of redeeming it by an annual Assesment for eighteen years found themselves Under a necessity to call upon the states to raise by taxes the sum of 15 millions a Month in order to carry on the war. But as the legislatures were slow in raising the taxes & the demands of the public were pressing the people found they were solicited to sell, before the want of Money urged them, and consequently foreseeing that taxes would be great, every one determined to ease himself and make his own particular burden as light as possible by raising the price of the commodities wanted. The result of this was that the paper depreciated more than ever, And the Monthly Assessments when paid in were found to be No way adequate to the public demands in as much as every thing wanted for the Army was by the month of January raised to double the Nominal price of what it was in the Month of October when you left us. The Merchants & traders who imported foreign articles & Who are always watchful to secure themselves taking advantage of the depreciation raised the price of their Commodities to an enormous degree so that the commonwealth lay like a ship stranded Whose mariners instead of exerting themselves to save her, were Wholly employed in securing to themselves as much of the Cargo as possible leaving her to the mercy of winds & Waves. In order to supply the Wants of the Army Which could not be provided for by taxes Congress in the Month of Feby called on the several states for specific supplies of provisions & forage. But before these could be brought in, such advantage was taken of the public wants which were wholly supplied by purchase on credit, that the Nominal debt of the Continent was increased Almost beyond calculation. Of this you will easily judge when you are informed that in the month of March commodities were sold in the Market of Philadelphia at four times the price they were in the Month of September. In short a continental dollar was valued at no more than a penny half penny & in many Instances at not more than a penny so that the depreciation was fluctuating from 60 to 90 for one And Nobody knew where it would settle. Upon this Our enemies took courage and flattering themselves that Congress must soon sink under

these embarrassments, they set every engine to Work to continue & encrease them by counterfeiting the currency, multiplying their emissaries to deny its credit, tampering with our Army and at the same time prosecuting the War with a greater degree of vigour than they had done from the commencement of it. To the honour of our country I must inform you that history cannot produce such Instances of fortitude, patience & perseverance as were exhibited by our virtuous Army. Though exposed to hunger & nakedness amidst the rigours of a most inclement winter they struggled through with unparalleled firmness & notwithstanding the tempting bribes and offers of the enemy And the incredible hardships they suffered the desertions were comparatively few.

Congress finding it necessary, in order to baffle the designs of our enemy and curb intestine avarice to adopt more decided Measures, resolved on the 18 March to call in by taxes & burn all the Money heretofore emitted to the amount of 200 Millions of dollars in the Course of one year And in lieu thereof to issue Ten Millions new money which was to be issued as fast and no faster than the old was brought in, At the rate of 20 of the old for one of the new. And it was resolved that in the payment of taxes gold and silver should be received at the rate of 40 for one, at which rate also the new money was to be received by Which means its value was fixed & those Who had amassed large quantities of the old paper were disappointed in their hopes of Converting it into gold. They proceeded further and fixed the value of certificates for money loaned from Sept 1777 to March 1780 rating the value of the money on every day between those two periods, that the lender might receive the full value of the Money lent both in principal And Interest and that the public Might not be loaded with a debt for which they received no equivalent. For it was urged with great reason as contrary to every rule of right and Justice that the landed property which is the principal object of taxation should be loaded with the burden of paying off a certificate for Instance of two hundred dollars, which was procured with the price of three bushels of wheat and less with that Number of silver dollars which are in reallity Worth from 80 to 100 times the value of the Money lent. These regulations were deemed so just & equitable that the people acquiesced and the states have generally enacted laws conformable thereto. By these means the debt incurred by a War of six years was fixed at about one or two & twenty Millions of dollars—a War which has cost our enemies upwards of sixty Millions sterling. I ought to have observed to you that of the ten millions to be issued in lieu of the 200 Millions which were ordered to be paid in by taxes & burned Congress assigned six Millions to the states to enable them to purchase the specific articles required of them, reserving 4 Millions for paying the Army and defraying the expences of transportation and other incidental charges. But while these

measures were in agitation and before they could be carried into execution, our enemies pressing on the War with vigour, Congress found themselves exceedingly straitened for want of money & were from Necessity forced upon a Measure which I fear will give you and our other Ministers in Europe some trouble I mean that of drawing bills. But here I would just observe that if old established nations populous, rich and powerful whose governments are fixed, whose revenues are settled, who have armies raised, And fleets equipped, whose towns are fortified and whose arsenals and magazines are stored with implements and necessaries for war—if nations such as these find themselves under difficulties for want of money by one or two years war against a nation weakened and greatly exhausted; what wonder, if a young commonwealth, whose inhabitants are poor, scattered over a large extent of country & just emerging from the difficulties of settling a wilderness, having no governments established, no revenues but the voluntary contributions of the people, and who being without arms, without ammunition or military stores were forced into a war with one of the most powerful nations of the world, should after a war of six years find itself embarrassed in its finances and under a necessity of applying for aid to other nations, whose interest it is to humble the power with which it is contending? If England alone, unassisted by a single ally, can give such annoyance to the united arms of France, Spain and America, what must be the consequence, if for want of a little assistance in money she is suffered to triumph over the United States and again subjugate them or a part of them to her Yoke?

To our want of money may chiefly be ascribed the enemy's success in Carolina. For although Congress had timely notice of Sir Henry Clinton's intentions last fall, and notwithstanding his tedious passage and the slowness of his proceedings after his arrival in Carolina, owing to the losses he had sustained by a violent storm on his voyage, yet for want of Money Congress could not forward with sufficient dispatch the succours intended, and consequently the communication between Charlestown and the country was cut off and the enemy had time by regular approaches to force a surrender. After this general Gates was sent to take the command to the southward. The States of Virginia and North Carolina furnished a very considerable body of Militia, with which joined to the Maryland & Delaware regulars consisting of about 1200 men who were on their March to the southward and had been destined for the relief of Charlestown, He began to move forward. But having no tents to cover his men, no magazines of provisions laid up, and no money to procure either, and the country through which he marched being thinly inhabited he was exposed to incredible difficulties and hardships. Having entered South Carolina & broken up the enemy's posts on the river Pedee, as his men were still without shelter and the rainy season was

approaching, in which his troops must suffer greatly for want of tents, encouraged by sundry successes against the enemy's outposts he was induced to march towards Camden with the hopes of driving the enemy from thence and establishing his headquarters in that village, where he would have been able to put his troops under cover and supply them plentifully with provisions, and confine the enemy to the low country, in which case they would have been obliged either to retire into Charlestown and leave him the command of the country, or by attempting to keep the field would have exposed their army in the sickly season to a loss by death equal to a defeat.

Unfortunately he failed in the attempt. The battle of the 16 of August, which you have a particular account of in the public papers, broke up the army he had collected & forced him back into North Carolina. The Maryland and Delaware regulars acquired great honor in that action & had they been properly supported by the Militia would in all probability have made it a glorious day for America. The Character of the general has suffered by his rapid flight, and a court of enquiry is ordered on his conduct. The check, however which the enemy received from the regulars, who did not amount to more than 1000 in the action prevented them from improving the victory they had gained. And the spirited conduct of the militia immediately after the action a party of whom under Col. Marian rescued 150 of our regulars who had been taken prisoners on the 16th and captivated the escort that was conducting them to Charles town, and another party of about 200 under col. Williams on the 19 August engaged between four and five hundred British, killed 60 on the field and took 70 prisoners—this spirited conduct with some other successful enterprizes of less note has reanimated our people and disheartened the enemy, so that the consequences of the defeat are not so distressful as might have been apprehended.

The armies in this quarter have hitherto had an inactive campaign. The arrival of the first division of the French Fleet and army gave us sanguine hopes of regaining New York. But the detention of the second division & the superiority of the British fleet have disappointed our hopes and expectations. The fleets in the West Indies seem to have spent the summer in Maneuvering. Upon the junction of the French and Spanish fleets they directed their course for Jamaica and had they improved the opportunity, it is the general opinion they would have succeeded & subdued that island without any difficulty, as the garrisons were chiefly withdrawn and there was no fleet to guard the harbour. But by some unaccountable delay they suffered a fleet under Walsingham to get there before them and a reinforcement of troops to be thrown into the Island, which as the hurrican season was coming on rendered the attempt impracticable and secured it at least for the present. Hereupon the combined fleet seperated, the Spanish steered for Havannah & the French put into

Cape Francois. The count de Guishee after some stay left the cape, directed his course Notherly And coasted along our shores. This it is supposed Alarmed Rodney to that degree that anxious for the safety of Fleet & Army at New York he immediatly left the windward island and with a fleet of 14 or 15 sail of the line & some frigates steered for that place where he now is. The late providential discovery of Arnolds plot which appears to have been for a considerable time in agitation has induced a belief that Rodney had something farther in view than merely counteracting the design of count de Guichen. In a Controversy and revolution such as this where former friendships & intimacies subsisted between the contending parties And where men of upright intentions took different sides & men of all characters were engaged in the contest, it would not have been strange or uncommon if conspiracies had been formed, but to the honor of the American army Arnold is the first and I believe the only American officer Who has during this war entered into a conspiracy to betray his country. You know the character of the Man, he was brave but avaricious, fond of parade and not very scrupulous abt the means of acquiring Money to defray the expences of it. He had married a young woman who had been distinguished by gen Howes Mischianze knights & her Father was not remarkable for attachment to the American cause. The expensive manner in which he lived in Philadelphia reduced his Finances and the accounts he exhibited against the public under went a scrutiny at the board of treasury not much to the advantage of his honor & honesty; which joined to his disappointments in the case of the *Active* & the result of the court martial instituted on the complaint of the council of Pensylvania soured his temper & rendered him a fit object for Clintons views. By letters found among his private papers it appears that Captain Andree one of Sr. H Clintons aids had commenced a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold in 1779 under pretence of supplying her with Millinary. Whither it was continued till it was ripened into the plot of betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy I will not undertake to say But that the scheme had been some time in agitation appears evidently from this, that while the enemy were making preparations for executing their purpose, And giving out that their design was against Virginia the same reports were circulated in Lord Cornwallis camp in South Carolina, and measures were taken to make us believe he meant to second the expedition by marching through North Carolina & forming a junction with Sr. Henry on his arrival in Virginia. At this time Rodney arrived at New York and it is conjectured the design was as soon as they had gained possession of West Point & cut off the communication between the western & southern states, to turn their whole force against the French fleet & Army at Rhode island. This it is true is but conjecture But it must be confessed the object was great and had Rodney succeeded he would

have finished the year with as much eclat as he began it. The providential discovery of the plot blasted the Schemes of our enemies And what object their next will be time *must* unfold.

I suppose you will be informed through another channel that after the surrender of Charlestown Mr. Laurence returned to Philadelphia & for some time took his seat in Congress & that after a few weeks stay he embarked for Holland on his first appointment. You will also without doubt hear of Searles embarking for Europe. The design of his going is kept a profound secret but it is Conjectured he is sent on some business of the Council of this state. I am mistaken in the Character of the Man if his business and Mission remain long a secret after his arrival.

Mrs. Thomson requests me to make her compliments to Mrs. Jay, you will please to add Mine.

I am with the truest Sentiments of regard, Sr. yr. most Obedient
& humble Servt,
Chas Thomson

RC (NHi: Jay Papers). Pages 1-10 and 14-18 of this RC are in a clerk's hand; pages 10-13 and signature are by Thomson.

¹ Only Jay's letters of May 27 to James Lovell and to the Committee for Foreign Affairs are in PCC, item 110, 1:178-19.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Wednesday October 12. 1780

Present Mr McKean, Mr Walker & Mr Matlack.

A letter from C. Pettit DQMG was read & also copies of seven letters which had passed between him & the Board of Treasury.¹

Mr. Gibson & Mr Forman then offered their minutes to show who was present at the board at the time respectively when those letters were reced & written—by which it appears there generally [was] present only one Commissioner and two Members of Congress.

They (Mr Forman & Mr Gibson) then requested their letter to the Committee dated ² might be read. Whereupon it was observed, That that letter had been handed to the Delegates of the respective states in Union,³ and, as it had the appearance of an appeal to the states against the Proceedings of the Committee, rather than that of information to the Committee, it was not proper it should be read, and more especially, as the Commissioners were called to answer before the board viva voce and the proceedings was not to be had in writing.

Whereupon reference being had by Mr Gibson & Mr Forman to other papers in which were contained Several charges against the several members of the Chamber of accounts it was requested the same might be read.⁴ But, the compliance therewith leading from

the business before the Committee and introducing New charges, which however proper for future consideration, was not proper to be now introduced.

Mr. Geddis requested [. . .] they (the Chamber of Accots.) might be enabled to make their defence—offering to copy the whole. The charges contained were read And a further consideration of it referred.

Mr Forman. In defence.

Of shutting the door against Mr. Hopkinson.⁵

Mr Hopkinson having had business with the Treasury Mr Forman mentioned to him what he had heard. Mr. Hopkinson charged him with the fact—Forman positively denied it—Hops. affirmed it— And requested he not to make it a charge agt. the board; but make it a personal affair—this was before the charge was made. Mr Denning says this was the [fact?] and it was at the time of Mr Hopkinsons attendance at the board respecting the order of the 1st June.

Observes, That Mr. Hopkinson had acknowledged that Mr. Gibson had never personally treated him with disrespect and that he should not insist on it &c.

Regarding Bills of exchange, Circumstances &c.

Mr Hopkinson brought in a bundle of bills on France to be sent to Maryland for the paymt. of interest. Mr Lee was about to open the bundle and Mr For. enquired for what purpose and asked an explanation of Mr Hop. which he explained by a reference to a conference with Mr Gibson, from which Hop. was led to expect the Treasy would forward them—that F. knew it was duty as appears by resolve of Congress 15 July 1778—but nothing during the conversation [. . .] inconsistent with the character of the Treasury. That the business of the Treasury being as important as that of the Loan office, F. expected Mr. Hopkinson would forward them as was his duty. Mr. Hopkinson observed, that the post declined giving him a receipt, and demanded the direction of the Treasury as to the manner. Mr Forman referred to their order of the 22nd of June, directing him to send them without particular direction in what manner and leaving him to find out the best manner as he had theretofore done.

Mr Denning. H[opkinson's] difficulty was how he was to forward the bills safely for himself—and observed that he would not send them by the post even tho the Treasury should order it; unless he, the post, would give him a receipt for them—there was considerable altercation between Mr Forman & Mr Hop. on this subject. And Mr Hop. insisted upon the board sending them, as they had on several times done. Mr Hop was then a stranger. I mentioned it was his duty to send the bills, even tho' the post would not give a receipt. For. that should he send them it would be under the risque of the Treasury who had ordered it done.

When Mr Hop. had retired Mr F. observed that he thought Mr. H. had taken offence to it said No he thought not—he appeared satisfied.

Mr Hop. upon his having mentioned the obligation on the Treasury to account for the bills on their giving orders, hesitating a moment replied he believed it was right.

Mr. Forman, Asked whether he should send a waiter to carry the bills, to which Mr. H. replied he had brought them and could carry them back again. (To this Mr H. agreed).

Qu. by Mr. Forman to Mr. Denning. Did you hear any expression of mine to Mr. Hop.? unbecoming the address of one Gent. to another?

An. No. They both appeared warm, as was evident from their voices.

Mr. Hopkinson. Insisted that the manner was insolent and haughty, and such he had never before received and hopes he never deserved. That his bringing the bills was in consequence of information given by Mr Gibson, that the post had refused to give him a receipt for the bills and Mr Gibson had desired him to bring the bills to the board and they would give a receipt for them & forward them. That upon Mr Lee's opening the bundle and offering [to account the?] bills, Mr. Forman, in haughty expressions and insolent [voice?] demanded—"What [. . .] is all this? What does that mean? Is this the way of doing business in this board? Mr. Hop. then explained what had passed between him & Mr Gibson, upon which, Mr. Forman, demanded, Have you any written order from the board? To which he answered No. Mr. Forman then said, we will have no business done in this manner—and his expression implied in terms haughtily expressed—that unless there was a written order, He might go. That this was the manner of treatment from Mr. Forman in general and altho the particular [. . .] instances, taken singly, it is difficult to describe yet taken together they have been intolerable. To all which Mr. Forman replies, that as often as those charges are made he absolutely denies them.

Mr. Denning. Observed, That he had said to Mr. Hopkinson might safely send, or ought to send, the bills by the Post without taking his receipt, if a written order of the Treasury should be given "to send them by post without a receipt."

Agreed to adjourn to Monday morning 10 o'clock.⁶

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 11, 1780.

¹ These letters of assistant quartermaster general Charles Pettit are in PCC, item 62, fols. 351–71.

² This letter was dated September 27, 1780, and is in PCC, item 62, fols. 609–10.

³ Actually the letter of September 30 "to the Delegates of the respective states"

was different from that of September 27 sent to the committee. Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 605, 607, and 609-10.

⁴ At this point Forman and Gibson attempted to inject a new element into the inquiry, charging in their defense that many of the complaints against them were actually attributable to abuses and shortcomings of the commissioners of the chambers of accounts—William Geddes, William Govett, John D. Mercier, and Resolve Smith. The principal charges specified: 1. "Neglect of Duty"; 2. "Indolence"; 3. "Inattention to the public Interest"; 4. "Incapacity"; and 5. "Partiality." See *ibid.*, fols. 474-77.

⁵ Matlack's notes on the committee's proceedings also include the following loosely related observations, which obviously bear in some manner on this day's testimony, but are otherwise unidentified.

"Mr. Furman—shut the door in Mr. Hopkinson's face.

"Mr. Hopkinson, took bills to the Treasury and was treated with great incivility by Mr Furman.

"Mr. Hillegas, Mr Millegan & Mr Palfry are acquainted with the treatment of the Treasury to persons who have business to do with them.

"Mr. Govett. Has Had no opportunity, of late, to confer with them on any business; but have been obliged in all cases to do their business in writing. And the orders given by the Treasury are frequently contradictory.

"Mr. Observes that the Treasury never condescend to converse with the Chambers of accounts. And he believes that even the Clerk of the Treasury has been taught to treat them with disrespect.

"F. H., repeated orders impossible to be executed which however has been returned, until the instance now exhibited (1 June)—but pledges his honour that they have been repeated and as often returned.

"Govett—Order, forbidding any correspondence with any accomptant of theirs for any explanation of any account.

"F.H. Forbid paymt. of small orders to Clerks—And 30,000 dlns. at the same time pd to Mr Furman—& suppression of Accots which has been 3 mos. before the Treasurer. Challenge of Mr Lee." PCC, item 62, fol. 440.

⁶ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 16, 1780.

William Sharpe to Thomas Burke

Dear Sir

[October 13th. 1780.]

Before this reaches you Colo. Malmadie who is gone to Hillsborough will inform you respecting Genl. Gates's recall, Genl. Arnolds Treason, and in short all the intelligence that is current. I expect Mr. Hill will write you largely, therefore shall only suggest that our affairs here has no flattering aspect at present.

I am sorry to hear that there is no appearance of money from the Board of Trade. Be so kind as to write to them and paint our distresses here for want of money in high colours.¹

My compliments to Mrs. Burke, Sir, Your Most Obt. Servt.
Wm. Sharpe

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers). Endorsed by Burke: "Willm. Sharpe, Letr. 13th. Octr. 1780."

¹ Sharpe, who had taken his seat in Congress on October 4, 1780, had also written

to the North Carolina assembly from Hillsborough in September before his departure informing them that he had learned from Burke that delegates "can no longer obtain supplies of money from the continental treasury to bear their necessary expenses" and explaining that without an advance from the legislature "I cannot conceive it in my power to proceed on my journey." See *JCC*, 18:898; and Sharpe to Burke, September 9? 1780, *Legislative Papers, Nc-Ar*.

James Duane to Mary Duane

My dearest Polly

Philada. 14t October 1780

I last Evening met with Mr. Bush who is returning to Fishkill. I cannot neglect so fair an opportunity of dropping you a Line tho' I wrote you by Tuesday's post and have nothing material to communicate but to assure you of my Health. Convinced of your Affectionate attention to me I believe it would be a pleasure to you to hear from me every day. It must contribute to make our Separation less Irksome when by frequent Communications we are assured of each others Welfare; and I earnestly wish that in future a Line may be forwarded once a week to the Post Office that I may have my Share of Satisfaction in a point essential to my Happiness.

I enclose for your Amusement the new's paper of the day. The Enemy are active to the Southward but it appears to me that by pushing their Advantages too far they may easily be ruined. They do not seem to improve upon the Misfortunes which by a similar Conduct they experienced in New Jersey, by aiming at too much they lost All, and were compelled to retreat under Cover of their Shipping with Disgrace.

General Washington has taken effectual Care to secure the passes at the high Lands; so that with Gods blessing our own State will not be distressed by Sir Henry Clinton. I am only apprehensive of further Ravages on our Frontiers from the Indians.

It is a delightful Season here and healthy. I forgot to mention that the Continental Sloop Saraghtoga has taken four valuable prizes two of them Jamaica Ships loaded with Sugar and Rum. They are not arrived and in some danger as there are two British frigates cruizing on this Coast.

Present my dutiful & affectionate Regards to our Parents, Friends and Relations. Kiss and bless our dear children for me: Assure Miss Polly that I shall esteem her punctual Correspondence an infinite pleasure; & believe me to be always my dearest Polly, your most faithful & affecte Husband,

Jas. Duane

Samuel Huntington to John Bradford

Sir,

Philada October [14] 1780¹

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 9 Instant, by which you are directed to sell all the Canvas in your Possession except what the Navy Board of the Eastern Department may deem sufficient for the immediate Use of the Navy or suitable for Soldiers Tents;² and also to sell all other Goods in your Possession belonging to the United States, and pay the Money arising from the Sales agreeable to the Orders of the Board of Admiralty.

Enclosed is the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30 of August, by which you will be informed of the Mode adopted to make Payment to Mr Duarte.³ You may probably have further Directions on this Subject from the Board of Treasury before this comes to Hand.

I am with much respect, sir, your obedt. Servant,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "John Bradford Esquire Contl. Agt. Boston."

¹ Although the date of this letter was left incomplete, it appears in Huntington's presidential letterbook between two letters of October 14. See PCC, item 15, fols. 133-35.

² Congress adopted the enclosed resolve in response to a query from Bradford of August 28, which had been referred to the Board of Admiralty. See *JCC*, 18:838-39, 911-12; and PCC, item 37, fols. 317-21, item 78, 4:15-18. See also Huntington to Timothy Pickering, October 23, 1780.

³ See *JCC*, 17:794-95. In his letter to Congress of September 28, Bradford had reported that "I see not the least prospect of procuring Bills for Captain Duarte. . . . should be very happy if a mode could be pointed out how I might avail my self of Bills for the purpose." PCC, item 78, 4:19.

Samuel Huntington to Horatio Gates

Sir,

Philadelphia October 14. 1780

I have received your Despatches of the 27 Ult. & 5 Instant, and have forwarded Copies with their Inclosures to his Excellency General Washington agreeable to your Request.¹

Colonel Morgan is appointed a Brigadier as you will observe by the enclosed Act. The enclosed Letter addressed to him contains his Commissions.²

I have the Honor to be, with great Respect, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (NH: Gates Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Washington, October 9; and the following entry.

² See *JCC*, 18:920–21. Huntington's letterbook copy of the enclosed letter to Col. Daniel Morgan is in PCC, item 15, fol. 133.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir Philadelphia Octor 14th 1780

By the enclosd Copy of an Act of Congress of the 13th instant, your Excellency will be informd of the promotion of Col. Morgan to the rank of Brigadier.

From the representation respecting the Situation & Circumstances of affairs to the Southward this measure was thought in a degree indispensable. I hope it may be attended with happy Consequences.

The enclosd Copies of dispatches from Govr Jefferson & Genl. Gates from No 1 to No 9 will give your Excellency the latest intelligence we have receivd from the Southern department.¹

I have been honourd with your Obliging letter of the 7th instant with the important dispatches to which it refers, the Proceedings relative to Majr Andrée are Ordered to be published under the care of Judicious persons to inspect the press.²

I have the honour to be, with the highest Esteem & Respect your Excellencys humble Servt, Sam Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ These enclosures consisted of the following letters: No. 1. Horatio Gates to Congress, October 5; No. 2. Gates to William Smallwood, October 3; No. 3. Gates to Thomas Jefferson, October 5; No. 4. Jethro Sumner to Gates, September 24; No. 5. William Davidson to Gates, September 26; No. 6. Sumner to Gates, September 29; No. 7. Gates to Jefferson, October 3; No. 8. Sumner to Gates, October 1; and No. 9. William Washington to Gates, October 4. All are in the Washington Papers, DLC.

² See *JCC*, 18:918. Washington's letter of the 7th concerning the possible publication of documents pertaining to Maj. John André's trial and conviction is in PCC, item 152, 9:209–13; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:130–34.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir, Philadelphia Octr. 14th. 1780

A variety of causes render it necessary for Mrs. Mathews to return to Carolina: & as a flag will go there in a few days; I take the liberty of thus early solliciting your Excellency to apply to Sr. Henry Clinton for a permit for herself, & a Negroe Man & Maid servant to go in the flag. The Board of War will inform you of the name of the Vessel.

If Sr. Henry Clinton should make any difficulty about admitting her to return when it would be convenient to her (as it is impossible to specify any time for her stay there) rather than she should not

go, I would agree to her remaining there, and depend on fortune for our meeting again. My situation here is truly distressing, I have no dependence, but on an empty treasury for my support, & when the little money I have left, is exhausted, I know not where I am to apply for more. Although the duties of my station demand of me to undergo every species of inconvenience & distress, yet I don't think I can with any degree of propriety impose the same task on her. Could I see the least prospect of an alteration for the better, in our affairs, I could be content to wait with patience, but when on the contrary I daily see them grow worse, & the treasury cannot furnish as much money, as will support these few Delegates, who have no other resources, think it sufficient, for me to bear the mortification that must necessarily ensue alone.

There is another reason which renders Mrs Mathews presence indispensibly necessary in Carolina (as it is impossible for me to go there.) I have not a friend remaining in that country, but what are *prisoners of War*, several are amongst those unfortunate persons sent to St. Augustine: so that my affairs are left entirely at the mercy of Negroes, & an insatiable enemy. As to my own particular property, that I entirely give up, unless we should ever recover the country by force of arms. But as Mrs. Mathews has an Estate there independent of mine, I could wish to put it in her power to save that for herself & family. I am led to expect she will be successful in her application on this head; as our State never confiscated a shilling of the property of the Partisans of the British government, but permitted them to dispose of & retire with it, therefore, however they may dispose of my private estate, they can on no principle whatever withhold from her, her separate estate. She is now the only person who can with propriety make the claim & discriminate between the two estates.

This sacrifice of domestic felicity, I think we owe to our posterity, that they might not be left totally destitute.

P.M. Since writing the above, we have received letters from the southward. A copy of Genl. Gates's, with it's inclosures will be transmitted you by the President. But our Delegates have one from Governor Rutledge which speaks much plainer than Gates does.¹ He is likewise on the spot. I expect Hallifax in North Carolina will be Lord Cornwallis Head quarters in less than a month, unless some very vigorous and decisive measures are immediately taken to reinforce the Southern army—not with Militias but regular troops, that can be kept together, and depended on. The British army, in full force, is now between Gates, & the most fertile, best effected, & most populous part of No. Carolina, so that every resource of men & provisions, are now entirely cut off from thence. The people in every part of the country are flying before the enemy, & endeavouring

to save what part of their property they can. Gates's army is very weak, especially in cavalry, & the enemy are very strong. The last accounts we have of them, they were three miles this side of Charlotte in full march. I see nothing to prevent their pursuing any route they please, through any part of No. Carolina. I am extremely anxious to hear, who the person is, appointed to the Southern Command. I hope your Excy. will find it eligible to confer it on Genl. Greene, as the person that I am convinced will be highly acceptable to all the Southern States. An able commander was never more wanted, than is now in that quarter, & the sooner he gets there, the better.

I will just take the liberty of asking yr. Excy. whether you think it would be possible to spare Majr. Lee's corps to act with the southern army this Winter for after all the exertions they have made there in the course of six months, they have equiped no more than 82 horse.

I should be obliged to you sir, to inform me of the result of your application to Sr. Hy. Clinton as soon as you conveniently can.

I have received your Excys favor of the 4th inst.² but have not time to reply to it at present. I mean to do myself that pleasure by the first opportunity that offers, but hope you will not in the mean time think me negligent as it is my earnest wish at all times, to give you the most convincing proofs that, I am with the highest respect And the sincerest Affection, Yr. Excys. most Obedt. servt.

Jno. Mathews

P.S. Mrs. Mathews's christian name is Mary, the two Servants Simon, & Caty. The name of the Vessel The Genl. Smallwood—Thos. Finley Sailing Master.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Although he clearly dated this letter "Octr. 14," Mathews undoubtedly began writing it the preceding day, for the Horatio Gates letter of October 5 mentioned here was read in Congress on October 13. See *JCC*, 18:920; the preceding entry, note 1; and *PCC*, item 154, 2:267–81. For the October 4 letter from Gov. John Rutledge, which was also laid before Congress on the 13th, see "Letters of John Rutledge," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 17 (October 1916): 139–40.

² See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:113–16.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir,

Philadelphia Octo. 16th 1780

The Saratoga one of the Continental frigates, is just returned from a Cruize of about four Weeks and has taken four Jamaica men, with rum and sugar—one of them mounted 22 Guns, one 20, and another 18. She was parted from her prizes a few nights Ago, in a fog, on Soundings, two of them it is said are arrived in the river, and the

other hourly expected. Should they get in, it will be a very timely Supply for the Army. This Same Vessel brought in about five Weeks ago, A brig with 230 hhds rum.

In the Opinion of Gen. Washington the Campaign is over, after sufficiently reinforcing the Garrison at West Point, He has removed with the Army to a different part of the Country for the Conveniency of forrage. No further Accounts of the Embarkation at New York, Since my last—perhaps Andre's tryal and Execution will be in tomorrows paper, it was ordered to be printed. Our embarrassments for want of money are daily encreasing—Constant applications for money and none in the Treasury, nor any likely to be paid in by the States—Taxes in every State being Anticipated and discharged With Certificates instead of money—the resolution of the 18th March not generally adopted—And where it is, the new Emission which in the Opinion of many was to do everything, Cant be got into Circulation, and of Course the four tenths which was much relied on to pay of the Army, will not be received. The Situation of Affairs is extreamly distressing—and unless our finances Can be properly changed I dont see how our difficulties are to be Surmounted. Nothing in my opinion would so effectually Contribute to put our finances in proper order, as a few Million of hard Dollrs but how are they to be obtained? France pleads poverty and the Court of Spain it is probable, will not be very hasty (Whatever her inclinations may be) in giving us assistance while our Claim to A free navagation of the River Mississippi is insisted on. God Send our independence was Acknowledged by G Britain, and that we had a spaedy and permanent peace.

Your Carriage is now painting and will be ready by the first Week in November. With Compliments to Mrs. Lee, I am with much esteem, Your Excellencys most hble Servt, John Hanson¹

[P.S.] Colo Morgan is promoted to the rank of a Brigadier General. NB. I shall be in distress for Want of money very soon and must beg the favour of you to procur me a further Supply as soon as possible—it must be in old Continental money.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ This day Hanson also wrote a nearly identical letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, for which see the Carroll Papers, MdHi.

Samuel Huntington to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia, October 16, 1780
Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed a Copy of an Act of Congress of the 14 Instant in Answer to the Letter of the 21 of

September from the Senate & Assembly of New York; signifying their Approbation that the State of New York may substitute Flour in Lieu of any Quantity of Beef which may be deficient on the first Day of November next, of the Quota allotted to that State agreeable to the restrictions & Proviso expressed in the Act.¹

Your Excellency will also observe that the Application for the relief of the Treasury of the State of New York cannot be complied with for the reasons assigned in the enclosed Copy above mentioned.²

I have also enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10 Instant, respecting such unappropriated Lands as may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6 of September last.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (N: Clinton Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington. Tr (Clinton, *Papers* [Hastings], 6:296). RC charred; missing material taken from Tr.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:927-28; and PCC, item 20, 1:359-61. The New York legislature's letter to its delegates in Congress of September 21 is in PCC, item 67, 2:310-13.

² The "reasons assigned," which were set forth in a committee report written by James Duane, were simply that "if the application should be granted, the like benefit may be claimed for other states," and "a compliance with such demands would involve the United States in the greatest difficulties." See *JCC*, 18:929; and PCC, item 20, 1:363-64.

³ See Huntington to the States, this date.

Samuel Huntington to Horatio Gates

Sir, Philadelphia October 16. 1780

By the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 5 Instant you will be informed, that they have directed a court of Enquiry respecting your Conduct as Commander of the southern Army and that another Officer should take the Command until such Enquiry be made.¹

At the same Time that the Duties of my Office oblige me to transmit you this Intelligence, it is my sincere Desire that the result of such Enquiry may give Satisfaction to the Country and do Honor to your Character & reputation.

With great Esteem & respect, I have the Honor to be, sir, your most obedient Servant, Sam Huntington President²

RC (NH: Gates Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 18:906. Although Huntington inexplicably waited 11 days to notify Gates of this congressional decision, he did send the enclosed resolve to the commander in chief the day after it was adopted. See Huntington to Washington, October 6, 1780.

² This day Huntington also wrote letters to Edward Chinn and John Wells

notifying them that by a resolve of the 13th they had been "appointed an extra Chamber of Accounts, subject to the rules & regulations laid down in the resolution of Congress of the 12 of June last." See *JCC*, 17:504-5, 18:922; and *PCC*, item 15, fol. 136.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada October 16. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of a Resolution of Congress respecting such unappropriated Lands as may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of the 6 of September last.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The enclosed resolution, which imposed conditions requested by Virginia on "unappropriated lands" ceded to the Continental government, was adopted on October 10 after Congress resumed consideration of proposals submitted by the Virginia delegates on September 6 in reaction to the passage of resolves that day concerning western land claims. See *JCC*, 17:806-8, 18:915; and James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, 1780, note 1.

Huntington apparently did not send this circular to the governors of Virginia or South Carolina. For his communication of the enclosed resolution to the former, see Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, October 18, and to the latter, Huntington to John Rutledge, November 2, 1780.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Monday October 16th. 1780.

The Committee met. Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Walker & Mr. Matlack.

Mr. Hopkinson, Represented that he had an account laying before the Board of Treasury above six months, which had not been determined on—until 12 inst. last, when it was rejected for want of Vouchers—altho the services done are of a kind which has been usually passed without Vouchers—it being chiefly for business done under the command and inspection of the Board of Treasury—the whole being for devices for monies, seals, Flags &c.¹

Qu. by Mr. Gibson. With regard to the Seals &c for which you charge, Were not other persons consulted as well as yourself—particularly, the Seal of the Treasury, was not Mr Hillegas first consulted?

An. Not that I know of.

Qu. By Mr. McKean to Mr Gibson. Was the business effected by Mr Hopkinson?

An. It was.

Mr. Hopkinson—Observes that his complaint was of the injustice of having his account now rejected for want of Vouchers without having made the objections in any reasonable time, and in a case in which the nature of the business did not admit of a Voucher.

Mr. Geddis—Then offered in testimony, a representation of the Facts respecting that account of Mr Hopkinson, the same have been handed at first into the Chamber of accounts then the Treasury from Congress as is usual, that it was passed in the Chamber of Accounts from the knowledge the Commissioners had of considerable part of the business being actually done and from the knowledge they had of Mr. Hopkinsons character—That it was returned without a recommitment and was not taken upon again because it was not referred (or recommitted)—until it was recommitted—That the Chamber of Accounts not being permitted to correspond with any persons it was not in their power to give Mr Hopkinson notice that his account was rejected for want of Vouchers. Upon this Mr. Gibson observed to Mr Geddis that he said he had passed Mr Hopkinsons account “because he knew Mr Hopkinson”—And being about to take a note accordingly—Mr Matlack desired Mr Gibson not to take a note of the kind which his observation implied his intention to do—as it was uncandid and disingenious and so far so as to render it indispensibly necessary to make the observation—to prevent its being done. An altercation ensued and the note was not then taken.

Mr. Gibson observed, that if the account of Mr. Hopkinson was passed there were others who also had equal claims.

Observation by Mr Hopkinson—That the reason assigned in the report rejecting his account was want of Vouchers, but now the reason assigned was, that the service had not been rendered.

Mr. Gibson. Intended to have spoken to this complaint on another occasion, but if it is necessary to speak to this complaint now he is ready to do it.

(The Committee left the time of defending against the charge to Mr Gibson & Mr. Forman.)

Mr. Gibson, to answer to the letter containing the charge against himself & Mr. Forman. Is sorry to find they have offended the Committee—it was the effect of their feelings and not of any intention to offend. If any thing has happened which ought to have offended, he asks pardon—is not conscious of having done anything intentionally. They are the butt of complaints from the nature of their office—which they have endeavoured to fulfill their duty as honest industrious servts & hopes for Candour.

Intends to trace the business thro—And therefore begs leave to shew what was the manner of doing business in the former board. The Board instituted in 76 as a kind of Council to superintend and direct others. The stile always Mandatory. Instances—April 30, 1776—[p. 219?]-respecting Col Flowers. The stile the present board

has pursued and continued their rules—always referring to the practice of the former board as authority.

The board acted as a Council to direct & superintend the whole business; for this reason the Chamber of Accots. instituted. The Council keeps a Journal of all applications in concise descriptions & referring to the Files where the Originals are preserved.

And produced a book of Columns in which the business is arranged. Lesser matters are then finally issued. Those of more Consequence; such as relate to reports made to Congress are continued in their Journal. Rules of office for fixed hours was fixed from necessity and the time depended on the time of the Members of Congress. The increase of papers in the files rendered the adopting the rule indispensibly necessary—otherwise the board could not possibly have obtained leisure to consider of the business before them.

1780 21 March Do. Rules then adopted read. 237-239. (Note, After this time an hour in the afternoon was fixed for reviewing applications vizt. from 4 to 5.)

These rules adopted upon Mature deliberation and from experience. And within 10 days, the business was within command—And since then they have been able to do the business of every application. The applications being in writing, were short and if explanation was wanting the party could be sent for. The explanations with the Chamber of Accounts in writing was particularly advantageous as the directions given could be full & explicit and they would remain to be referred to and would speak for themselves.

Having thus given a view of the manner of doing business—I shall not take up the time of Committee with remarks—but proceed to consider the evidence against the board.

Observes the Testimony of Mr. Caldwell, does not appear to prove anything in point; but if anything was intended to be drawn from it he should be glad to know it—And the inquiry being pointed to Mr. Hopkinson—he replied, that Mr Caldwell had frequently complained to him of the uncivil reply he had reced. and Delays he had met with from the board and he H. had asked his evidence on the subject.

Mr Gibson—observes—That Mr. Caldwell had not provided his vouchers in time and an intervening resolve of Congress prevented his obtaining the bills which he requested—That the delay was in consequence of Mr. Caldwell's neglect—and the final disappointment by an alteration in the measures of Congress.

That there was always one or more of the Treasury attending in the hours appointed for reviewing applications, with very few exceptions and always the clerk is regularly there.

As to Mr. Petits evidence—The Correspondence is before the Comt.

Mr. Dunlaps complaint relates to the conduct of the former board

the account bearing date Sept. 26th. 1779. (Note. But the account has not yet been settled.)

Report of the Chamber of Accots. Sept. 21. 1779 on this account,² deducting near one half the charge.

Directors of the Lottery. Delany's observation related to the former board.

Errors—Typographical, in the form of the bills³ was first discovered by the Treasury board, or perhaps, by the inspectors of the press, no proof of the Bills being given to the Treasury before the whole were struck off. That the error was perhaps advantageous, the same being communicated to the Commission at Paris.

Mr. Hillegas's complaint unjust, because he ought to pay regard to the orders of the board.

But Qu. How far private orders could controul formal Solemn public orders.

Mr. Hopkinson was always welcome from his manners &c.

Respecting incorrect orders

Acknowledged an error—Bills in error not in the form; but in the number of bills—And an error which may readily be pardoned, "*considering the Difficulty of Calculations.*" The Clerk is [. . .] able for the error of [. . .]

Adjourned to Wednesday 10 oclock.⁴

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 12, 1780.

¹ Hopkinson's difficulties with the board over the settlement of his accounts concerning "fancy work" he performed designing "devices for monies, seals, Flags &c" has been discussed at length in George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 240-54.

² This report is in PCC, item 62, fols. 448.

³ Evidence concerning the erroneous bills of exchange at issue in this dispute is filed with the committee's papers at *ibid.*, fols. 389-91, 425-47.

⁴ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 21, 1780.

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Phil. Oct 17, 1780

Yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter of the 27 of Sept. by the hand of my valueable Friend Mr Arthur Lee. As it was three weeks old I had a Right to expect another by the Post, but am disappointed. I have ever esteemd Mr Lee one of the most virtuous, active & able American Patriots. This opinion, you know, I have long entertaind of him, and therefore you justly conclude, that he meets with the most cordial Reception from *me*.

You was mistaken when you supposd that I had heard who were chosen into the highest Places under our new Constitution. We are

not so well informd. I had Reason to believe that Mr Hancock would be the Governor. I am disposd to think, that my Fellow Citizens had upright Views in giving him their Suffrages. Many Circumstances have combind to make this Election appear to be politically necessary; and if the People, who are now blessd with so great a Privilege, will exercise that Watchfulness over Men whom they exalt to Places of Power, which their Duty & Interest should lead them to do, I flatter myself that his will prove a happy Choice. You may wonder at my saying so; but I think I am not misguided in my Judgment in this Instance. If they have now chosen a wise & virtuous governor, a few only will be disappointed; if otherwise, Many will see their Error, and will be inducd to greater Vigilance for the future. I am far from being an Enemy to that Gentleman, tho' he has been prevaild upon to mark me as such. I have so much Friendship for him, as to wish with all my Heart, that in the most critical Circumstances, he may distinguish between his real Friends & his flattering Enemies. Or, rather between the real Friends of the Country & those who will be ready to offer the Incense of Flattery to him who is the first Man in it. This will require an accurate Knowledge [of] Men. I therefore again wish that he may have the most able faithful Councillors to assist him in the Administration of Affairs. Can I say more? If, with the best Advice he is able to hold the Reins of Government with Dignity, I wish him a Continuance of the Honor. If he renders our Country secure in a flourishing Condition, I will never be so partial & unjust as to withhold my Tribute of Applause.

Adieu my dear,

SA

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Octr. 17th. 1780.

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys favour of the 4th Instant, by yesterdays Post, with the inclosed Newspaper containing the Act of the Hone. the General Assembly for funding the Money to be emited persuant to the Act of Congress of the 18th of March.¹

The Act of the General Assembly is refered to the Board of Treasury.² As soon as the Money is struck I shall endeavor to forward it to the State without loss of time. How soon that business will be accomplished I am not able to ascertain, but fear it will be some time.

You may depend on my best endeavors to obtain a grant of money for the State, and I wish I could say that I expected success in the business, But when I consider the large sums due to the States of

New York and New Jersey and the late application made by them to Congress for relief, and that they received for Answer that it was inadmissible even to give them a draught on the Loan office for a part of the four tenths in their own states, I think I am not warranted to give you any encouragement that the request will be granted in our present distressed situation. At the same time I could wish to have an exact account of the Moneys furnished by the State to the D.Q.M. General as I am confident no grant can be obtained on general principals.

Necessity obliges me to hint to your Excellency that my circumstances for want of Cash is not altered for the better, since I mentioned that subject before, I do not complain but submit my case to your own feelings and rely on the Justice of my Constituents for relief.

Our affairs to the south wear at present a gloomy aspect. The Enemy have by the last official accounts Marched in force into North Carolina and taken Post at Sharlotte and I fear (by the complection of affairs) soon to hear they have nearly possessed themselves of that state. General Gates hath lost all confidence with the people in that Quarter and in a particular manner with General Smallwood who is the next in command, General Washington hath not informed Congress of the officer ordered to take the Command of the southern Army. I wish it soon to take place for at present you may depend all is in disorder and the Utmost confusion.

I have the honour to be with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect your Excellencys most obedient Humble Servant,

Ezek Cornell

P.S. I received a large packit from Virginia Inclosed to your Excellency containing sundry Acts passed in that state, which I do my self the Honour to forward by this days Post.

I have also Inclosed two News papers containing a particular detail of Majr. Andres conduct and the Infamous Arnolds Address to which is aded another prepared for the press by Mr. Secretary Thomson.³

Major Andres Tryall is now in the Press as soon as Published I will do myself the Honour to inclose one to your Excellency, Yours
E.C.

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Cornell to William Greene, August 15, 1780, note 2.

² JCC, 18:932.

³ See Charles Thomson's Parody upon Benedict Arnold's Address, this date.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia October [17?] 1780¹

Your Excellency's Letter of the 2 Instant addressed to the Delegates of Connecticut hath been received. I am also honored with your favor of the same Date.²

Why Commissioners have not already been sent by the Board of Treasury to settle Accounts in the late Commissarys Department, I am not able to say. Two additional Chambers of Accounts have been lately appointed, more especially for that Purpose. I believe they will soon enter upon the Business.³

A Committee have reported that the first thursday of December be set apart as a Day of Thanksgiving & Prayer, but their report hath not yet passed in Congress.⁴

Judge Sherman, thro' Want of Health hath been obliged to leave us sooner than I expected. B. Huntington Esqr & Myself will be released of Course the last of this Month, if the last Appointment & Commission does not arrive by that Time.⁵

I have the Pleasure to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Extract of Intelligence Via St Eustatia which we hope may be true in Substance tho the Number of British Vessels captured does not appear to be ascertained.⁶

The Treason of Benedict Arnold hath been the Topic of much Conversation, and many of his scandalous Transactions are brought to Light that were before concealed. The Papers enclosed will give some Information on that Subject. The Proceedings against Major André who was executed as a Spy are ordered to be published & now in the Press, which will give some further Particulars of Arnolds Conduct.

By our last Accounts from the Southward a Party of the Enemy had advanced as far as Charlotte No Carolina; tho' their Force is but small, our Army had not been so collected as to make effectual resistance. There appears such a Dissatisfaction to the Southward respecting the Conduct of Genl. Gates since the unfortunate Event of the 16 of August, (which is commonly the Consequence of a Defeat) that Congress have found it necessary to order a Court of Inquiry respecting his Conduct, and directed the Commander in Chief to appoint another Officer to take the Command in that Department in the mean Time.

With the highest respect, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand. Tr (DLC: Peter Force Collection). RC damaged; signature taken from Tr.

¹ The assignment of this date rests upon Huntington's comments on the work of the committee appointed to establish a day of thanksgiving. According to

Huntington, the committee had already submitted a report, but it had not yet been adopted, which according to the journals was submitted on October 16 and adopted on the 18th. See *JCC*, 18:934, 950.

² Not in PCC.

³ The accounts in question were those of Trumbull's son, the late Joseph Trumbull.

⁴ See note 1.

⁵ The credentials of the Connecticut delegates for 1780 empowered them to represent the state only until "the first Monday of November next." In May, however, the Connecticut Assembly had elected a slate of delegates—Andrew Adams, Oliver Ellsworth, Titus Hosmer, Samuel Huntington, Richard Law, Jesse Root, and Oliver Wolcott—to represent the state for the one year following. See *JCC*, 16:219; and *Public Records of Connecticut*, 3:5. The credentials of Benjamin Huntington, who had not been reelected, did indeed expire on November 5, 1780.

⁶ In the October 17 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, a letter from St. Eustatia was printed reporting that a Spanish fleet operating southward of Cape Finistere had recently fallen upon a convoy of 54 British merchantmen, "four of the convoy only escaping."

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr. 17, 1780

Yesterday I had the Pleasure of receiving your kind Letter of Sep. 23d.¹ I wish indeed that I could give an account from this or other Potent States as favorable as what you tell of Mr. Appleton.² I cannot come near it. I am sorry that Sheldon has been so unfortunate in his Health when he has made so good a Change of Climate. The poor Fellow must be quite off the Exercise of his Talent for Commerce. I expected he would have shined in the trading Line.

Mr. Partridge was so kind as to send me a scale of Depreciation. I imagine it will not be so acceptable as our continental one, but I leave that Subject to another who is more touched with it than I.

I expect in a short Time to see a printed account of your Elections on the new Constitution. There is one degree above "high Spirits;" when a "gouty" man³ can show such, it may be expected that upon laying aside his Flannel he will be in a "tip top" Flow. Under a weeping Cold I must close, with assuring you of my Esteem and Affection as a Friend at your Service. James Lovell.

Genl. Ward delivered me the inclosed & not being able to write particularly to you presents his Regards.

Reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 218-19.

¹ Holten's September 23 letter is in the Holten Papers, DLC.

² In his September 23 letter Holten had reported that Nathaniel Appleton, Continental loan office commissioner in Massachusetts, had enough money on hand to supply Congress "for a number of months."

³ That is, John Hancock.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Philada. Oct. 17th. 1780

The Post having failed to arrive this week, I am deprived of the pleasure of acknowledging a line from you.

Congress have at length been brought to a final consideration of the clause relating to Indian purchases. It was debated very fully and particularly, and was in the result lost by a division of the house. Under the first impression of the chagrin I had determined to propose to my colleagues to state the whole matter to the Assembly with all the circumstances and reasoning of the opponents to the measure.¹ But on cooler reflection I think it best to leave the fact in your hands to be made use of as your prudence may suggest. I am the rather led to decline the first determination because I am pretty confident that whatever the views of particular members might be it was neither the wish nor intention of many who voted with them to favor the purchasing companies. Some thought such an assurance from Congress unnecessary because their receiving the lands from the States as *vacant* & unappropriated excluded all individual claims, and because they had given a general assurance that the cession should be applied to the common benefit. Others supposed that such an assurance might imply that without it Congress would have a right to dispose of the lands in any manner they pleased, and that it might give umbrage to the states claiming an exclusive jurisdiction over them. All that now remains for the Ceding States to do is to annex to their cessions the express condition that no private claims be complied with by Congress. Perhaps it would not be going too far by Virginia who is so deeply concerned to make it a condition of her grant that no such claims be admitted even within the grants of others, because when they are given up to Congress She is interested in them as much as others, and it might so happen, that the benefit of all other grants except her own might be transferred from the public, to a few land mongers. I can not help adding however that I hope this incident in Congress will not discourage any measures of the Assembly which would otherwise have been taken for ratifying the Confederation. Under the cautions I have suggested, they may still be taken with perfect security. Congress have promoted Col. Morgan to the rank of a Brigadr. on the representations in favor of it from Govrs. Rutledge & Jefferson & Gl. Gates. The latter is directed to be made a Subject of a Ct. of Enquiry and Gl Washington is to send a successor into the Southern department. The new arra[n]gement of the army sent to the Genl. for his revision has brought from him many judicious & valuable observations on the subject which with the arrangement are in the hands of a Committee.

The inclosed papers leave little to be added under the title of news.

The Capture of British fleet mentioned in the letter from Eustatia is considered here as pretty certain.² The Saratoga has returned. She parted a few days before she got in with several of her prizes containing about 1000 Hhds. of rum & several hundred do. of sugar, which having been not since heard of we begin to fear have fallen back into the possession of the Enemy. There is a report brought to Town by Baron Stuben that an embarkation sailed from N. Y. on Thursday last but the Genl has not yet confirmed it. Docr. Lee³ has been here several days. The inclosed letters⁴ were found between the pages of Vattel.

General Scott's cause was decided on Saturday.⁵ The inquisition was confirmed by the jury on the testimony of Fleetson who swore that the *force* was confessed to him by the General himself. Had it not been for this confession it is pretty certain the contrary evidence would have prevailed. Fortunately however after a pretty nice and tedious discussion the Inquisition was quashed by the Court, and we now stand in a secure situation.

Adieu,

J. Madison Junr.

[P.S.] A letter from the Continental Agt. at Statia just recd. by the Commercial Committee reduces the Capture of the B. fleet by the Spaniards almost to certainty.⁶

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:136-37.

¹ For this vote, see Madison to Jones, September 19, 1780, note 1. Madison's "chagrin" is evident from the fact that his colleagues, Theodorick Bland and John Walker, voted against him, thus registering a negative Virginia vote.

² For which see Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, this date, note 6.

³ That is, Arthur Lee.

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ For "General [John Morin] Scott's cause," see Madison to Jones, October 10, 1780, note 5.

⁶ Apparently a letter from Samuel Curson that is not in PCC.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr 17th. 1780

The Southern Post having not yet arrived, I have not the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your favor, which I have found you too punctual to doubt his havg for me.

The best news I have to give you is contained in the inclosed paper in a letter from Eustatia, which comes from a person known to many Gentlemen here who say it may be fully credited. The Saratoga a Continental Vessel of 16 guns is just returned from a cruise in which she took several Jamaica prizes with a prodigious quantity of rum & sugar on board. She parted from them in a fog near the coast,

and as they have not yet been heard of it is feared they have fallen back into the possession of the Enemy.

Baron Stuben just come to town brings a report that an embarkation left N. York on Thursday, but no confirmation has yet arrived from Gl. Washington or any other official source. Adieu,
James Madison Junr.

[P.S.] By a letter just recd. from the Continental Agt. at Statia by the Commercial Committee, the Capture of the British fleet by the Spaniards is brought pretty nearly to certainty.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:140-41.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir

Philadelphia Octr. 17th. 1780

At the time I wrote to you respecting that part of the system for the army, that had been agreed on by Congress, I had despaired of it's being submitted to your opinion.¹ I had moved for it, but my proposition was rejected, on a principle, that the whole should go together. We have received your Excys. sentiments on this very important subject, such, as I evidently foresaw would be the result of your serious consideration.² Your observations are incontrovertible, & unless Congress are so bigoted to the Idol they have set up, & are determined to reject every principle that can have the least tendency to invalidate the foundation on which it is erected, they must ultimately adopt the plan you propose. No other, I am convinced, can ever answer our purposes. But even in this case a most tremendous inconvenience arises—for here is the month of October better than half spent, & probably, before Congress come to a final determination, November will be arrived, & then there remains only two months for prosecuting this great work. The time is certainly too short for it's completion. I consequently dread the arrival of the first day of January. Had Congress put this business in the train, that was proposed early in Septr. so much precious time would have been saved, as, in all probability would have given success to the plan. However, we must now use our best endeavours to put things on as good a footing as the nature of the case will admit of. Yr. Excys letter of the 11th inst. is committed to the same committee who brought in the former report, together with that report, but nothing is, as yet, done in it.

My plan respecting the annual recruits was only meant to render the System as useful as possible, for if an alternative must be admitted into it we should endeavour to derive every possible advantage from it. I therefore thought it best, to have the *power* to detain the men,

& take our chance for it's success, rather than they should at all events be at liberty to disband themselves at a certain day.

Your Excys appointment of Genl. Greene to the command of the southern army has given general satisfaction—to the five southern states, I know it has given the highest satisfaction.³

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of Respect & Esteem,
Yr. Excys most affect. hmbe servt. Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Mathews is referring to his letter to Washington of September 24, 1780.

² For Congress' submission of its plan for the new arrangement of the army to the commander-in-chief and his October 11 reply, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 4 and October 26, 1780, note 1.

³ For the southern delegates' request that Nathanael Greene be appointed to command the southern department, see Mathews to Washington, October 6, 1780.

Charles Thomson's Parody upon Benedict Arnold's Address

[October 17, 1780]

A correspondent observes, That, consistent with truth, the Address ought to have been in the words following:¹

To the INHABITANTS of AMERICA.

I should forfeit, even in my own opinion, the place I have so long held in your's, if I could be silent on the motives which have induced me to join the King's army. A very few words, however, shall suffice upon this subject; for to those who are acquainted with my past life this instance of my conduct needs no explanation. I am, therefore, only concerned, in this Address, to explain myself to such of my countrymen as want abilities or opportunities to detect the governing principle of my conduct in this as well as in every other part of my life.

It was my misfortune not to be born in affluent circumstances. My ruling passion is, and ever has been, vanity and a love of money. This I evinced at my first out-set in life. For having obtained credit for a quantity of drugs, which I sold to good advantage, I pretended to be bankrupt, and availing myself of the easiness and credulity of my creditor, obliged him to compound with me for half the debt. By this means I gained a considerable sum, part of which I laid out in building myself a spacious house, and with the remainder purchased a vessel and commenced trader. Those with whom I had any dealings will certify, that I never deviated from my principle of trucking and cheating whenever I had an opportunity.

When I quitted domestic happiness for the perils of the field, I conceived I had a better prospect of succeeding in my wishes. The expedition against Quebec was too flattering not to be embraced.

I anticipate your question, Was not the attempt dangerous? I answer, that with eagerness, I thought so: But I well knew the opportunity it would give me, if I succeeded, of amassing wealth by the plunder of the inhabitants; and I think I can boast with any highwayman, that I dare encounter danger for the sake of money. The citizens of Quebec, some of whom to their cost were no strangers to my character, by shutting the gate and flying to arms disappointed my sanguine expectations. The attempt to subdue them by force proved unsuccessful, and my views were thereby frustrated. However, the opportunity I afterwards had of plundering the merchants of Montreal in some small degree compensated for this disappointment. But not having fully gratified my wishes, I determined to continue in the American army, in hopes that the honours conferred upon me by my country, who were struck with the glare, and unacquainted with the motives of my conduct, and the rapid promotion I met with might throw in my way new and more favourable opportunities. The removal of the English from Philadelphia presented one, which I improved to my best advantage. You will say, was it not now time to withdraw? By no means. In contending for wealth, I am free to declare my opinion, that this end attained my warfare should cease. But I had married a young wife, set up a chariot, and entered on a plan of expensive living which swallowed up all my gains. I lamented, therefore, the prosecution commenced against me by the ruling power of Pennsylvania, who detected some of my practices, and was almost driven to despair by the scrutiny into my public accounts made by the Board of Treasury, who developed my arts of chicanery, tricking and speculation; and in one instance prevented me from securing to myself a thousand pound, hard money, notwithstanding I practiced every artifice that cunning could suggest to gain the point. Fortunately, however, a new and tempting scene opened to my view. Maj. Andre, the confidential friend of Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, gave me an opportunity of commencing a correspondence with him. My character was blasted, the people of America were beginning to treat me with sovereign contempt. Even a French man, whom I had treated with so much friendship as to borrow of him twelve thousand pounds to pay for a country seat and plantation I had bought, when continental currency was worth about four for one, in silver and gold, had the assurance to hint he would be glad to take a pair of my horses for eight thousand pounds of the money lent. But this I refused, and therefore could hope for no farther favours of the like nature from him, and consequently have a right to abuse and hate him and all his countrymen. In this situation I should have changed my principles, if I had not embraced the opportunity of major Andre's correspondence. In the firm persuasion that my private interest was to be preferred to that of my country, I devoted myself to Great-Britain, thinking it infinitely wiser and

safer to cast my confidence of making a fortune upon the bargain I should make for betraying my country, than to trust Congress, who had too much reason to despise me.

I affect no disguise, and therefore frankly declare, that in these principles I repaired to the army and solicited the command of West Point, in order to have an opportunity of surrendering it and the garrison to Great-Britain for a stipulated sum. In concerting the measures for a purpose as grateful to the British general as it would have been beneficial to me, I was *only* solicitous to accomplish an event of decisive importance with as much security and as little danger to myself as possible; and did not sufficiently provide for the safety of Mr. Andre. His capture has frustrated my schemes. I must therefore rely upon the clemency of my sovereign and the abundant conviction that I will betray him to any who will come up to my price.

With respect to that herd of censurers, whose enmity to me originates in their hatred to the principles by which I am led to devote my life to the re-union of the British empire, as the best and only means make my fortune, they may be assured, that, conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I shall treat their malice and calumnies with contempt and neglect.

B. Arnold.

P.S. Alas for my baggage, which I left behind me!

Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, October 17, 1780.

¹ This parody was directed at an address from Benedict Arnold "To the Inhabitants of America," which was printed as a broadside by James Rivington and dated "New York, October 7, 1780," for which see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 17,601. The two documents were printed together in the October 17 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* by John Dunlap, who introduced Arnold's work with the following explanation: "We have just received the following Address, published in New-York by the infamous Traitor Arnold, in which he has the effrontery to avow, and attempt by flimsy arguments to justify, his perfidious Treachery."

That the parody was the work of Thomson may be inferred from the postscript of Ezekiel Cornell's letter to William Greene, this date, wherein Cornell explained that he was enclosing a copy of "the Infamous Arnolds Address to which is added another prepared for the press by Mr. Secretary Thomson."

James Duane to George Clinton

Philda. Oct. 18th. 1780

The business of Vermont stands suspended on account of the necessary provisions for the army and other pressing and indispensable calls for the attention of Congress.¹ It shall be resumed and a decision procured the first opening. The sentiments of some States are clearly influenced by personal & private interests, not, I believe, of the delegates, but of their principal friends. Connecticut I am sorry to count among the number, as to this period a majority of their

delegates were clear to decide on the claims of the Vermonters, which they seem now to evade.

Tr (MH-H: Sparks Collection). Only this brief extract transcribed for Jared Sparks has been found.

¹ For the "business of Vermont," see Duane to Clinton, October 7, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Richard Howly

Sir, Philada October 18, 1780

By the Act of Congress of the 25 of September on the report of a Committee on Mr Glasscock's Letter and the Memorial of Mr Walton, I am directed to transmit you Copies of the said Act & report, with the Papers therein referred to which are all enclosed.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:861. For the background of this case concerning the removal of Gen. Lachlan McIntosh from his post in the southern department in February 1780, see George Walton's Memorial, September 7; and Richard Howly's Statement, September 9? 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada October 18. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10 Instant wherein they have resolved that the unappropriated Lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States pursuant to the Recommendation of the 6 of September last *shall be disposed of for the Common Benefit of the United States*, be formed into distinct Governments, and granted & settled as expressed in the Act and the reasonable Expences incurred in subduing British Posts &c on such ceded Land shall be reimbursed.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c, S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:915. See also Huntington to the States, October 16, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to William Smallwood and Mordecai Gist

Sir, Philada October 18, 1780¹

Notwithstanding the Event of the Action near Cambden the 16

of August last, I have the Pleasure to present you with the Thanks of Congress expressed in the Copy of their Act enclosed of the 14 Instant to yourself in particular and the brave Officers & Troops who distinguished themselves by their Bravery & Valour on that Occasion.²

I have the Honor to be, with Esteem & respect, &c &c &c,
S.H.³

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To Major General Smallwood. The like verbatim to Brigadier Genl Gist."

¹ The RC of this letter sent to Mordecai Gist is dated October 16. Stewart Signers of the Declaration Collection, NjGbS.

² See *JCC*, 18:924.

³ This day Huntington also wrote a brief letter to Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering, pursuant to a resolve of October 16, authorizing him "to furnish Col. [Jean-Baptiste] Ternant with two good Horses," in compensation for "two good riding horses [impressed from him] during the siege of Charlestown, by order of the State of South Carolina." See PCC, item 15, fol. 136; and *JCC*, 18:932-33.

Willie Jones to Abner Nash

Dr sir

Octr. 18, 1780.¹

I wrote to you of the 1st Octr. & 10th to which I refer. The Resolution of Congress directing Genl. Washington to appoint an Officer to take the Command of the Southern Army, instead of Genl. Gates, was immediately sent to Head Quarters; but the General has not informed Congress of his proceedings thereupon, nor can I advise you who will be appointed to that Command. Genl. Gates sent us Dispatches three or four days ago, advising that Ld Cornwallis had penetrated our State as far as Charlotte, these Dispatches were immediately forwarded to the Commander in Chief, and I have some small hopes that he will be thereby induced to detach some troops to the Southward, perhaps Lee's Corps, for every Idea of acting to the Northward is now laid aside. However, I am not sanguine in this Expectation. We have Reports every day of Reinforcements going from N. York either to No. Carolina or Virginia; but nothing which can be depended on. I hope both those States will consider it as a thing certain, that Reinforcements will be sent from N. York, in the course of the ensuing Winter.

The Newspaper will inform you of the Capture of the British Et. & Wt. India fleet outward bound. A Letter to the Commercial Committe gives a more authentick accot. as thus, the British fleet consisting of 58 Sail, fell in with the combined Fleet in the Night, the Ramilies and Thetis escaped to Madeira, where the former remained eight days, and only four Merchantmen came in, the Southampton Frigate escaped and brought the first Intelligence to

St. Kitts, the Ramilies is since arrived at Jamaica, the Thetis was dispatched to give Adml. Geary Intelligence of the Combined Fleet. From these Circumstances it is conjectured that about 50 of the British Ships were captured. I hope to leave this place in three Weeks, but this depends on Remittances from Carolina—for I have long been out of cash.

I am with the greatest truth, Dr. Sir, Your most obed & Humble Servt.
Willie Jones

P.S. It is said that Genl. Washington, upon Arnolds appointment to the Command at West point, gave him the Names of several Gentlemen of the first Rank in N. York, (thro' whom he obtained Intelligence of Sir Henry Clintons Motions) together with the plan of Correspondence; all which the execrable Villain Arnold disclosed on his Arrival at N. York, and the aforesaid Gentlemen were consequently apprehend & confined in Irons; and, if this be the Case, will probably lose their Lives.
W. Jones

RC (NcU: Revolutionary War Papers).

¹ Jones originally dated this letter "Octr. 17," but then wrote over the "7," apparently after he added the postscript.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 19. 1780

I have been honored with your several Letters viz, the 11, 13, & three of the 15 Instant, with the Papers to which they refer.¹

Enclosed your Excellency will herewith receive the Copy of an Act of Congress of this Day, authorizing you to carry into Execution the Proposals enclosed in your Letter of the 15 Instant or any other you may judge proper to make respecting the Commissaries of Prisoners to reside with the American & British Armies respectively.²

I have also enclosed a Number of the printed Acts of Congress containing a Plan for conducting the Hospital Department, also an Act of Congress of the 14 Instant directing a Monument to be erected to the Memory of the late Major Genl the Baron de Kalb, and giving the Thanks of Congress to Generals Smallwood & Gist &c, & the Troops who distinguished themselves by their Valour in the Action near Cambden on the 16 of August last.

With the highest respect, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ These letters are in PCC, item 152, 9:247-76, 293-300; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:157-67, 175, 189-92. The former is a remarkable 18-page

letter, entirely in Washington's hand, containing his reflections on the new arrangement of the Continental Army adopted by Congress on October 3.

² See *JCC*, 18:951.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada October 20. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed a Proclamation recommending Thursday the seventh Day of December next to be observed as a Day of Thanksgiving & Prayer.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect, &c, &c, &c,
S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For the adoption of the enclosed October 18 Thanksgiving Day proclamation, see *JCC*, 18:919, 934, 950-51.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada October 21. 1780

Your Excellencies several Letters of the 8 & 10 Instant with those covering the Dispatches from General Gates have been duly received.¹

The Expedient you have adopted to invite some of the Chief Indian Warriors to visit Congress & Genl Washington appears to me good Policy. Your Despatches on that Subject which are just received, will be laid before Congress this Day, and their Sentiments thereon shall be communicated to your Excellency as soon as possible.

I have enclosed for your Information a Copy of a Letter this Moment received from General Washinton.²

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, &c, &c, &c,
S.H.

P.S. The enclosed resolve this Moment passed contains the Sense of Congress respecting the Indians.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Jefferson's letter of October 8 with Gates' October 5 letters to him and to Huntington, see *PCC*, item 71, 1:437-40, item 154, 2:267-82; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:23. The October 10 letter has not survived, but it contained Jefferson's proposals for "inviting Oconostota and a few other principal warriors of the Cherokee nation to visit Congress and the Commander in Chief," which Congress endorsed in the October 21 resolution alluded to in Huntington's postscript. See *JCC*, 18:957-58. For Jefferson's subsequent explanation of why the proposed Cherokee visit never took place, and his decision instead "to carry the war into their country," see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:639-40.

² Undoubtedly Washington's letter of October 17, reporting the recent embarkation of a British fleet "from New York on Sunday last" carrying "about

2500 Foot and thirty or forty Horse," thought destined to the "Southward." See *JCC*, 18:956; PCC, item 152, 9:319; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:203.

Huntington also sent this intelligence from Washington under cover of a brief letter to Maryland governor Thomas Sim Lee this day. PCC, item 15, fol. 140.

John Sullivan's Memorial

To the Honorable the Continental Congress:
Humbly Shews John Sullivan

Philadelphia October 21 1780

That when he had the Honor of Commanding the Army at Rhode Island his Army was for a Long time Destitute of Provisions & that the Commissaries after repeated applications Informed him that it was out of their power to Supply the Troops; where upon he applied to Messrs Clark & Nightingale for Supplies who Employed one Amasa Sessions Esqr by whose Instrumentality the Troops were kept from Perishing. That the Commissaries who had refused to furnish Provisions Commenced a prosecution against Said Sessions for purchasing the Same & after a hearing thereon he was Acquitted of the Charge² but in his Defence against a Suit Commenced without Color³ & Lengthened out by Every malicious Stratagem that Could be Devised, he Expended Large Sums of money which have been repaid him by Said Clark & Nightingale for which & for the provisions furnished they have forwarded the Accounts Inclosed requesting payment from your memorialist. He Therefore prays Congress to order the Accounts to be Liquidated & paid & your memorialist Shall pray &c,

Jno Sullivan

MS (DNA: PCC, item 41). In the hand of John Sullivan.

¹ Sullivan presented this memorial to Congress on October 21, when it was read and referred to the Board of Treasury. *JCC*, 18:958.

² Amasa Sessions also filed a countersuit over these charges at about this time, for which see Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:342-43.

³ That is, without right or cause.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Saturday October 21st. 1780.

Present Honble Mr McKean, Mr. Walker.

The error of the order of the 1st of June was acknowledged by Mr Gibson & Mr Forman exhibited an Amendment of the number of bills ordered to Maryland by which he conceives the order will be found incorrect only in a single instance.

Mr. Gibson—Produced Mr. Hopkins account to shew that the

8 bills of 36 dollars each which is part of the charge returned by him as remaining in his hands.

Mr. Hopkinson. Observes that upon the face of the same sheet in his account those very 8 bills are expressly & clearly mentioned being “damaged sheets” and “thus not delivered,” and so it appears by the accounts produced by Mr Gibson.

Qu. By Mr. Hopkinson. Is it consistent with the rules of your Board to issue orders signed by a member; or is it a rule, that all orders shall be signed by the secretary?

An. By all the Commissioners. That it was the rule of the Board that the Secretary of the Board should sign the order; or the next clerk; But that orders have been frequently issued signed by an individual member.

Observation, By Mr Hopkinson, That the order of the Board not being adhered to subjected him to the Mercy of the Board in instances where the rule was not complied with which was unreasonable. That he had [. . .]

Colo. Palfrey.¹ Has not been able to do business with the present Gent. with that readiness he has heretofore done. That the Hotieur observed by the Gent. was rather high—That he had been at sometimes treated with great neglect—And business of great importance unnecessarily delayed—And in particular a Complaint concerning the interference of the board in his business and rights—And the drawing out monies from the Military Chest to the great hindrance and injury of his business. That he has been informed of the hours of doing business with the Treasury which is a regulation of their own—And he has been refused to do any business but by writing.

Qu. Do you know any thing of a Private order Said to be given by the Treasury to the Treasurer not to pay any orders of Congress without their particular private order?

An. Yes, he had frequently experienced it, And in particular in an instance where he had express orders from the Treasury to hurry forward the money drawn for. And the Treasurer refused to pay it in consequence of such order as (he) Mr. H said, and he was obliged to obtain that private order. It is an Order of the Treasury, as their clerk informed him, not to do any business on the day in which the application was made.

Mr. Hillegas.² Has personally been decently treated—But their notes have been couched in terms “not very clever and he has sometimes felt himself hurt by them”.

Particular instance is a case, where money, was ordered to the Eastward where offers were made by the Board to assist in the business several days after it was done, and on a Message by them being received and full information given to him, he has been rather hurt by the manner of the ans and of an answer in writing. He has (*been*

severely reprimanded) had a very severe rap for having disobeyed in some small instances of evident distress and necessity to persons going away, the order for not paying any orders of Congress without their private order, and in paying, particularly, the doorkeeper of Congress about 100 Dollars.

Instances a case of a person producing an order for payment which on his readily offering to pay it, the holder of the draft expressed his surprize at it—by saying he had expected to have received the same kind of treatment in the Treasury office, which he had received in some other offices; but that he was determined to make the trial and intended, if he had met with like treatment as in the other offices, to have thrown the order in the fire—declaring that he had much rather have lost the whole Money than to dance such attendance and bear such treatment. He has received from Mr Lee *verbal* orders, *express orders*, to make return of the state of Payment of all drafts &c, which it has been hinted was not by order of the Board.

That the order respecting the shutting of their doors was occasioned by an [. . .] of their in leaving on their bills an order for purchasing gold &c [. . .] which Chaloner³ had had &c and mentioned to them. Has certainly not been that confidential intercourse between the offices as had been heretofore.

Some letters from the secy.⁴ in a very angry stile and without the usual stile of politeness—informing him that his attendance for explaining some difficulties in his order was unnecessary.

Mr. Millegan.⁵ He cannot say he has ever received much politeness from any of them nor any personall insult or affront (except once).

The orders which have been issued have sometimes been inconsistent and contradictory—but that he did not chuse to contend with them on matters of duty they being his superiors. He has been frequently refused personal communications on business which required it and might have been dispatched in a few minutes. In cases where their advice was necessary as he judged. Has lately had more access to them. It is certain that confidential intercourse between the officers has been greatly lessened and interrupted.

Accots. of Mr Hopkinson which has been before them five or six weeks, and passed upon only a few days ago.

He has seen Mr. Hopkinsons Account interlined, by another hand; but it did not appear to be with a fraudulent design.

Has the appointment of [. . .] Clerks.

Mr Flowers⁶ account lies before the Auditors among many others under diff. circumstances—refers to orders delivered—And it is explained that Mr. Flowers accounts mentioned by Mr Nicholson was not referred to the Chamber of Accounts according to the New Arrangements.

Colo. Palfry was introduced.

Qu. by Mr. McKean. Has the business of your department with

the Treasury been lately conducted with the same harmony and attention as heretofore; or have you observed any Particular hotour in the commissioners of the Treasury?

An. To the first Part. I do not think it was.

Qu. by Mr Gibson. In what particular instance?

An. Formerly I had free access whenever My business required it; latter I have not had, that access which I thought my business required.

Qu. By McKean—Did you observe any thing in the behaviour of the Com. of Tr. haughty or improper?

An. When I have been Present with them, they have treated me like a Gentleman; but I have been often obliged to wait; whether they know who was attending or not I do not know. But I most certainly have found it much more difficult to do business with the new board, than with the former one.

Qu. You observed that there was a hotour in the behavior of the Coms. What was your Precise Idea in that case?

An. I conceived the new board took much more state upon them than the former board—That is my idea.

Qu. Do you know anything of a Private order said to be issued by the Comissioners to the Treasury Not to pay money without their Private order?

An. Yes frequently—Particularly in an instance of very great importance an order was given Me by the Treasury and requested him to exert himself to obtain it immediately, that upon going to the Treasury Mr Hillegas refused payment because he had not received the Private orders of the Treasury for the payment of it. That he immediately returned to the Treasury to obtain the order; but he found nobody in the office. He afterward saw Mr Lee, who said the order should be sent.

Qu. Mr. McKean. Did you understand it to be an order of the Treasury board not to do business on the day of the application being made?

An. Yes I have understood it to be so, and have found it so in some important instances.

Qu. Do you know if this is extended to all cases

An. I cant say how far it extends—but it has to all cases of my business.

Qu. Do you know of any Particular injury which the Public have sustained by this rule in your department?

An. I cannot say I do; but I have found it to be very inconvenient.

Qu. by Mr Hopkinson; You say the board did business only in Writing. Have you had any correspondance with the Board?

An. Yes.

Qu: Have you conceived, that any thing contained in their letters to you was hateur or improper?

An: In some instances I have thought the expressions contained in them, was not in terms such I as thought might have been used to one holding the rank in office which I have the honour to do.

Mr. Gibson requested the letters might be referred to And Colo. Palfrey went for them.

In the mean time Mr. Hillegas was interrogated—by Mr. McKean.

[Qu.] Do you know anything of a Mr. Hopkinsons having designd devices for the flag, Seals, borders of bills &c for the Continent; And were you concerned in devising any of them.

An: I recollect, that a Piece of Paper was put into my hands by one of the Gent.⁷ (I think from the Jersey) containing a request to think of some device for a Treasury seal, that he had suggested & sketched out from rough design containing a seale & a seal; but not in the manner the Device was adopted. I dont understand heraldry; and it was corrected & amended by Mr. Hopkinson—But as to any of the other seals, I don't know that I was ever consulted upon them. I understood them to be designed by Mr. Hopkinson.

Qu: By Mr. Gibson. Did not I consult you privately on the subject of a seal for the Treasury?

An: I have some faint recollection that you did.

Qu: By Mr. McKean. Did Mr. Hopkinson receive any Private assistance from you in these designs?

An: No.

Qu: By Mr. Gibson. Did not the Treasury board, both the former and the present, send for you frequently to consult with you concerning the implements for striking the money as well as the Certificates?

An: Yes scores of times.

Qu: Did you ever charge for any of these works of fancy?

An: No—I have not yet: I leave that to my Masters.

Qu. Did you ever do any labours of fancy for the public?

An. I have assisted in almost every of the emissions, and bestowed a great deal of time in that way; but I never invented a device & I have assisted in forming the backs—And proposed the horses to be affixed to a different Denomination from that intended by Dr. Franklin, for a reason which made him laugh.

Ob. by Mr Gibson: You enjoy a salary under Congress.

An. Yes sir!

[Qu.] You say you never sketched a device, Did you ever draw an ornament?

An. I never kept an account of those things.

Qu. by Mr Hopkinson. Did you assist in forming the designs for the bills now in the Press?

An. No.

Observation by Mr Hopkinson—The design was formed by me at Mr Duffields—where I spent several days.

Coll. Palfry returned and introduced an observation, That the Treasury had requested him to make an estimate of the Pay of the Army—Which he had informed them was absolutely out of his Power—That upon his application for money—he reced their letter of the 31 May (which should have been 13th May) and of the 13 May—both which were recd on the same day.

Observes, That the means of forming an estimate of the pay was not in his Power—it was refused him by the board of war—and estimates could *not possibly* be made.

Mr. Gibson you observed that business was not conducted with that harmony that there was formerly.

An. Within this month it has been otherwise; but some time before, that attention was not Paid to my applications in writing which I thought their importance required.

Qu. Did you not suppose there might be cases which required partiality?

An. I have thought there was, in my department the very existence of the Army might depend on their pay being advanced. No pay has [. . .]

Qu. By Mr Forman. You say, that you have found more difficulty in doing business with the present board than with the former one. Did not this difficulty arise from the state of the Treasury?

An. In part it might; but it was in my opinion chiefly owing to the new rules & regulations.

Qu. by do. Have you any other reason for thinking the present board take more state than the former one than the fixing office hours?

An. I have been kept waiting I thought unreasonably when my business required explanations.

Qu. Have you been kept waiting when you attended in the hours appointed?

[An.] I do not recollect—except in an instance where perhaps it was owing to you forgetting I was below.

Qu. Was the manner of doing business with the present board different from that of the former one?

An. I did not meet with any way near the same readiness and expeditiousness as formerly.

Mr Milligan—examined.

Qu. Have you been treated with politeness by the Com. of Trea. or with rudeness?

An. I have not received much of either from them—nor (any particular) rudeness except once when Mr Burke was Present—“who was the harshest man I ever met with.”

Qu. Have you always found the Orders clear and intelligent?

An. In general so. I have thought they were in a harsh tone. I endeavoured to execute them—they had a right direct.

Qu. Has Coll. Flowers account mentioned if Mr Nicholsons letter

been referred to the Chamber of Accounts by the Commissioners?

An. No they lie in the Chambers; but they have not had the formal reference which the regulations require—they have lain there perhaps near 12 mos.

Qu. by Mr. Gibson. You speak of harsh *orders* being given.

An. I said "in a harsh tone."

Qu. Were they more so than formerly used to the Auditors?

An. I thought so—Perhaps it might only be with design to introduce method.

Mr. Gibson then read a former order of the board.

Mr. Milligan—observed, That the orders thro him to the Chambers were what was very disagreeable to me and you know, Mr Gibson, I often complained of it.

Qu. Was not these orders consistent with the rules of the board (in 30 July 1779 Ordnance).⁸

An. I suppose they were—but I thought them unnecessarily harsh—and "it is particularly disagreeable to be placed between the Treasury and the Chambers as between two fires".

Qu. by Gib. Was you ever treated by the board, as a board, with undue pride or insolence of office?

An: No—the time I complain of there was only Mr Burke and you present.

Mr. Nourse,⁹ examined (assistant Auditor General and formerly under Mr. Gibson)

Qu. Did you ever observe any undue Pride or insolence of office?

An. When the A. Genl. has been absent I have done the business and have been politely treated—have receivd personal Civilities. It is difficult for one insubordinate office to judge of hoteur in office.

Qu. Have you ever received any inconsistent orders or such as was impossible to be executed?

An. When Mr Milligan was absent in July last I was directed to convey several orders to the Coms. of Chambers of Accots. which put me in a disagreeable situation by being the conveyance of those orders; but as to their being incorrect—I recollect none.

Qu. By Mr Gibson. Did you ever know of the board having treated any person with undue pride or insolence?

An. I dont recollect any particular instance.

Qu. Mr McKean. Have you heard any Person complain of it?

An. I have heard Persons frequently complain—they could not obtain audience during the hours of office.

Qu. By Mr. Forman. Do you think those complaints arose from the hours of office being fixed?

An: In a great measure they did—together with the state of the Treasury.

Mr. Pat. Farrell.¹⁰

Qu. Have you observed any undue Pride or insolence of office

in the Com. of the Treasury to any Persons?

An. I have not.

Obs. by Mr Forman—This Gent. is constantly in the office—respecting Order for 20 Bills of 444 when he had but 16 of the denom[ination] in his possession.

Exhibits a return of Mr. Hopkinson containing 66 bills of 444 remaining in his hands dated June 17. 1780. Whereas there was in truth only 16 for there had been an Order of 5th May for 50 bills of that denomination which he had not charged.

Respecting the order to deliver Bills to the Board of war. The Board had a right to order the Bills to whom they judged proper—but the order was a clerical mistake and corrected accordingly, on application, altho the order ought to have been complied with and had it been complied with the accounts would have stood properly altho it was more advantageously expeditious to stand as it now does.¹¹

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 16, 1780.

¹ William Palfrey, Paymaster of the Continental Army.

² Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States.

³ John Chaloner, an assistant commissary of purchases.

⁴ That is, the secretary at the Board of Treasury, Charles Lee.

⁵ Auditor general James Milligan.

⁶ Col. Benjamin Flowers, commissary general of military stores.

⁷ At this point Matlack inserted an asterisk, to which he keyed the following comment in the margin: "Mr H. afterwards observed the same Gent. put a paper containing the same request into the hands of Mr. Hopkinson."

⁸ A printed copy of this "Ordinance for establishing a Board of Treasury, and the proper Officers for managing the Finances of these United States," which was issued as a broadside, is in PCC, item 62, fol. 425.

⁹ Joseph Nourse.

¹⁰ Patrick Ferrall, a clerk in the treasury office and one of the "signers of bills of credit" appointed by the Board of Treasury in August 1779. See *JCC*, 14:928, 15:1124, 17:717.

¹¹ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 23, 1780.

Abraham Clark to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada. Octor. 22d. 1780.

Reports very likely have reached you of our Obtaining an important Advantage over the Enemy in Carolina. The particulars are contained in several letters the copies of which I enclose.¹ The whole intelligence depends upon the Veracity of Major Tate, which, as he was well known to Genls. Davidson & Sumner and the Action at no great distance from them, and they give it as authentick, it Obtains full Credit here; no mention is made of the Enemys baggage, which if their Capture is true no dobt fell into our hands. The

Numbers killed & taken falls considerable short of the Number they are Stated at, and yet, the Numr. of Arms said to be taken exceeds their Numr. of Troops—in the first [. . .] part might have escaped and in the latter they might be carrying spare Arms with them. These matters must be left to be cleared up when we Obtain more particulars relative to the affair. The killed, prisoners, and Numr. of Arms I suppose Major Tate gives by conjecture only, and not from any Actual Acct. taken, which when ascertained may differ considerably. The copies I did not take with a view to sending from me or they would not have appeared quite so rough.

With this good News, we also recd. this day disagreeable intelligence from the Northward.² Butler & Brandt with a Number of British & Tories had made an incursion from Canada, Landed at the head of South bay, taken Fort Ann and Fort George with their small Garrisons: The same or another party from the Westward had invested Fort Schuyler but had not ventured upon an Attack—some Continentals with the Militia were on their March to relieve the Fort. The Enemy had burn'd many houses, barracks of grain & hay &c in their rout. This expedition Governor Clinton thinks was intended as a Cooperation with the British up the North River in Case Arnolds Treachery had succeeded, which being defeated he thinks they will make but a short stay.

Two of the Saratogas Prizes it is said have arrived safe in the River and are coming up. Of the other no Certain intelligence hath been recd. tho' some think she is got into Sinepuxant, as such a like Vessel was lately seen, as Supposed standing in there.

Congress lately agreed upon a Reduction of the Continental Regiments granting to all Reduced Officers one Years pay—since which they have engaged half pay for life to all such. The Natural Consequence you may be sure was to grant the half pay for life to all that continued in the service. This Proceeding extraordinary as it is met with no Opposition but from the four New England States & New Jersey, the Opposition from one of the Eastern States was but feeble.³ It gives me inexpressible pain to see Congress Sporting away the publick money and increasing our debt at the very time we are in a Perfect State of bankruptcy. Were our Finances in ever so good a state, the Measure is inconsistant with our ideas of liberty and Maxims of Government to pension for life such a Number Among us; it is also unjust with regard to those who were not long since dismissed on one Years depreciated pay without the depreciation made up to them for the time of their service, and many others through Necessity, want of employ, or ill treatment have lately left the Army without any future allowance or depreciation of money for past Services granted to them. Congress appears to be tumbling down fast and will I believe soone retain no more than a Name and that I fear not a good one. Some late appointments in the Medical

Line will not I believe add much to their decayed Reputation. But I shall say no more on this disagreeable Subject, Assuring Your Excellency I am, with due respects, Your Obedt. & Humble Servt.
Abra. Clark

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ News of the American victory at Kings Mountain on October 7, contained in letters of Horatio Gates, Jethro Sumner, and William Davidson that Thomas Jefferson had forwarded to Samuel Huntington, was read in Congress the following morning. See *JCC*, 18:963; *PCC*, item 71, 1:461-68, 471; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:32, 42.

² This "disagreeable intelligence" concerning enemy incursions on the New York frontier was the subject of an October 14 report from Gov. George Clinton enclosed in Washington's October 16 letter to President Huntington, which was read in Congress on the 23rd. See *JCC*, 18:964; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:192-93; and Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:294-95.

³ The reorganization plan adopted by Congress on September 21 and October 3, which reduced the total number of Continental infantry regiments to 49, portended the creation of new supernumerary officers and the demoralization of others whose positions would be threatened by mergers with reorganized regiments. Similar reductions in 1778-79 had produced a flurry of resignations, and to avoid a repetition of that experience Washington was asked for recommendations on implementing the new plan. Warning of the delicacy of the situation now looming and advising "great caution, in any reforms that are attempted," Washington recommended "an ample provision both for the Officers who stay and for those who are reduced." By this he meant changing the existing system of half pay for seven years to half pay for life or whole pay for seven years, and Congress had opted for the former. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:157-59; and Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 4, 1780.

The initial vote on the proposal for half pay for life was actually supported by both New Hampshire and Rhode Island—represented respectively by John Sullivan and Ezekiel Cornell, themselves general officers—although in the final vote on the arrangement revisions Cornell joined Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey in opposing a motion "to agree to the whole as amended." *JCC*, 18:958-61. See also Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 24; and Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, October 26, 1780.

George Walton to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia, 22 October, 1780

Major Woodruff¹ will have the pleasure of presenting You with this, which I beg you will take as an introduction from me. He is a zealous adherent to our cause, brave as a soldier, and valuable as a citizen. As his Sufferings by the war have been very great, I should be happy if any thing should present itself, that you would dispose of it in his favor.

I am, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient servant,
Geo Walton

RC (OCIWHi: Norton Collection).

¹ Probably Joseph Woodruff, a Georgia artillery officer and commissary of prisoners who later became a member of the executive council, collector of customs for Savannah, and deputy quartermaster general. See *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. by Allen D. Candler, 3 vols. (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1908), 2:90, 116, 250, 253, 438, 3:8, 21, 187.

Benjamin Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia Octor 23d 1780

I have the Honor to Inclose to your Excellency by this earliest Opportunity the Tryal of Major Andre.¹

I think myself in Duty bound to Inform your Excellency that the System of Reform for the Army is Finished and will be forwarded to the several States as soon as printed.² In it is Contained an Allowance of Half Pay for Life made by Congress to such Officers as on the Reform, become supernumerary and the like Half Pay to such as Remain in Actual Service until the War is ended. Every Possible argument against the Measure was Adduced by its Opponents but to no Purpose. It might be Imprudent in me to Name the Yeas and Nays as taken on the Question. The Journal of That Transaction³ will forever Remain a Standing Testimonial of the true Spirit of Republican Liberty in some States whilst others are fond of Measures leading Directly to aristocracy.

I hope the Several States who mean to Preserve their Rights, and our State in Particular will in good Time Provide Laws to Render Gentlemen in Pay of the united States Incapable of a Seat in the Legislative Body or of holding a Civil Office under a State, it is a Rule that no Man in Pay of the united States shall hold a Seat in Congress. The Reason of this Rule applies to the Condition of Particular States who by too long Neglect may find that by Private Interest or undue Influence they are subjugated to the Yoke of Power.

A Report of Estimates for Supplies for the Year Ensuing is in Agitation & will Soon be Completed.

I am with the Greatest Respect, your Excellencys most Huml Servt,
Benj Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to Washington, this date, note 2.

² See Samuel Huntington to the States, October 26, 1780.

³ See Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 3.

Samuel Huntington to Timothy Pickering

Sir,

Philada October 23. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress

of the 21 Instant, directing Mr John Bradford Continental Agent at Boston to deliver to your Order all the Duck in his Hands suitable for Tents, the Property of the United States, to be made up into Tents for the Army, reserving only so much thereof as in the Opinion of the Board of Admiralty is necessary for the immediate Use of the Navy.¹ The Board of Admiralty are also directed to give the necessary Information on this Subject immediately to the Agent.

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ *JCC*, 18:962. See also Huntington to John Bradford, October 14, 1780.

² This day Huntington also sent a routine resolve of the 21st to Dr. William Rickman notifying him that his request to resign as director of Continental hospitals in Virginia had been adopted, a request that he had recently repeated in a letter to Congress of October 4. See PCC, item 15, fol. 142, item 78, 19:319-20; and *JCC*, 18:962, 1066.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia October 23. 1780

Permit me to congratulate your Excellency on the Success of the southern Militia over Colonel Ferguson a Noted British Partizan as related in the Paper enclosed.¹

By various recent Accounts from the Southward, the Spirit of the Inhabitants seems at length to be rising, and many that have been in the Power of the Enemy appear not a little displeased with their new British Master.

I have also the Honor to transmit your Excellency the Proceeding of a Board of General Officers respecting Majr André published by Order of Congress.

I am Sir, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your most obedient Servant.

Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 1.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 23. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed two Letters from the Chevalier du Buyson (who was one of the Baron de Kalbs Aids, made Prisoner with him and now on Parole) desiring Leave to return to Europe, together with the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 21 Instant, referring his request to your Excellency to act thereon as you shall think proper.¹

I have also the Honor to transmit you enclosed the Proceedings of a Board of General Officers respecting Major André published by Order of Congress.²

And am, with every Sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant, Sam Huntington President

P.S. Your Excellencys Despatches of the 16 & 17 Instant have been received.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The chevalier Dubuysson des Hayes, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Camden in August, had written to Congress seeking action on his exchange. The matter was referred to the Board of War, which simply recommended that his case "be referred to the Commander in Chief to act thereupon as he shall think proper," a recommendation that Congress endorsed October 21. See *JCC*, 18:824, 862, 934, 958; and *PCC*, item 78, 7:301-3.

In his October 29 response to Huntington, Washington explained that he had written to Sir Henry Clinton on the subject, but could not accord special status to Dubuysson without prejudicing the claims of other prisoners of equal rank captured prior to August 1780, a position he explained directly to Dubuysson and repeated to Congress in March 1781 when the matter was again brought to his attention. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:168-69, 399-400, 22:479.

² For this 21-page pamphlet, which was printed at Philadelphia by Francis Bailey, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 17,043.

³ These letters are in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:192-3, 203; but only the latter is in *PCC*, item 152, 9:319-20.

This day Huntington also sent a second letter to Washington, enclosing intelligence just received from Gov. Thomas Jefferson concerning the victory at Kings Mountain, for which see Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 1.

Nathaniel Peabody to James Lovell

Dear Sir

Morris Town Octr 23d 1780

I take the Liberty of inclosing to your Care a certificate from Colo. Pickering for £874.3s paid him on acct of horse keeping at the public Stables Philada.—which I beg you lodge with the board of Treasury for my discharge. I also forward a Draft from Coll Pickering on his Lady for 5615 Dollars, and should take it as a particular favour if you will be so obligeing as to wait on Mrs. Pickering with my Compliments and see if it is agreable to her to discharge it. I was to have calld. on her myself at Philada. but an Unforeseen occurance will prevent for the present and I find Expences here more than I Expected which will occasion the want of more money than I Can now Command.

Colo Pickering was to have wrote advice of the matter to his Lady, but when I saw him Neither he nor I Expected the money would have been so soon wanted, so it is Unlikely that She will be preparad as he Said She would be under the Necessity of borrowing the money.

Youl therefore please to mention the matter to her in Such Sort as may give her the Least trouble. If She Cannot as easily pay the money in old Continental I will take it in the Massachusetts new money at 1 for 40—which money Colo. Pickering informs me will not pass Current in Philada. Martain will wait on you for the money if obtained or what ever answer there may be. Youl. pardon my giving you this trouble and believe me to be with great Sincerity Your forever most obdt. and very humbe. Sert, Nathl. Peabody

P.S. Is there any prospect of the arrival¹ Coming in at Philada?
 ————when————

I have Set Next Friday for finishing my Business here, Shall ride soon after that I believe to head Quarters, however Shall Give a full account of any designs. I send this unsealed to prevent its going into the office.

RC (Nh-Ar: Miscellaneous Revolutionary Documents).

¹ Although Peabody clearly wrote “arrival,” he was referring to the *Ariel*, which reportedly contained a shipment of goods from France for Peabody. See Lovell to Peabody, October 3, 1780.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Monday October 23rd 1780.

Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Walker & Mr. *Matlack*

Mr. Geddis. I have not received any personal affront from the Commissioners of the Treasury or either of them; but having an accot. in hand which required explanation and went to the board knocked at the door. Mr. Lee came out asked why he came there at that time—said that he ought to have known better than to have come there at that hour—to which Geddis replied that he thought he had a right to come there at any time to receive information on the business committed to him.

Mr. Lee, pointing to the regulations fixed up, bid him, in a haughty tone and manner, to look there—upon which he (Geddis) replied that it was the first time he had heard of such a rule—to which Lee replied—that he ought to have known it.

We have received many orders not to be understood some of which have been, heretofore, laid before Congress and reported upon by a Committee and some of the more important complaints redressed—these we suppose not now the subject of enquiry.

The order (rather letter) of the Treasury of 16 May 1780¹ was read, containing cause of complaint.

do. of 12 May—with remark endorsed.²

Letter of Geddis & Mercier 24th Feby. 1780

[Letter] of the same....13th May.

Mr. Gibson having entered a Note expressly saying that Mr McKean had given his *Opinion* on the order of the Treasury of the 16th of May 1780. This being under the eye of TM—he observed, that the entry Mr. Gibson made was *not true* that Mr. McKean had expressly replied to your observation of the impropriety of his observation before he had heard your defence—to which he replied he had a right to make his remarks *when he pleased*, that he thought it proper now to make them and that it was indecent in Mr Gibson to interpose to prevent. The facts are thus.

TM³ remarked that the second sentence of the resolve of 16 May 1780 would have disgraced the most arbitrary prince in the world—to this Mr Gibson replied, You have not yet heard the reason of this rule on the letter on which it was founded—To which, Mr. M. replied, that he had made the remark upon the naked sentiment expressed in the resolution in order that the Commissioners might advert to the necessity of explaining a sentiment which appeared so extraordinary. Mr. McKean took up the resolution, in Order and was making his remarks on other parts of it, when the above altercation took place.

Present, when the above mentioned Order Passed, Gibson, Burke & Henry.

Qu. In whose hand writing is that letter?

An. By Mr Gibson. Mr. Clarkson.⁴

Qu. In whose hand was the original?

An. I believe in Mr. Lee's.

Qu. Do the Treasury permit letters of so important a nature to be written and sent by their clerk without the examination of the board?

An. The letters are produced to the board and approved the original of this letter was, I believe, written by Mr Burke. It is the *Boards* letter.

The letter which occasioned the order of 16 May, was a letter written by Mr. Mercer & Mr. Govett to Doctor Foster, director General of the hospital of the Eastern department.

Qu. By Mr. Mercier. Was any steps taken, after that order, (16 May), by the Board of Treasury, to call Dr. Foster to account for a very large ballance due from him?

Obs. by Mr. Mercier. The Chamber of accounts being, in the above manner, prevented from corresponding with him.

An. It is not the business of that Gentleman to call us to an account. That Matter will appear in the course of the examination.

Mr. Geddis—presents a report of the Chamber of accounts of the 7th Decr. 1779 in the Case of D S Franks Upon which the Commissioners of Treasury *Order the* Chamber of Accounts to allow a voucher which the Chamber thought insufficient. The Commissioners knew that Genl. Arnold had, as he informed them, sent for Franks to give testimony on his trial.⁵

Mr. Mercier.

Qu. Have you any complaints against the Commissioners of the Treasury? No not merely as a board—but against Mr Gibson—as a private gentleman appealing against our report—his expressions I will repeat as nearly as I can recollect. He accuses us of “a mere parade of care for the public interest to the injury of private property.”

Mr Govett.

Qu. the same Question?

An. Not otherwise than the complaint of Mr Mercier. I have had no opportunity of receiving any insult since the order for corresponding in writing only. The complaint of the order of the Commissioners of the Treasury to the Auditor to *direct* and *order* the Chamber of accounts appears to Me to be well founded & the order unwarrantable.

Mr. Geddis. That order hurt our pride.

Mr Gibson. Yes! *Your Pride* was hurt. That's it!

Qu. by Mr. Gibson. Did a conversation pass between Mr. Geddis and me about the latter end of May upon the subject of the orders of Treasury?

An. There was.

Qu. Did not you let me know That the reason the Gent. of the Chambers did not speak to me was that I had promoted the measure of setting office hours for the Chamber of accounts and setting on foot an inquiry into their Conduct?

An. No such conversation did pass—for the Chamber of accotts. did all of them speak to you at that time. A conversation did pass between but it is perverted it seems. I can relate the conversation if desired.

Qu. What was the conversation—(*by the Committee*)?

An. An order was sent down to the Chamber of accotts. (dated 12 May—enquiring into the hours of doing business in the Chambers &c). The Chambers were surprised at this order as the Commissioners passed the chambers every day and we suspected they were claiming a right which we could not submit to—they knew when we sat and we expected the matter would blow over—but another order came soon after, between the 23 & 12th, which convinced us that the Treas. intended to assume an authority to which we thought we ought not to comply with. I went to Mr. Burke and asked him if the Treasury were in ear[nest] in this matter. He said they were. I told him as a private Gent. that then, for myself, I was determined not to obey that order.⁶

Observ. The first order was 4th May. To which an Answer was given by Mr Milligan informing, That the Chambers & Auditor attended from 8 to 1 and from 3 to six—And the order was reiterated on the 12th.

Representation of the Auditors for more room—24 May 1780.

Reiterated order of the Treasury of *25th May 1780*.

Upon this a representation was made to Congress and a hearing had. Whereupon the resolve of Congress of June 24th passed.

Mr Geddis. I asked Mr Gibson why these orders were made—he said he thought the order was proper; I told him the Chambers could not as Gentlemen submit to it. That if those orders were withdrawn, harmony and good understanding might be restored. Mr Gibson replied the Board was determined to try what powers they had. Mr Gibson rose in Committee & desired Mr Geddis to recollect himself to which Mr. Geddis replied upon my honor it is true. Mr Gibson was called to order & reminded that all the altercations which had happened had arisen from this kind of irregularity, that the Committee were determined during the remainder of the hearing to be exact in the formality which was found absolutely necessary to prevent very disagreeable altercations. Mr Gibson—Asked pardon & promised to be more circumspect.

Mr. Geddis—proceeded. That he informed Mr. Gibson it was understood that he was the author of these regulations. That Mr. Burke had upon a conversation with him said that the Board only wanted the Answer of the Chambers to determine what to do—that they would form the Chambers. That the manner of their receiving information of Mr Gibsons being at the bottom of those measures, was by information from Mr. Troope.⁷

Qu. by Mr. Gibson. “Did not Mr Burke avow the measures then going into & promoted them”?

An. He did. But I beg leave to observe that the information was given by Mr Troope before Mr. Burke was a member of the Treasury And he had information by Mr Henry that a Question whether one of the board should not sit with the Chambers—And it was also further informed, that proposals were made in the Treasury board to task the Chambers of accounts and mention was made in confidence who was the member that proposed it. Mr Gibson desired Mr Geddis to tell all and turning to the Committee desired that they would take notice of what he said upon which Mr. Matlack desired Mr Gibson to forbear his directions to the Committee and confine himself within the bounds of his duty. That he would be permitted to ask such questions as he thought necessary for elucidating the Matter; but that the Committee could not, after what had passed permit any farther such irregularity and that if he persisted in them the reiterated reperchussions must and would necessarily follow.

Qu. By Mr. Gibson. Did you give to me your idea of the powers of the three branches of the Treasury?

An. I do not recollect. The scope of my intention, on that occasion, was to heal the divisions which had arisen between the Treasury and the Chambers.

Qu. By Mr. Forman—to Mr. Govett. Was the Commissioners

of the Chambers ever refused a conference with the Com of Treasury at any other hours than those appointed for private business?

An. I always understood, That everything was to be done in writing—And that there very seldom was a board at any other hours—there was perhaps a single member just to receive applications. I was never in the Treasury Chambers but once I believe after the order for doing business in writing.

Qu. by do. Do you know of any business that has suffered for want of attendance at other hours?

An. We cannot answer a question of this kind. We are not competent to it. We are not acquainted with the business. One delay in Hollingsworths account rendered it necessary to revise that account and report a new—which took up some time.

Qu. by do. Were the Commissioners of Accounts ever informed that the board of Treasury would do no business with them but in writing?

An. Mr. Milligan informed us, that this was the determination of the board—And assigned it as a reason why he could not receive any verbal answer to the demand made respecting the hours of office—the most trivial business was done in writing.

Qu. Did either of the commissioners inform you, that there was such an order?

An. No. But all orders came thro the Auditor from whom we received that order verbally—And Mr Geddis once attempted to do business verbally, as above mentioned, and was refused and the reason assigned *as before* related.

Mr. Gibson.

Mr. Govett Observes. That there was no coolness between the chambers until their report on Mr. Gibson's account, which occasioned the whole of it—And was the sole foundation for the charge, laid by Mr. Gibson of *parade &c* which charge very much hurt the Chamber.

Mr. Nicholson. What do you know of the conversation wch. passed with Mr Smith, or any other of the Chambers, in Consequence of what Mr Troop when secretary of the board had informed them concerning hours of office &c?

An. I did not hear Mr Troop give the information concerning the hours of office; but from the Commissioners conversation with each other I learned that he had informed them, that Mr Gibson had proposed such a thing to the board at which they were very much irritated—they spoke of it more than once or twice and Mr Smith in particular observed in a menacing stile that Mr Gibson had better be cautious in his proceedings: otherwise Mr Smith might, if he continued such conduct, find means to have him removed from the Treasury—this was previous to the report on the account of Mr Gibson.

Qu. When did Mr Troop go away?

An. In February—And the Accot. of Mr. Gibson was presented about the 6th March—(which day was agreed to by Mr Gibson). Observed, by Mr. Mercier. That Mr Troop was here in April. Adjourned till Wednesday 11 o'clock.⁸

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 21, 1780.

¹ Copies of this letter are in PCC, item 26, fols. 167, 189, and item 62, fol. 512.

² At least two orders were issued by the treasury office to the chamber of accounts on May 12, 1780, for which see PCC, item 26, fols. 166, 176, 180. However, the next two letters by Geddes and Mercier mentioned in this testimony have not been found.

³ That is, Timothy Matlack.

⁴ John L. Clarkson, a clerk in the treasury office.

⁵ At this point Matlack wrote the following note, which appears to be merely a reminder to himself rather than part of the committee's proceedings. "Ch. of Accotts. Re report the insufficiency of the Voucher, on Sept. 9th. 1780. NB. Call for the Original of Clarksons certificate in favour of Franks for examination. TM."

⁶ The controversy between the treasury office and the commissioners of accounts reviewed here had been the subject of investigation by a congressional committee in June, whose recommendations were embodied in a resolution adopted by Congress on June 24, for which see *JCC*, 17:556–57. For the report of this committee, and the numerous documents collected during the course of its investigation, several of which are mentioned in the following segment of Geddes' testimony, see PCC, item 26, fols. 165–89. The resolution based on this report had vindicated the stance taken by the Board of Treasury, affirming "that they are invested with a general superintending power over the chambers of accounts."

⁷ Robert Troup, who had resigned as secretary to the Board of Treasury in February 1780. *JCC*, 16:138.

⁸ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 25, 1780.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

[October 24, 1780]¹

I have not yet laid aside your Letter of the 17th of September,² which is the last I have receivd from you. It ill becomes you, my Friend, to think of retiring into private Life, who can lay your hand on your heart and say, that in your publick Conduct you have in no Instance deviated from virtuous Principles. If ever the Time shall come, when vain and aspiring Men shall possess the highest Seats of Government, our Country will stand in Need of its experienced Patriots, to prevent its Ruin. There may be more Danger of this, than some, even of our well disposd Citizens may imagine. If the People should grant their Suffrages to Men, only because they conceive them to have been Friends to the Country, without Regard to the necessary Qualifications for the Places they are to fill, the Administration of Government will become a mere Farce, and our

publick Affairs will never be put on a Footing of solid Security. We should mark the Tempers as well as the Abilities of Men, if we would form a Judgment in what Manner the Trusts to be reposd in them will probably be executed. You know the Character of Pisistratus.³ He was a Citizen of Athens, supposd to have many excellent Qualities; but he had an insatiable Lust of Preeminence. Solon would discover his Vanity, but the People were blinded by a false Glare of Virtues, and he was their Idol. Under Pretence of his having escaped imminent Danger from a violent Faction, and the further Insecurity of his Person, he artfully obtaind a Guard of Soldiers, by which Means he possessd himself of the Citadel and usurpd the Government. But though he made himself Sovereign, and thus far overthrew the popular Election, the Historian tells us, that he made no Change in the Magistracy or the Laws. He was content that others should hold their Places according to the Rules of the Constitution, so that he might continue himself *Archon*, independent of the Suffrages of the People. This he effected; for though several Attempts were made to deprive him of the Sovereignty which he had with equal Art & Violence obtaind, he held it till his Death and left it to his Children. Such was the Ambition of a Man, who indeed assumd Authority, and such were the Effects of it. Power is intoxicating, and Men who have been legally vested with it, have too often discoverd the same dangerous Disposition. How different a Man was Pisistratus from the Roman Hero and Patriot Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, who, though vested with the Authority of Dictator, was so moderate in his Desires of a Continuance of Power, that having in six Weeks fulfilld the Purpose of his Appointment, he resignd the dangerous office which he might have held till the Expiration of Six Months. When we formerly had weak & corrupt Governors, it was our Misfortune; but for the future, while we enjoy and exercise the inestimable Right of chusing them our selves, it will be our *Disgrace*. I hope our Countrymen will always keep a watchful Eye over the publick Conduct of those whom they exalt to Power, making at the same Time, every just Allowance for the Imperfections of human Nature. And I pray God, we may never see Men, filling the sacred Seats of Government, who are wanting in adequate Abilities, or influenced by any Motives or Feelings sepearate from the publick Welfare.

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Letters). In Adams' hand, though not signed. FC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Although Adams omitted the date of this letter from the RC, he clearly dated the FC "Philadelphia Oct 24 1780".

² Warren's September 17 letter to Adams is in *Warren-Adams Letters*, 2:138-39.

³ Adams' reflections on the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus (c. 527 B.C.) were stimulated by his contempt for the character of John Hancock, who had recently been elected governor of Massachusetts.

Committee of Congress to Horatio Gates

Sir Philadelphia Octr 24th 1780

Congress having appointed us a committee to correspond with the commanding officer in the southern department.¹

You may be assured, Sir, of our punctuality in giving you every information either material to your command, or relative to the general state of our affairs, as far as we are at liberty to do it.

You will no doubt have received intelligence before this reaches you of the sailing of the British fleet from New York with a body of 2500 infantry on board and some few horse, under the command of Genl. Leslie. It is also said they carry a large quantity of spare Arms with them. Their destination is not yet certainly known, but Virginia, or North Carolina we are pretty well assured must be their object.

It is highly probable a general exchange of prisoners will soon take place,² which we apprehend must have some effect on our affairs to the southward, as it is most likely the prisoners received on the part of the enemy will be employed to the southward. Those we receive will be likewise employed there, but our numbers must be far inferior to theirs on account of the expiration of the time of many of our men now in captivity, which cannot be the case with those of the enemy. However we shall regularly inform you of the progress of this business.

We most sincerely congratulate you on the late success of our arms under your command, and flatter ourselves it will open a passage to some still more important blow against the enemys force in that quarter.

We are, Sir, with much Esteem, and regard, Yr. most obedt. servts. By order of the Committee,

Jno. Mathews Chairman.

[P.S.] We have inclosed you a copy of a letter from Mr. Richd. Harrison at Cadiz, containing some interesting intelligence.

J M

RC (NHi: Gates Papers). Written and signed by Mathews.

¹ On October 23, 1780, Congress had added James Madison and William Sharpe to the standing committee to correspond with the commander of the southern department. Originally appointed on July 8, 1779, the committee had been reduced to a single member—John Mathews. See *JCC*, 14:807, 15:1253, 18:963. These delegates, who shared living quarters in the House-Trist house, formed the chief link with Gates and his successor, Nathanael Greene, whose appointment Mathews had promoted, during the remainder of the southern campaign. See, e.g., Mathews to Washington, October 6, note 2; and Madison to Joseph Jones, October 10, 1780, note 5.

² See Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Octr. 24th. 1780.

I do my self the honor to inclose to your Excellency the proceedings of a Board of General Officers on the case of Major Andre, a Veiw of the title of a tract of Country called Indianna¹ and a resolution that passed in Congress on Saturday last—Together with this days paper.

The Indiana affair is a matter of great consequence, the state of Virginia hath undertaken to vacate the title made to the grantees and take the land to themselves, which proceedings gives much uneasiness to the original propriators as its a Country of emence value and they have mad application to Congress for relief who in my opinion have little to do in the affair, but both parties have their advocates.²

I shall make no Comment on the resolution of Congress as my sentiments will appear by the yeas and nays³ at the same time I wish nothing therein contained may in the least opperate to the retarding of the recruting service. You will also see the Regts. are agmented, which was occasioned by Genl. Washingtons informing Congress that he had been obliged in his late Conferrenc with the French Gentlemen at Hartford to fix on a number of men for the'next Campaign equal to what is now called for and that Estimate was sent to France.

You will see by the inclosed News paper some good News from the Southard which is beleived at this place,⁴ the bells hath rung on the occasion, and many expect Cornwallis will be Burgoyned, I hope he may.

General Greene is appointed by the Commander in Chief to the Command of the Southern Army and is expected in this City on his way to take upon him his command every hour.

General Gates who but a little time since stood high on the list of *Fame* stands at this time very low, and in addition to his other Misfortunes hath lately buried his Son.

By offical accounts received Yesterday from Governor Clinton of N York the Enemy were advanced from Canada to the frontiers of the state of N York in two large bodies Consisting of Regular Troops, Torys & Indians one by the way of the South bay the other by Niagara and have taken several Forts.⁵

The affair of Vermont hath slept for some time and nothing is determd. I believe when it was last debated the gentlemen from New York did not like very well the sentiments of a Majority of the members on the subject and will lett the affair rest untill a change in members shall take place that will better suit their purpose.

On Thursday last a letter from Auther Lee was Read in Congress

the Subject matter was taken up and all the old members appeared perfectly acquainted therewith tho, not fully agreed.⁶ I must Confess I am not able as yet to find the right side of the Question if there is one but I am sure there is a high Quarrel which at present I wish to have no hand in but it appears a winters work is cutting out. I hope it will not operate to the procrastination of business of grater moment. I shall do my self the honour to inclose your Excellency a Copy of Mr. Lees letter in my next.

The News of the Spaniards Cap[ture of] the English outward bound East & W India Fleet [is] this moment confirmed by a Letter from Mr. [. . .] at Lisbon who saith Five East Indiamen had arrived at that place and brought Intelgence that the Fleet had almost all struck their Coulors before they left the Fleet.

I cannot help mentioning (tho, with reluctance) that I am often duned for money by the stone cutter, a bill of which I sent by Mr. Ellery. As It was a debt that came on me unavoidably I cannot doubt the willingness of the state to enable me to pay the debt and thereby extricate my self from a situation that is disagreeable.

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of esteem and respect,
your Excellencys most obedient, Humble Servant,

Ezek. Cornell

NB It is supposed that the force mentioned by governor Clinton is come down in consequence of the design the Enemy had formed against West point in conjunction with *Arnold*.

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ At this point Cornell inserted an asterisk, to which he keyed the following comment in the margin, referring to the resolution passed "on Saturday last" mentioned in the following clause and discussed in note 3 below: "I have been disappointed in obtaining the Resolution of Congress, shall endeavor to send it by the next post."

² See James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, note, and October 17, 1780, note 1.

³ Cornell's meaning here is not entirely clear. He is referring to the "resolution" concerning the new arrangements for the Continental Army adopted on October 21 ("Saturday last"), of which the most controversial was Washington's recommendation for granting Continental officers half pay "for life" from the time of their reduction. But the "yeas and nays" Greene actually received, which Cornell sent the following week, involved only a preliminary motion to amend the committee report on the subject. Furthermore, analysis of the congressional proceedings of October 20 and 21 suggests that deception rather than carelessness may have been at the heart of this ambiguity. Cornell undoubtedly wished to appear to his constituents as an opponent of half pay for life, but his position on the three votes taken on the subject was not consistent. Although he opposed the October 20 motion concerning half pay for life for "reduced" officers, he supported a similar motion for "officers who shall continue in the service to the end of the war" the 21st before finally opposing the comprehensive proposal adopted later the same day. By sending Greene the proceedings of the 20th, Cornell could avoid having to explain his conduct on the 21st. See *JCC*, 18:956-61; and Abraham Clark to William Livingston,

October 22, 1780, note 3. For the extract from the minutes of October 20 that Cornell subsequently sent, see Cornell to Greene, October 31, 1780, note 1.

⁴ See Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 1.

⁵ See *ibid.*, note 2.

⁶ Arthur Lee's October 17 letter, asking for the "express approbation of Congress" for his service in Europe, was read in Congress on October 19 and after lengthy debate referred to committee. See *JCC*, 18:951-54; and *PCC*, item 83, 2:302-305.

On December 2 Congress resolved that "he be assured his recall was not intended to fix any kind of censure on his character or conduct abroad" and referred his accounts to the Board of Treasury "for liquidation." *JCC*, 18:1115.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir

Philadelphia Octo 24th. 1780

I most Sincerely Congratulate you, on our late Success to the Southward. This event it is to be hoped will give the most happy turn to our affairs in that part of the Country and if properly improved, I think master Cornwallis, will in short time wish himself Safe in Charles Town.

Last Week we had intelligence from Head Quarters of a British fleet having Sailed a few days before from the Hook with 2500 Troops, 40 horses and a number of Spare Arms—destined it is Supposed to the Southward.¹ The Cork fleet which had been long expected Arrived last week at New York, which Occasioned great rejoicing there. A general Exchange of Prisoners both Officers and Privates has taken place except the Convention Troops and those of ours taken in Charles Town.²

Your Carriage is nearly ready. Exchange 75 Per Ct. Mr Henry talks of leaving Congress in a few days. Mr. Plater says his time is out the 5th Decr. and I cannot Stay longer than the last of next month unless I am detained for want of money to clear out.

Yours in Council dated the 20th to the Delegates is Just Come to hand. I am desired by my Colleagues to Acknowledge the receipt of it and to acquaint you that it Came to hand too late, to lay it before Congress and to be able to give you their determination by this post. It shall be done by the next.³

I have the honor to be, Dear sir, Your Excellencys most hble Servt,
John Hanson

[P.S.] Scott and [Rich]ard Lloyd and family [arriv]ed at New York.⁴

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, October 21, 1780, note 2.

² This day Hanson sent a nearly identical copy of these first two paragraphs to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, for which see the Carroll Papers, MdHi.

³ For the governor's October 20 letter seeking reimbursement of £2,000 of the new state emission advanced to the Continental treasurer to enable Maryland's

extra regiment to march southward, see *Md. Archives*, 43:335. When the delegates submitted Lee's letter on October 25, Congress immediately ordered the funds disbursed. See *JCC*, 18:972.

⁴ Richard Bennett Lloyd of Kent County, Md., had received permission to travel to New York City to retrieve personal property, including household furniture, belonging to his second wife, Elizabeth. He may have been accompanied by his Kent County neighbor, John Scott. See *Md. Archives*, 43:342; and *Biog. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 2:542-43, 718-19.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dr Sir,

Oct 24. 1780

Your Favors of the 5th & 10th reached me yesterday. The *chief* Subject roused Contempt & Indignation; but that serious Company was interrupted by Risibility who pleaded your Mode of Delineation as a forcible Summons; it became thus impossible to prevent jocular Opinions from being mixed with very grave Verdicts.

I have no Clue to the "Reasons assigned" in my own Case. If they do not appear in writing officially I should be glad to know them that I may form a proper Judgment of the Event. It was a Thing really "unexpected"; but I shall find myself under the Necessity of showing you in some other Letter a State of Facts here that will throw your 2/8 or 9/ at 40 for 1 into a proper Point of View.¹ I am not well and must therefore oeconomize in the epistolary Way. Excuse me for this Post to our Friend the Doctor² whose kind Letter of the 9th I have received. Permit me also to refer you to the within Scrawl³ which was intended for another *not* a Member of Congress, and therefore, upon second Thought, turned over to you.

There has been great Success at the Southward, but at the Northward there is a drawback. The Green Mountaineers are able to drub the Enemy but I fear they will not till *after* N. Yk. has smarted. Genl. Greene is to go to the Command in the Carolinas.

Col. Wigglesworth will soon be on his way with all your "Profits." I shall not charge him to keep it a dead Secret that you are not quite ruined by the War.

My Colleagues live at Mrs. Millars with Palfrey but that Lady has consulted Mrs. *Sword* or *Soward* and consequently has raised her Price to the concerted one which Lodge Alley and Mifflin's Corner had demanded, 7 at 75 pr. Week soon I fear to be 78. Mrs. M— also got in the same Way the *secondary* Lye that the Mass. Delegates were moving *only* on a Pence Account.

Yr. Friend and h Svt.

J L

[P.S.] We have a Confirmation from Cadiz of the Spanish Success mentioned in the Gazettes and further that 5 Ships were taken with Provisions going into Gibraltar and a Frigate driven on Shoar.⁴

RC (NN: Gerry-Townsend Papers).

¹ See Lovell to Gerry, October 3, 1780.

² That is, Samuel Holten.

³ For Lovell's enclosure, a letter of this date composed for William Gordon, see the following entry.

⁴ This "Confirmation" arrived in a letter from Richard Harrison of August 17 that was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 18:968.

James Lovell to William Gordon

Dear Sir

Octr 24th. 1780

Your Favor of the 11th reached me yesterday but the inclosed was *not* open. I have forwarded it. I caught some of your "Grief" consequent upon your "little Hope."

Arnold's Baseness of Soul was not unknown to many as Mr. Gerry can assure you from hearing Treasury Examinations.² But it is material to prove this in yr. Letters to Europe by authentic Anecdotes; as, really, his Fame was there great & unsullied.

I shall deliver your *conditional* promise to Doctr. Lee. His adversarial Demon is not yet asleep. Prudence commands some Decision here that may accord with his & our own Honor but not implying a *judicial Scrutiny* into past Accusations & Defences.³ 4/5 of the Allegations of his Enemies were of a Kind not to be decided at all. A & B say he is not fit to be employed among a "gallant People." C [&] D assert the Contrary. A B say that he is mean. C D that he is only a Republican Œconomist. A B *say* that he corresponded with Berkenhout. The Rest of the Alphabet may prove the *Negative* if they can. He is an injured man, but "our public Distresses ought to be attended to before the Concerns of any Individual"—very plausible! But in this Case tis a *public* Concern; And in my humble opinion strong Opposition to a simple Commitment of a Letter from an Officer lately in an exalted Station abroad shows more of party than patriotic Spirit. I hope however that we may finish, at present, in some Way similar to what was done in Mr. Izard's Case a few weeks ago. Two Yeas and Nays & 5/8 of a Day's Session were the consequences of my motion⁴ for Commitmt. of Doctr. L's Letter for the Purpose of avowing *national* Principles for his Recal and not leaving Room for the Supposition of any Judicial Proceedure of *ex-parte* Opportunities; and for the further Purpose of directing him to communicate in writing whatever he might think essential to the public Good immediatley, or the Right Settlement hereafter of Business now in Transaction abroad.

*Jemmy*⁵ was the primum, secundum & ultimum mobile of the Opposition tho' calling God to Witness that he had no personal Prejudice.

RC (NN: Gerry-Townsend Papers). In Lovell's hand, though not signed, and endorsed by him: "Doctr. G— Jamaica Plain."

¹ Although he composed this letter for Gordon, Lovell had second thoughts about disclosing its contents to one who was "*not* a member of Congress" and therefore sent it to Elbridge Gerry, for which see the preceding entry. Presumably Gerry could personally relate the substance of it to Gordon, thereby avoiding the indiscretion of revealing specific details of congressional proceedings, a fine distinction Lovell often condemned when judging others. Since the document remains with a collection of Gerry papers, it seems clear that it was not delivered to Gordon.

² For Gerry's role in the congressional review of Benedict Arnold's accounts, see Gerry to Samuel Huntington, May 18, 1780.

³ See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, this date, note 6.

⁴ For the voting on Lovell's motion to commit Arthur Lee's October 17 letter to committee, see *JCC*, 18:951–54.

⁵ That is, James Duane. *Ibid.*

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr. [24,] 1780¹

Your favor of the 9th which ought to have come on Monday last did not arrive till Thursday. That of the 17th came yesterday according to the expectation.²

I wish it was in my power to enable you to satisfy the uneasiness of people with respect to the disappointment in foreign succour.³ I am sensible of the advantage which our secret enemies take of it. I am persuaded also that those who ought to be acquainted with the cause [of] it are sensible of it; and as they give no intimations on the subject it is to be inferred they are unable to give any that would prevent the mischief. It is so delicate a subject, that with so little probability of succeeding, it would perhaps be hardly prudent to suggest it. As soon as any solution comes out you shall be furnished with it.

I have informed Pleasants that you would write to him from Richmond, and on application to Pemberton was promised a written sketch of his terms which I have not yet received. If it comes before this is sealed I shall enclose it.⁴

We continue to receive periodical alarms from the Commissary's & Quarter Master's departments. The season is now arrived when provision ought to be made for a season that will not admit of transportation, and when the monthly supplies must be subject to infinite disappointments even if the States were to do their duty. But instead of Magazines being laid in our army is living from hand to mouth, with a prospect of being soon in a condition still worse. How a total dissolution of it can be prevented in the course of the winter is for any resources now in prospect utterly inexplicable, unless the States unanimously make a vigorous & speedy effort to form

Magazines for the purpose. But unless the States take other methods to procure their specific supplies than have prevailed in most of them, their utmost efforts to comply with the requisitions of Congress can be only a temporary relief. This expedient as I take it was meant to prevent the emission of money. Our own experience as well as the example of other Countries made it evident that we could not by taxes draw back to the treasury the emissions as fast as they were necessarily drawn out. We could not follow the example of other Countries by borrowing, neither our own Citizens nor foreigners being willing to lend as far as our wants extended. To continue to emit ad infinitum was thought more dangerous than an absolute occlusion of the press. Under these circumstances the expedient of specific requisitions was adopted for suppling the necessities of the war. But it is clear the success of this expedient depends on the mode of carrying it into execution. If instead of executing it by specific taxes, State emissions, Commissary's & Q. master's certificates which are a worse species of emissions, are recurred to, what was intended for our relief will only hasten our destruction.

As you are at present a *legislator*⁵ I will take the liberty of hinting to you an idea that has occurred on this subject. I take it for granted that taxation alone is inadequate to our situation. You know as well as I do how far we ought to rely on loans to supply the defect of it. Specific taxes as far as they go are a valuable fund but from local and other difficulties will never be universally and sufficiently adopted. Purchases with State money or certificates will be substituted. In order to prevent this evil and to insure the supplies, therefore I would propose, that they be diffused and proportioned among the people as accurately as circumstances will admit, that they be *impressed* with vigor & impartiality, and paid for in certificates not transferrible to be redeemable at some period subsequent to the war at specie value and bearing an intermediate interest. The advantage of such a scheme is this, that it would anticipate during the war the future revenues of peace, as our Enemies and all other modern nations do. It would be compelling the people to *lend* the public their commodities, as people elsewhere lend their money to purchase commodities. It would be a permanent resource by which the war might be supported as long as the earth should yield its increase. This plan differs from specific taxes only in this that as an equivalent is given for what is received much less nicety would be requisite in apportioning the supplies among the people, and they might be taken in places where they are most wanted. It differs from the plan of paying for supplies in state emissions or common certificates in this, that the latter produce all the evils of a redundant medium, whereas the former not being transferrible can not have that effect, and moreover do not require the same degree of taxes during the war.

We were informed a few days ago by Genl Washington that the

fleet with about two thousand troops on board had fallen down [the river] towards the Hook, but as nothing further has since come fro[m him] on that subject, I conclude they still remain there. The Cork [fleet,] it is said has at last arrived, amounting to upwards of 1[00 Sail.] No further account has been received here of the capture [of] the English Jamaica fleet. There has been a report today that the Prizes of the Saratoga mentioned in my last are in the river.

Letters from Governor Clinton mention that two parties from Canada consisting of near 1000 each had appeared on their frontier; The one by the way of Ticonderoga & lake George, the other by the way of the Oneida lake. They have already done some mischief and threaten to do a great deal more.

Although the Genls victory in the Supreme has sa[ved him] from the mortification of being ejected by our late [. . .] it has not from the vexation of being pursued by [. . . He] is now trying the skill of his lawyer in framing a new [. . .] and means to carry the Genl. over the whole ground [again.]⁶ The Old lady is at home very ill. He has made no attempts yet to regain her house & her effects.

I am Dr Sr. Yr. Affectionate friend,

J. Madison Junr.

[P.S.] I shall inclose to the Govr. a copy of the proceedings of the Board of Officers with respect to Andre's case. I suppose [you] can get a sight of it from him.

A confirmation of the Capture of the B. fleet is just recd from Mr. Harrison at Cadiz. Some of the prizes were in that bay when he wrote. 1000 Highland Troops for the East Indies were on board.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:144-47.

¹ Although the day of the month was omitted from the dateline, it is clear from the content and postscript that this letter was written on Tuesday, October 24, the day that Congress considered a committee report on an October 17 letter from Ephraim Blaine and read an August 16 letter from "Mr. Harrison at Cadiz," for which see *JCC*, 18:968-71. Moreover, Jones' letter of October 17 had arrived "yesterday," or Monday, the day the post usually reached Philadelphia. For Madison's habit of writing on Tuesdays, see Madison to Jones, October 10, 1780, note 1.

² See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:119-21, 139-40.

³ For Jones' inquiry about "the disappointment in foreign succour," see *ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

⁴ No such enclosure has been found.

⁵ Jones had been elected to the Virginia House of Delegates that met in Richmond on October 16, 1780.

⁶ Madison is undoubtedly alluding to the efforts of Joseph Bulkeley to overturn the "victory" Gen. John Morin Scott had recently obtained over him in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, for which see Madison to Jones, October 10, 1780, note 5.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr. [24,]¹ 1780

Your favor of the 8th which ought to have been here on Monday week did not arrive till Thursday; that of the 17th came yesterday² according to expectation. I know not how to account for your disappointment on the last post day having not omitted to write once since the institution of our correspondence.

Although the stroke of good fortune you mention does not appear to have been truly represented, it was only mistaken for one of equal importance which I doubt not is fully known to you by this time.³ Our joy on this event has been somewhat abated by intelligence of an opposite complexion from the State of N. York. Two parties from Canada composed of regulars, tories, Canadians and Savages and amounting to about 1000 each have entered their frontiers, the one by the way of lake George, the other by the way of the Oneida lake. They have already done some mischief, and as they are pursuing their incendiary plan, will involve the inhabitants in very great distress, (it being now the eve of winter) unless a speedy check can be given to their progress. It is supposed that this expedition was intended to take advantage of the consternation in that state expected to result from the success of Arnolds treason.

We had information some days ago from Genl Washington that a fleet with about 2000 troops on Board had fallen down towards the Hook, which it was supposed was destined either for Virginia or N. Carolina. As nothing further has come from the General it is to be inferred that they have not yet sailed. It is said the Cork fleet consisting of upwards of 100 Sail has at last safely arrived. The capture of the British fleet from Jamaica rests on the same evidence as mentioned in my last. I am Dr Sr Affec yr. obt. Servt.

J. Madison Junr.

PS. The President has just communicated a letter from Mr. Harrison at Cadiz confirming the capture of the B. fleet. Some of the Priz[es were] in that bay when he wrote. The number taken was unknown. The fleet amounted to 60 or 70 Sail, having on board Military Stores, provisions, dry goods & 1000 Highland troops for the East Indies. You will have the particulars by the next post. 5 or 6 Ships also attempting to get into Gibraltar with provisions have been taken by the Spanish Squadron Stationed off that place. 30 Sail of French Merchantmen had arrived safe from St Domingo. The post is this moment starting, adieu.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:150-51.

¹ See the preceding entry, note 1.

² See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:118-19, 141-42.

³ An allusion to the victory at Kings Mountain, in contrast to the account Pendleton had supplied in his October 17 letter of a recent victory over the troops of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton in North Carolina.

John Morin Scott to William Livingston

Sir

Philadelphia Octr. 24th 1780

Mrs. Manly the bearer of this is the Wife of a New York refugee who was an Officer in my Brigade in the year 1776,¹ behaved extremely well and is warmly attached to the American Cause. Besides the Loss of all his Buildings in the City, in the first great Fire, his Misfortunes are such that having hitherto been without Employ, and been repeatedly obliged to fly with his family before the Enemy and live upon the small pittance he brought out with him, he is now reduced to absolute poverty. His Wife, who is a daughter of Mr. Popplesdorph who died since our Evacuation of New York has an Interest by her father's Wife, in some Houses there, which are in the possession of her near relations of whom she hopes to receive her proportion of the Arrears of Rent; & has some Expectation of selling her Interest in them. This is the last dependance of an unhappy family till better Times. As she must pass thro' New Jersey in Case she should be permitted to go into New York, she waits on your Excellency, hoping that this State of the Case of their Circumstances from Me, may procure your pass. I am, Dear Sir, with the same Friendship & Esteem that I always was, Your Excellency's most obedt Servant,

Jno. Morin Scott.

P.S. The fatigues of a Journey have discouraged Mrs. Manly from waiting on your Excellency in person. She has therefore concluded to postpone her departure till her Husband who will deliver this can be informed whether he can obtain a pass for her.

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ Perhaps Robert Manley, who served as a lieutenant in the First Volunteer Regiment of New York in 1775-76. Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853-87), 15:542.

William Sharpe to Horatio Gates

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Octr 24th 80

The defeat of Ferguson gives a flattering prospect to our southern department.

Soon after my arrival at this place I wrote you largely.¹ I presume that before this reaches you, you will hear that Congress has directed

the commander in Chief to cause a Court of inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late expedition in South Carolina and to appoint an Officer to take command in that department during your suspension; and in consequence thereof Genl. Greene is appointed to that command who is supposed to be on his way from headquarters before this time.

This measure is at least ostinsibly founded on a standing resolution of Congress respecting the Loss of Posts, defeat of Armies &c. I doubt not you will view this as an addition to your late misfortunes—many others with myself feel very sensibly for you.

On my way hence as will as in this City I found the current of censure strong against you. I have opposed & contradicted many romantic tales and surmises.

I am conscious that I have treated you with candor in my representations and ascribed your misfortunes to their true causes.

The state of our finances, the want of vigor in the several States gives Congress infinite embarrassments.

At the instance of the Empress of Russia a Congress is to be held in Europe, to which the Beligerent and neutral powers are invited. The ostinsible object is to regulate some matters of commerce and ascertain the rights of neutral nations. Some important consequences will follow this meeting.

Not a word of the second divission of French, except that of their being block'd up in Brest.

The article in the newspaper respecting the Capture of the 50 British Merchantmen may be depended on. A week ago 2500 troops embarked from New York, if they are bound for the southward you will hear of it, probably, before this reaches you.

With due esteem I am, Sir, Your Most Obt., Humble Servt.
Wm. Sharpe

P.S. I have the pleasure to send you inclosed a copy of the tryal of Majr. Andre which will give you accurate information on that very interesting affair.

RC (NH: Gates Papers).

¹ Not found. Sharpe, who had been elected to Congress in April, took his seat on October 4, for which see *JCC*, 17:543, 18:898. For his appointment to the committee to correspond with the commanding officer of the southern department, see Committee of Congress to Gates, this date, note 1.

John Walker to George Weedon

Dear Genl.

Philada. Octr. 24th. 1780

I thank you for your favr. of the 10th Inst. It should have received an Answer sooner had the Post of that week arrived before the other

went out. A gleam of Light has sprung up in the South which I hope will soon overspread that Hemisphere. I am of opinion that Ferguson's defeat will prove the Prelude to a second Burgonade.

For the News of this Quarter I refer you to the inclosed Paper. In a few days you will probably see Colo. Meade. He & old Harrison are now here on their way to Virga. From them you will hear many things which it might not be altogether proper to commit to a Letter. I hope to have the pleasure of visiting you in Fredericksburg about the middle or 20th of Novr.¹

Present my Respects to my Friend Mr. Maury & tell him I acknowledge his favr. by the last Post but have not time to write to him now.

Genl. Green is to take command in the Southn. Department & is daily expected here on his way. I wish you all manner of happiness & am, My Dear Genl., Sincerely Your Friend,

Jn. Walker

P.S. We have just rec'd a Confirmation of the Capture of about 50 of the British outward bound East & W India Fleets with 1000 Highlanders by the French & Spanish Fleets off Cape Finistere. I Can't get a paper to inclose you as the post is immediately going.

J.W.

RC (PPAmP: Weedon Papers).

¹ Walker, whose credentials were due to expire on November 6, last voted in Congress on November 1st. See *JCC*, 16:268, 18:1000. He did not leave Philadelphia until November 23, however, because of his involvement with the hearings and final report of the Treasury Inquiry Committee. See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, November 22; and Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, November 23, 1780, note 2.

George Walton to Coshman Pollock

Dear Sir,¹

Philadelphia, 24 October, 1780.

I do myself the pleasure to enclose to you the resolutions respecting the loan-office certificates issued from the offices in South-Carolina & Georgia;² I also enclose the certificate you desired, which I with the more pleasure & satisfaction do, as having personally experienced and known the truth of it.

Trusting that one day or other our Country will repay us for our sufferings, I hope all our Citizens who are out, will [show perseverance] for the honor of the state, as you have & will do.

I am, Dear Sir, your very Humble Servant,

Geo Walton

RC (PSC-Hi: Jenkins Collection).

¹ Coshman Pollock was a Georgia merchant who had been involved in 1778 in supplying clothing for the Georgia Continental Line. See *JCC*, 11:850; *PCC*, item 78, 15:333–35; and Robert S. Davis, *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1979), p. 68.

² For the resolves of August 3, 1780, stipulating conditions under which loan office certificates issued by South Carolina and Georgia would be redeemed, see *JCC*, 17:690.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Wednesday October 25. 1780.

Present The Hon'ble Thomas McKean, Mr Walker & Mr Matlack
Messrs. Gibson & Forman proposed, and insisted with great warmth, that they would now proceed on in their defence of some of the charges exhibitted against the Commissioners of the Treasury.¹ The committee informed them, that this day was expressly appointed, at the desire of Mr. Forman & Mr. Gibson, to hear the evidence which they should offer in support of divers charges exhibitted by them against the Chambers of accotts. which the Committee are now ready to hear. Mr. Gibson insisted that *their* defence should now be heard. The committee insisted, that, much time having been wasted in this kind of altercation—and the evidences being noticed now to attend; they cannot and will not be led from the business now before us by especial appointment and at the request of the sd. Commsrs. Mr Gibson still persisting that he had a right to be heard on the former business—he was desired to sit down—And being seated was informed—That if the Commissioners had anything further to offer in their defence a time would be assigned for it; but that at present the committee adhered to their appointment of hearing the evidence in support of the charges against the Chambers of accounts—And request the evidence may be now brought forward. The letter from the Commissioners to the Committee containing the said charges was then read. Whereupon the Commisrs. of Treas. were called upon for their evidence in support of the Said charges. Mr Gibson—Thereupon named Mr Huston as one of the evidences. He was informed, that Mr Huston was not in the city—and reminded that the Witnesses alledged in the sd. letter for support of the charges therein contained were probably present, and it was remarked that Mr Houston was not mentioned in the letter as one of them.

Mr. Gibson said he declined going into the business until Mr Houston should attend.

Mr. Gibson—Asked whether the Committee would hear the defence of the Commissioners of Treasury?

The Committee—demanded to know whether the Commissioners would now produce the evidences against the Chambers of accounts?

To this Mr. Gibson Replied they could not proceed until Mr. Houston should appear—As he would prove every charge exhibitted against the Gent. of the Chambers; at least the most material ones—And he could not proceed on the business until Mr Houston should be present.

Mr. Govett, on behalf of the Chamber of accounts, Observed—That they understood this day to be appointed to hear the charges exhibitted against them and were now ready to Answer.

Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Wm. Ramsey, clerks in the chambers of accounts, being now present it was moved, by Mr. Matlack, that, the Witnesses mentioned in the Commissioners letter being present, they be now examined, Whereupon—Mr. Nicholson was called & examined.

Mr. Gibson and Mr. Forman, so repeatedly and so intently interrupted the examination, that it was not possible to proceed in the examination—and, having consulted together, they bundled up their papers and were about to retire—they reiterated their demand to be heard on the former business—which was declined by the Committee. They then insisted on the importance of Mr Houstons evidence. They had been repeatedly told, that the Committee would most certainly hear Mr Houstons evidence as soon as it could be obtained; and in the meantime determined to proceed in examining Mr. Nicholson.

Mr. Gibson & Mr Forman retired.

Mr. Nicholson says—He has been near two years in the chambers of accounts—and has observed very great neglect in attending at the office—That they (Commissioners of Accotts.) have been very negligent in their morning hours—not attending punctually at any hour but dropping in at 10. 11 oclock or frequently later (between 11 & 12)—that they rise at one and do not always attend in the afternoon, I think not above one third however put it down half. That of these Res. Smith² is the most negligent, Wm Geddis next, Mr. Mercier next, and Mr Govett the most punctual.

Qu. Does Mr Fell attend?³

An. He is a new member and has been absent a great part of the time—And I can say very little as to Mr Fell—as I have been at Camp great part of the time since—That the times they do attend they spend much of their time in conversing on different subjects, such news, Politicks &c And are frequently so noisy in argumentation as to make it difficult and almost impracticable to do business in the same room. That until some time about the middle of July last, the subject of their pay was no small part of their conversation. There are some of these persons absent one or two days successively sometimes three or four at a time. They are frequently absent several weeks especially Mr Geddis shortly after his appointment for the first half year. When it has been talked of to ask leave of the Treasury, it has been said

particularly by Mr. Geddis that they would ask nobodys leave but go when they pleased. I have remarked that there have been several successive days in which there has been no public business done at all—frequently idle when I know there were people waiting at expence who wanted to have their Accots. settled.

That the Com. of Chambers generally leave the extensions & castings up to the Clerks. When one of the Com. examine an accott. alone—no other reexamines it, altho two allways sign. In examination of Vouchers they often read over only the name & sum and if these correspond they pass them.

Qu. Do you know of any instance in which this practice has been a loss to the public?

An. I do not recollect any.

Inattention to the Public interest.

I know it in the instance of Dr. Foster's Accott. and of Coll. Wm Henry of Lancaster Accots. of Gun-Factory & shoe-factory, which they passed without examining the expenditure or appropriation of those articles—or even stating an accott. of the Amt. purchase which I stated as a work of supererogation & made several returns which they considered as a work of supererogation and Dr. Fosters Accotts. were passed without examination whether it had been properly appropriated or not. Coll. Morgan—a deputy Commissary of Purchases & issues of the western department—are in the same predicament—And the accounts of the appropriation of all Purchases are in my opinion very much neglected—And persons who observe them.

Incapacity.

Mr Govett & Mr Mercier are very capable of transacting the business of the office, especially Mr. Govett, Mr. Geddis & Mr Smith, I think are not.

Qu. Upon what do you found this Opinion?

An. With respect to Mr. Smith, shortly after I came into the office, I observed his incapacity even to cast a column; in which he committed errors—Mr Nourse, accounts late pay M[aster] of Board of war & ordnance were then under examination. The advances were taken out & stated by themselves apart—this business was assigned to Mr Smith by Mr. Milligan, then a Com. of the Chambers. Mr Smith puzzled himself two or three days in this but could [not] bring it to correspond with the account before it was transposed—he at length gave it to me and I did—he did it twice or thrice wrong. This instance I the better remember as I had newly came into the office and wondered that a man of no greater abilities should be put into a post of so great importance.

I speak of Mr Smith & Mr Geddis.

The first account they took up together was E Boudinots, Com. of Prisrs.—in the stating of this they could not please the auditor

general—after trying it twice or thrice, Mr Geddis said in passion he would have nothing more to do with it—where upon I took up the accots. and from my state of it they found great fault. Another instance is in their late re-exam of Colo. Sweer's⁴ accott. which the books will show their errors—the book is here if the Committee will please to examine it.

See p. 85. Compared 95 & 96 also 116, 117 differing in the ballance and in the name of *James* Patton instead of John Patton—several errors in this account I pointed out which occasioned its recommitment.

Refers to a letter wrote by Mr. Geddis & others assigning reasons for requesting that Sweer's accott. might be recommitted.

Mr. Gibson now returned.

The letter requested the recommitment of the accots. (Mr Geddis, says) in consequence of some errors discovered by him. Mr. Nicholson—says there were Vouchers which ought to have been examined before the accott. was rendered. That the errors amended in the last accott. were the effect of notes made by Mr. Milligan.

Observes the credit in Sweers accounts of large Sums pd. to Mr. Watkins, French & Mr Lukens which was wrong; and it ought to have been adjusted with Mr Watkins and he not charged.

Mr Geddis observes this was in consequence of the orders of the Treasury to strike the ballance of his accots.

Note—These charges were proper in the *best form*. P. 116. Credit in Sweers's Account.

Mr. Geddis requested that Sweers Accott. may be had & Mr. Gibson said it was ready whenever the Committee should require it.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock tomorrow.⁵

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 23, 1780.

¹ In the margin beside this paragraph appears the following statement, written and signed by John Walker. "This is a just & faithful entry of what passed on the subject to which the Paragraph within the crotchets [*i.e.* *brackets*] relate. John Walker." Walker's brackets appear at the beginning of this day's entry and immediately following the passage "Mr. Gibson & Mr Forman retired," approximately one-third of the way through this day's proceedings. For the meaning of Walker's statement, see James Madison's Certificate, November 17? 1780. See also Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 26, note 11.

² Resolve Smith, one of the commissioners in the chamber of accounts.

³ Peter R. Fell, a commissioner in the chamber of accounts.

⁴ Cornelius Sweers, former deputy commissary of military stores.

⁵ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, October 26, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Arthur Lee

Sir Philadelphia October 26. 1780

I have the Honor to transmit you the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress, directing you to lay before them all the Information in your Power relative to our Affairs in Europe.¹

I am Sir, with Esteem & respect, your most obedient & humble
 Servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (MH-H: Lee Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For Congress' adoption of this resolve on October 19 upon receiving Lee's announcement of his return from Europe, see *JCC*, 18:951-54.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular Philada October 26. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 21 Instant, which makes some Alteration in the late Arrangement of the Army, and the Numbers of each regiment of Infantry requested by the resolution of the 3 Instant as also in the Cavalry.¹

The whole of the Troops are to be enlisted during the War, and join their respective Corps by the first Day of January next.

The Officers who will be reduced by this Arrangement, as well as those who shall continue in Service are entitled to half pay during Life.

You will receive from the Commander in Chief the proper returns to ascertain the Deficiencies of Troops in the respective States.

It may not be improper to add, that the inclosed resolution was adopted in Consequence of a Letter from the Commander in Chief expressing his Sentiments on the Subject in pressing & explicit Terms.

I have the Honor to be &c &c, S. Huntington

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The enclosed October 21 resolutions were adopted upon the recommendation of General Washington after he had submitted his observations on "the late Arrangement of the Army" adopted on September 21 and October 3. See *JCC*, 18:958-62; and Huntington to Washington, October 4, and to the States, October 6, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular Philada. October 26. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act

of Congress of the 24 Instant, directing that the Commissary General make accurate returns to Congress of the Supplies furnished by each State since the last Day of December last, and that the State Agents transmit to the Commander in Chief & Commissary General respectively monthly returns of all the Provisions which shall be drawn into their Hands, specifying the Articles & Places where they shall be deposited, and also earnestly recommending to the several Legislatures to enjoin it as a Duty on their State Agents in such Manner as to enforce a punctual Obedience.¹

I am also directed to transmit you the enclosed Copy of Col. Blaine's Letter & Papers to which it refers, and to request the serious Attention of the States to the present Wants & Distresses of the Army, and the most efficacious Means in their Power to furnish the Supplies requested with unremitted Attention.

I have the Honor &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Congress adopted the enclosed resolves in response to an October 17 appeal from Commissary General Ephraim Blaine, who had explained some of the deficiencies of "the present mode of procuring Supplies from the States" and urged a prompt response to the provisions crisis facing Continental troops if General Washington was to have any prospect for maintaining his army through the approaching winter. See *JCC*, 18:954, 958, 966, 970-71; and PCC, item 165, fols. 361-64.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia October 26. 1780

This will accompany my official Letter of the same Date addressed to your Excellency, and enclosing the Copy of an Act of Congress allowing half pay for life to the Officers, *as well those who shall be reduced by the new Arrangement of the Army* as those who shall continue in Service.¹

I was not a little surprized at the Passing of the Paragraph allowing half Pay for Life, as the Question had been so often discussed before, and as often negatived.

I have enclosed a Copy of the Votes with the Ays & nos on the Questions, with an Extract of General Washingtons Letter on the Subject.²

The Delegates of Connecticutt looked upon themselves bound by their former Instructions to oppose the Measure, with which I presume their own Sentiments also coincided fully. I confess for myself ever to have opposed the Measure, and take that to have been the Sentiments of all the Delegates from Connecticutt, who have been present when the Question has been debated.

Though I am as willing as others Generously to reward the Officers

of the Army, and think they merit much from their Country, yet I have ever been opposed to Pensions for Life as a Reward for their Services, as inconsistent with the Genius & Spirit of our Constitution.

I presume this resolution will give general Satisfaction to the Officers, and those who opposed it will incur their Disesteem, and perhaps Censure; but I am much more concerned on account of its Consequences among the People. What Effects it will have with them Time will best discover. Hope it may be better than my Fears.

I have thought it my Duty to say thus much upon a Subject so important & Interesting.

And am with the highest respect, your Excellencys most obedient
 Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington's first circular letter to the states of this date.

² For Washington's reflections on the issue of half pay for Continental officers, which he had explained in a long October 11 critique of the new "arrangement" of the army just adopted by Congress, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:157-60.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia October 26. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 21 Instant which makes some Alteration in the late Arrangement of the Army, conformable to the Sentiments expressed in your Letter of the 11th Instant and directs the Mode of appointing the Officers for the Regiments which are to be raised during the War by the respective States. The Officers who shall be reduced, as well as those who continue in the Service, are entitled to half Pay during Life.¹

You will also be informed by the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 23 Instant, they have been pleased to appoint Brigadier Parsons a Major General.²

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:958-62; Huntington to Washington, October 4; and Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 3.

² See *JCC*, 18:921-22, 965. Huntington also sent a copy of the enclosed resolution with a brief letter of this date to Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons. PCC, item 15, fol. 144.

Thomas McKean to William A. Atlee

Dear Sir,¹

Philadia. Octr. 26th. 1780.

Your favor of the 23d instant just now came to hand, and in answer to the material part of it must inform you, that the Committee of Congress on the proposal for a general exchange of prisoners have made a report, which has been recommitted, and a second report is not yet given in, but that I believe it will be done in the beginning—of the ensuing week, and that it will take place.² On a consideration of these circumstances I am apt to think your situation is somewhat difficult, but I would venture to recommend it as best, if your health & other affairs will permit to join us³ at Easton, and if any Orders should arrive from the Board of war or Commissary General of Prisoners during your absence that you should leave instructions to forward them to you at Reading, where I am pretty confident we shall be by the time you will be wanted. If you should entertain any doubts on this head we shall excuse you with the greatest pleasure.

I am anxious to see you, I confess, and we want your advice respecting the time of holding a court at Lancaster, but would foregoe this pleasure, if I conceived it could be attended with the least inconvenience to you. The ride to Easton is not the most agreeable, and the great distance I am aware of, but I consider you as one that I hope will be my Successor, and I cannot foresee the consequences which may follow from the fluctuating state of the Members of our Council & Assembly, and therefore would be glad of your attendance at every court practicable.

The reasons you have assigned for your absence from this & Chester are perfectly satisfactory, and I am only concerned that you should have mentioned any, as your bretheren had no doubt of your attention in this particular from former experience, and that you were prevented by indisposition, other public business, or some such cause.

No news of consequence except what the News-papers will furnish. Mr. Bryan is pretty well—I am something better. I write this in Congress⁴ must bid you Adieu. Your most obedient servant,

Tho M:Kean

RC (DLC: Peter Force Collection).

¹ Atlee has been identified in these *Letters*, 10:33.² See Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.³ That is, McKean and Justice George Bryan, who with Atlee constituted the supreme court of Pennsylvania and were about to go on circuit.⁴ McKean had left Congress on August 28 to attend his duties as chief justice of Pennsylvania but returned in early October to preside over the investigation of the treasury department, for which see McKean to Joseph Reed, August 29, note 3; and Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 9, 1780.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Sir Philadelphia October 26th 1780

The Bearer of this the Revered Mr Evans Chaplain of the New Hampshire Brigade waits on You with an Oration delivered by him at the Funeral of that Late Truly Brave & valuable officer Brigadier General Poor. Such is his regard for the memory of that great & good man that he Travels to your State to Solicit the Executive Authority to order its being printed—& when I Consider how much New Hampshire Stand Indebted to that officer & the advantages which the People at Large may Derive from Seeing the virtuous actions of the Deceased perpetuated I cannot forbear Expressing my Desire to have this Discourse published at the Expense & by order of the State.¹

Mr Evans has been Chaplain to the N. Hampr Brigade for about three Years & Though he has to my Knowledge been a Constant & faithful attendant on our Troops has had no allowances made him for Depreciation from any Quarter. He will state his Case to you in Writing & I am Convinced that the Justice of the State will not fail to make him ample Satisfaction.² I have the honor to be with the most perfect Esteem, Dr Sir yr most obedt Servt,

Jno. Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers).

¹ Israel Evans' eulogy on Enoch Poor, *An Oration delivered at Hackinsack, on the tenth of September 1780*, was published in 1781 by John Mycall at Newburyport. See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 17,150.

² Evans (1747-1807) was granted £100 by the New Hampshire Assembly on January 4, 1781. After the war he served as pastor of the First Congregational Church in Concord, N.H. *N.H. State Papers*, 8:882.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Thursday October 26th. 1780
Present Hn'ble Mr. McKean, Mr. Walker & Mr. Matlack.

It was proposed, that the accotts. of Sweers should be ordered from the Treasury, Mr. Geddis having informed the Committee, that the Treasury had refused him the accounts on *his* application without the orders of the Committee. Mr. Nicholson said he had now brought the accounts—On which Mr. Geddis, observed, that it was very hard that a clerk of the office should be furnished with the account and he (Geddis) refused, and by that means prevented from the means of making his defence.

The mode of stating the account of Colo. Sweers being examined and the charge of P[artiality] made against Watkins, French & Lukens¹ and it appears clearly to be strictly correct and in the special

instant before us the only possible correct mode—and in the stile of an accomptant. See also the Defence in the double charges in Sweers's accotts. which appears to amount exactly to the same thing, as would have arisen in the opposed case—to wit a just ballance. The objection to the expression in the charge P[artiality] pd. J Donaldson—on examination the expression “*he*” [*Sweers*] is doubtful and appears has led the Auditor Genl. into an error in his report and state of the Accot. by charging Mr. Donaldson with the sum. But the charge refers to the Accot., Numbered, and the Accot. referred to, shews what the goods were that the money was paid and for which goods “*he*,” *Sweers*, was to be *accountable*.

Of Partiality.²

“I conceive there has been something of it—as well in the dispatch of the accounts themselves.” I think Mr Dunlaps account is partial the deduction I think is unreasonable—(the account exhibitted). Observes that Mr. Dunlap charges the delay of his accott. to the Treasury—whereas it was the fault of the Chambers.

Qu. By Mr. McKean. How does the partiality appear, did it appear to be from resentments against Mr. Dunlap or from a disposition not to do justice?

An. He could not say.

Ob. by Mr. Govett. That Mr. Dunlap was a particular acquaintance and they could not intend to injure him.

Observ. by Mr. Nicholson. Mr. Bradfords accounts were allowed with much less scrutiny & greater dispatch.

An. By Mr. Govett. That Bradfords accounts were for News Paper and therefore could not need any scrutiny which could occasion delay.

Mr. Nicholson. Mr. Shaws account was delayed, which I really believe was from envy. Mr Smith said he should get nothing by his crossness. Mr. Kenon his accounts were delayed—some of the Gent., I dont know which, intimated that it was delayed on accott. of his moroseness. Mr. Claypooles accounts were delayed a great while. I cannot but say I think there was partiality in favour of Mr. Hopkinsons account; I dont pretend to be a judge of the service, but I really think so. My reasons are these. The accotts. brought for services they were unacquainted with the value of. They were taken to some persons adjudged to be competent to judge of them. For instance engraving, they applied to Mr. Few for his opinion of Normans³ charges—and in these reports citing their opinions. An instance, exhibitted in favour of some of the Coms of Pennsylvania—being allowed 2 & others 2 1/2 per Ct. Commission.

Accounted for by resolve of Congress passed in the intermediate time.

Arndts accott. page 141.

Trickets accott., explained. When his accott. was under examination, the work was taken to Woodhouse and he was asked what

he would do such work for—and the price was fixed according to his offer in the case.

Mr. Geddis said, after Hopkinsons accott. was exhibitted, that accomptants who would obtain from the Treasury just pay for their services ought to charge one half more than it was worth.

Mr Smith said that instead of the accotts. being detained too long—they were exhibitted too soon—for obtaining a fee—as was customary in England—but he at the same time expressed his detestation of fees. Whether he was serious or not does not know.

Mr. Govett—observes he perfectly remembers the occasion of the sentiment—it was on the subject of the low state of the Treasury.

Mr Nicholson Said he was right it was so.

Qu. By Mr McKean. Do you know anything of the Gent. of the Chambers maligning the Com. of the Treasury?

An. I have heard them speaking slightlyly of the Com. of Tr. and sneeringly speak of the superior mode of doing business and particularly on the order of the Tr. on corresponding with accomptants.

Qu. Before whom?

An. The Chambers were more like a Coffee house than a place of accounts.

List of Accotts passed since 5th May last said to be designed for a Committee of Congress and to deceive them; but it does not appear to be used for any purpose whatever.

Mr. Ramsay.⁴

Qu. What do you know of any of the charges exhibitted by the Com. of the Treasury agst. the Chamber of accounts?

An. I did not expect to be called upon to give testimony on this subject and have not taken any Minutes of them; But I suppose it will be allowed by all that more business might have been done. I suppose this was owing to the particular difficulties they were under; which I have often heard them express.

Qu. Do you know of any particular instance of neglect?

An. Mr Nicholson has, I believe, mentioned every instance which could possibly have come under my observation, if I had taken the pains to have minuted them.

Of Indolence.⁵ That seems to be nearly the same thing. Inattention to the public interest.

[Qu.] Do you know of any thing particular on this head?

An. If they were indolent they must have been so far inattentive to the public interest; but of this I don't know whether I am a competent judge or not.

Incapacity.

[Qu.] Do you know of any instance of their incapacity?

An. To answer this it would be necessary that I should have abilities superior to them; which I am conscious I have not.

Partiality.

[Qu.] Do you know of any instance of partiality in passing some accounts more readily than others; or in allowing more for services done by one than by another?

An. I do not. What Mr Nicholson has said on this head will fully comprehend every thing which I have heard or seen.

Opposing the Board.

[Qu.] Do you know of anything of their opposing the Board of Treasury in refusing to occupy a Chamber assigned them?

An. I know no more of this subject than is contained in their letters to Congress.

Maligning &c.

[Qu.] Do You know anything of the Chambers of accounts Maligning the Commissioners of the Treasury and to whom?

An. I have heard the Gent. of the Chambers frequently complain of the order of the Treasury respecting the Chambers Corresponding with persons on their accotts—And particularly to Major Hodgdon.⁶

Qu. What was said to Major Hodgson?

An. His accott. wanted some explanation and I went for him—they told him it was not altogether consistent with the orders of the Treasury to hold any communication with him.

[Qu.] Do you know of any other instance?

An. No.

[Qu.] Do you know of any thing else which you have not mentioned?

An. No.

Qu. By Mr. Nicholson—To which it was objected, that the complaint being made by the Com. of Tr. any questions necessary to be asked on this charge ought to be asked by them; not by Mr. Nicholson.

Qu. At what hours do the Commissioners of the Chambers attend?

An. Generally between the hours of 9 & 10 in the morning and remain 'till one and sometimes after.

Qu. What hours do they attend in the afternoon?

An. Between three & four—soon after 3 generally.

Qu. How long do they remain in office?

An. Till six; some times after.

Qu. By Mr. Nicholson. Do they attend punctually at those hours?

An. When the business appear to require it; and Mr Govett & Mr. Mercier have attended during last summer rather between 8 and 9 than later—the other Gent. on accotts. of more magnitude not so early; as they are not under the same necessity.

Mr. Ramsey.

Qu. By Mr. Nicholson. Have there not been successive days, three, four or more, in which they have done no business?

An. I dont recollect any such; except in the case of the order of the Treasury to the Auditor General not [to] send any more accotts to the Chambers 'till they had reported on those before them. At that time I as well as they was unemployed for some time.

Qu. When the Commissioners are in office is there more of their time spent in idle conversation than in business?

An. They generally enter upon business in a few minutes after they enter the office; except some particular times. As to their conversation I have not paid particular attention to it.

Qu. Have you not heard them uncommonly often speak of their pay?

An. I have heard them often say, before the late resolves of Congress were passed, that unless some better provision were made for them they should be obliged to resign?

Qu. Have you ever observed any alteration in the behaviour of the Chambers, upon the Commissioners of the Treasury passing by?

An. I think I never did. I have heard some of the Chambers observe the Com. of the Treasury looked very sharp into the Chambers.

Qu. Have you not heard some of them say—Mind your business there go [. . .] your Masters?

An. I have; but dont remember by whom.

[Qu.] Were not the Accotts. of Mr. Flowers exhibitted according to the label on the box of 20th Jany. 1779?

An. Yes.

Note—there has been no orders for passing them.

Qu. Are there not other accounts, particularly the Accotts. of the Barrack Mr. Genl. and his dependents still in the office?

An. There are such accotts.

Qu. Have you not frequently heard me say I have examined those accotts.?

An. Yes.

[Qu.] Are there not other accounts?

An. Yes.

Ob. By the Chambers that there is a list of them ready for inspection.

Mr. Nourse. Col. Melchior⁷ has rendered two accotts. which have been examined in some sort by Coll. Melchior and the vouchers for others; but the accounts are not rendered, it is expected, that he will render a further accott, when the whole will be examined together.

Letter of 29 June 1780.⁸ To Commiss. of Treasury—with a list of accounts in the Chambers & remarks.

Mr. Nicholson—says there is a great deal to do to Colo. Morgans⁹ account and Dr Fosters¹⁰ accounts—That Colo. Morgans accounts are settled incompleatly and reports made upon with that precision which is necessary for the public security—and the accotts. referred to.

Observation, by Mr. Mercier. That there were many Vouchers wanting of Colo Morgans accotts. and application had been made to him for them. That as there appeared to be a ballance in the hands of Colo. Morgan it was thought best to report the ballance especially—and leave the compleat and finally adjustment until the vouchers should be produced. The accotts. were thus reported, in order that the Money due from him might be paid. (See 18 Feby. (page 71.)

Adjourned 'till six this evening.

Mr. Gibson and Mr. Forman¹¹— Were now informed that the Committee would probably be able this evening to hear the Defence which they should think proper to add to that already offered. Mr. Gibson said he had not been informed, That the Committee would hear them—to which it was replied that he was five dift. times yesterday, expressly told, that they should be heard. He then said— They were not ready and could not be ready; as it would take some time to prepare. To this it was observed—That Mr. Gibson & Forman had peremptorily, and very often repeated, demanded to be heard in their defence yesterday—When the Committee had appointed that day to hear the charges against the Chamber of Accotts. and declared their being then ready to go into their defence.

The same day 6 in the evening.

Present Mr. McKean, Mr Walker & Mr Matlack.

The Gent. of the Chambers of accounts in defence. Produce—Mr. Nourse.

Mr. Nourse

Qu. by Mr. Mercier. How long have we lived together?

An. From the 26 Sept. 1779 to same day 1780.

Qu. During that time have you known any instance of my being absent 2, 3 or 4 days from my business except only once on a visit to my parents?

An. I cannot say I recollect any such instance except once by sickness—and once in translating a paper of interesting news (the proceedings of Parliament in French). As this testimony may operate against Mr. Nicholsons evidence, I should be glad he would remind me of any particular instance—several times were mentioned which Mr Nourse cannot recollect to have happened.

Qu. What hours have I generally attended the office and at what hours have I usually left the office?

An. As we resided in the same house we generally came home about 1 oclock sometimes not 'til past two.

Qu. What hours did you attend in the afternoon?

An. About 3 or a quarter after & returned in summer at about 6—in winter about 5. The Morning we considered as the most precious part of the day.

Qu. As you were frequently in the office, did you ever perceive me indolent?

An. Upon that Question I should beg leave to observe; that altho by the Ordinance two Chambers are appointed and four clerks the Gent. have done business, in one Chamber with two clerks. With respect to the Gent. who compose the first Chamber, who I understood to be Mr Govett, Mr. Mercier & Mr Govett [*i.e.* Geddis], whenever I have had any business to do in that Chamber, I have generally observed Mr. Govett & Mr Mercier to be employed upon large accounts. Previous to the nomination of the two last commissioners, I understood Mr Smith to rank as senior Commissioner of the second Chamber—and I have understood from Mr Geddis who I have understood to be a Commissioner of the first Chamber, employed with Mr. Smith in the settlement of small accounts which might be daily presented, with a view as I understood by Mr Geddis to expedite public business. Mr Smith, Senior Com. of the 2nd had no proper Chambers until the late order of the Board.

Qu. Have not we brought old accounts to the Auditors office to be referred, that we might be employed?

An. There were several accotts. which had been lodged in the Chambers of Accotts. before the late establishment of the Treasury. I recollect that accotts. have been brought in for settlement with a view, I believe that the Chambers might go upon business. But they were accounts strangely rendered.

Qu. Have you not heard the Commissioners of the Chambers frequently complain of Mr Nicholsons indolence?

An. I have heard that remark frequently made—how justly I cannot judge. If I was to judge by Mr. Nicholsons coming to office I should suppose he was attentive.

Qu. (By Mr. Geddis.) Have not you always heard the commissioners of Chambers express their desires to carry on the Public business with dispatch?

An. I have no doubt that that observation has been made but I cannot recollect particulars. The Gent. have frequently complained of the want of room which made it impossible to carry on the business so well as they might other wise have done—and indeed I have observed the fact to be so.

Qu. Was not the reason given by us—That Mr Gibson had, for his own private use, one of the best rooms in the house which we thought we had as good a right to as he had?

An. Yes—I understand that to a reason assigned in your letter before Congress.

Qu. Was not another reason, That the room up two pair of stairs proposed for the Chambers of accounts, had a large quantity of paper made for striking of money which had perished & become very offensive?

An. Yes *it was* and the room was very disagreeable.

Qu. by Mr Nicholson. Has not the room occupied by Mr. Gibson been vacant for near two months?

An. Mr Gibson moved out of the house at the expiration of the lease, after which we remained upon sufferance to this time and have expected to remove which rendered it unnecessary & improper to remove into that room.¹²

Note—That Mr. Denning had desired no large accotts. might be taken up until they removed.

Qu. by the Committee. Have you seen any instance of inability of Mr Smith one of the Chambers of accounts, as to casting accotts?

An. The reports are generally signed by two of the Commissioners of accotts. and I know of no particular instance of that kind.

Mr. Govett—remarked, That when Mr Smith came first into office he was not so finished an accomptant as one wholly bred to that business; but he now draws reports with great propriety.

Mr. Geddis—that Mr Smith is sufficiently ready at casting accounts and the kinds of business in which he is employed and is good man in every respect. He is now ill otherwise these remarks would not have been made by the Commissioners.

Mr. Ramsey (again examined).

Qu. By Mr Mercier. Do you know of my having been absent 2,3,4 or 5 days at a time frequently or at any time except when I went to visit my parents?

An. I am sure I dont know of your being absent more than half a day at any one time—except the time of your visiting your parents.

Qu. Who has given the best attendance in the office—the Commissioners; or Mr Nicholson?

An. I cannot decide upon that matter.

Qu. Has Chamber No. 1 ever been without business?

An. I dont recollect any instance of several days except that mentioned above, And Mr Fell & Mr Govett waited for me while Mr. Nicholson was at camp last summer—When I could not go on fast enough to keep them employed.

Qu. Did not we direct you in what manner to proceed upon the examination of Dr. Foster accotts?

An. Yes—I remember something of it: but do not clearly recollect it—it will appear by the accott. in whose handwriting it is.

Qu. by Mr Geddis. Was not you by when I called Mr. Nicholson to account for neglect of business?

An. He was absent, I suppose on his own business, and you found fault with him for it—as I understood it.

Mr. McCall,¹³ Extra. Commissioner of accounts.

Qu. By Mr. Mercier. Which has given the most constant attendance at the Chambers Mr. Nicholson or the Commissioners?

An. As I have given pretty constant attendance at the Chamber

of Accotts. for near [. . .] I have had an oppty of knowing, and I have frequently observed, that Mr Nicholson generally came the last to and was the first that went from the Chamber before any of the Commissioners of accounts.

Qu. Do you think Mr. Nicholson was capable from his own attendance of forming a proper judgment of our doing the duty of our office?

An. I do not, for the reason above given of his not paying a proper attention himself to the business of the office.

Qu. by Mr Nicholson—Have not I been more generally at the office before you than after you?

An. If I had not been more frequently there before you than after you I should have been able to have answered the questions above asked—And I have frequently made the observations contained in the above answers to the Gent. heretofore. I have been clerk in the office and know what hours ought to be kept.

Qu. by do. As the conduct of the Commissioners and my conduct are compared together—When we were in the office which seemed to be most engaged in business, they or me?

An. I think the Commissioners—but I dont particular think myself capable of judging what Mr. Nicholson is employed. He & Mr. Ramsay seem to be employed in some business which they had undertaken before I have been in office.

Qu. (By Mr. Nicholson to Mr Ramsay). Have not I been more frequently in office in the morning before Mr. McCall than after—and also in the afternoon—referring to the time in which I was attending at the office distinguished from the time I was at, and preparing to go to camp?

An. I have known Mr. McCall to come several times after Mr Nicholson has been at business.

Qu. by Mr. McCall, Have I not been frequently at the office before any others, except yourself, who I found generally there the first?

An. You frequently were there before Mr Nicholson; but I rather think Mr Nicholson was there before Mr McCall as often as after him—but I cannot say particularly as I kept no account of that matter. Mr McCalls business did not immediately lie there.

(Note Mr McCall is intended to go to the Eastward on business there.)

Remarks by Mr Mercier.

As to negligence and indolence they are nearly of the same nature and they will need no observation from us. An appeal to the register and list of Accotts reported and remaining will shew how the business stands.

As to partiality—in the case of Mr. Hopkinson—the Committee appear to be fully possessed of the facts—the case of Mr Gibson. (see report [page 87] March 17. 80 referred March 3. 1780).

Certificates respecting the manner of paying the rent of the house, by Mr Gibson to Mrs Maddox the owner.¹⁴

That Mr. Gibson having it constantly in his power to receive the rent, ought not to be now allowed the depreciation to the present time, estimating from the begining of the accott. &c. That Mr. Gibson states his charging only £80 per an. Whereas his Accott. exhibitted shows that he charged £116 per an. Mr. Gibson, the Commissioners say, observed that he charged £116 per annum because he thought the public ought to make good to him the rent accruing while the enemy was in the city. That Mr. Gibson occupied [one] of the best rooms of the house, two of the cellars, & the stables C[. . .] house, and the messenger attended his horse and the servants provided his breakfast and supper.

Of Mr. Bicking Accott. March 29th 1780 (*page 97*).¹⁵

The Commissioners asked of Mr. Bradford the price of old canvas at the time it was d[livere]d to Mr Bicking, and were informed that the price credited in his accott. was the price it then really sold for—see reasons assigned to the Treasury for their allowance of Bickings Accott. 29 March 80.

Observe—That the price of canvas being debated the account was suspended from March 'til May when the paper maker consented to be charged 5/6 per lb rather than be longer kept out of his money & suffer thereby the depreciation; but the price of paper was finally allowed by the Treasury—so that if the allowance for the price of paper was unreasonable and blameworthy in the Commissioners of accounts, it was equally blameable in the Com. of Treasury who finally allowed and paid it.

The report on James Dills¹⁶ account contained remarks on the want of Vouchers and contain the returns of provisions purchased—& return of provisions issued which shews the Treasury had not adverted to the report and papers attending—otherwise their remand of that accott. of 7th July 80 could not have been sent.

See also Letter book of Chambers March 23. 1780.

William Scott¹⁷ another Commissioner respecting deficiency on vouchers of his account.

The Order of the 5th of May 80 from the Treasury directing no further accounts to be sent to the Chambers until those already there were liquidated—which occasioned several days delay. The Chambers being then employed on Mr Hillegas's accounts, which could not be liquidated for want of the charges against him. And had that order been strictly obeyed the Chambers must have been unemployed for several months. And they remark that of 200 Mills. actually delivered to Mr. Hillegas there is charged in the Treasury books but about 36 Mills. Note—This Mr Hillegas, may perhaps explain and Mr. Govett may also throw some light upon. This ought to be enquired into as a capital neglect some where.

Observation on the charge respecting Dr. Warners accot. & Mr. Henrys accot. The reports on these accots. were in Consequence of express orders from the Treasury 12 May 1780 “to *report without delay on all accounts referred to them without waiting for additional vouchers or alterations of circumstances,*”¹⁸ and strictly according to the duty of the Chambers. (Note. And on examination it clearly so appears).

The difficulties of expenditure of stores require a Chamber for that branch—and this has been stated to Mr. Huston who agrees to the propriety of it.¹⁹

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of October 25, 1780.

¹ Maj. Samuel French, Charles Lukens, and Joseph Watkins were commissaries of military stores during the tenure of Cornelius Sweers as assistant commissary general of military stores. See *JCC*, 9:891-92; and PCC, item 78, 24:5-9.

² “Partiality” was the fifth and last of the numbered, major charges made by Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson against the commissioners of the chambers of accounts. A substantial part of the testimony delivered here concerns the conduct of the commissioners in processing the accounts referred to them. A significant document pertaining to this issue—labelled “View of the Accounts Reported on by the Chamber of Accounts. . . from the 1st December 1779 to the 8th day of September 1780,” and recording “When Referred” to the commissioners and “When Reported on,”—is in PCC, item 62, fols. 557-58. Several of the persons mentioned in the following section of testimony—John Arndt, Thomas Bradford, David C. Claypoole, John Dunlap, William Kennon, George Shaw, William Trickett, and Joseph Watkins—are listed in this document with a brief description of their claims.

³ Probably John Norman, a Philadelphia engraver, who had previously submitted a claim that is in PCC, item 41, 7:20, 25.

⁴ William Ramsey, a clerk in the chamber of accounts. *JCC*, 17:674.

⁵ “Indolence” was the second charge directed against the commissioners of accounts by Forman and Gibson.

⁶ Maj. Samuel Hodgdon, deputy commissary general of military stores. *JCC*, 16:153.

⁷ Col. Isaac Melcher, former barrackmaster general. *JCC*, 15:1433.

⁸ Not in PCC.

⁹ Col. Daniel Morgan.

¹⁰ Dr. Isaac Foster, deputy director general of hospitals, eastern department. *JCC*, 18:1222.

¹¹ In the margin beside this paragraph appears the following statement, written and signed by John Walker, for the meaning of which see James Madison’s Certificate, November 17? 1780; and Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 25, note 1. “This is a faithful entry of what passed on this subject. Jn. Walker.”

¹² At this point Matlack inserted the following comment between the lines: “(Note. It appears the lease expired about 19th Sept.)”

¹³ James McCall, who had been appointed an extra commissioner for the chamber of accounts on July 31, 1780. *JCC*, 17:652, 682.

¹⁴ These documents pertaining to the rental of a house belonging to Mary Maddox are in PCC, item 62, fols. 417-19.

¹⁵ The March 29, 1780, “Answer to Board of Treasury respecting Bickings account,” prepared by the commissioners of accounts in response to questions

concerning Frederick Bicking's claim "for making Money Paper for the use of the United States," is at *ibid.*, fols. 421-24.

¹⁶ James Dill's account for \$41,588 for supplying "Provisions for the Army" is noted at *ibid.*, fol. 557.

¹⁷ An account of William Scott for \$31,547 for "Provisions for the use of the Army," received by the chamber of accounts on May 10, 1779, is recorded at *ibid.*

¹⁸ The accounts of Dr. Warner and Mr. Henry have not been identified, but extracts from the minutes of the Board of Treasury ordering the chamber of accounts to deliver them immediately, "without waiting for additional vouchers," are in PCC, item 26, fols. 176, 180.

¹⁹ For the resumption of this inquiry, see the committee's minutes, November 17, 1780.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker

Philadelphia Octr. 27th 1780

I do not at all wonder at the Consultation held on my letter written when under the influence of that cursed fever, but rather admire that you found Consistency enough in it to furnish out any allusion. My senses were so Jumbled at the time of writing that you shd have taken even the effort as the strongest argument of my regard. But Since so important a matter as that of drinking my health depends on my decyphering the *Œnigma*—I must inform you that it is or rather was a *Bona fide* fever with which I was affected which had (from its effects left on the Bones being Similar to those which I *suppose* are felt from a Severe Cudgeling) acquired in this Place where few people have escaped it the nickname of Broke Bone fever. I am Sorry to find that Hygeia as well a[s] Ceres has not Chosen Sapponi for her Residence—but from my Ideas of Matoax¹ fear you have little mended the matter by seeking for the Goddess there, Altho Apollo in his Cantator Capacity dwells there when you design to make it the Tent of your residence. Yet I wish not to see him there in his later (*ιατηρ*)² function—or rather wish not that you shd have occasion to invoke him—however propitious the God may be inclined to be—I have no great opinion of his *Priests* tho I formerly had the honor of officiating in his Temple myself. I fear they have turnd apostate of late & have Sacrificed too much to Plutus—with whom you know that Deity could never agree—since which some of them have not been admitted into the Inner temple but have been obliged to remain in Aula. Flights of Imagination aside—It gives me much uneasiness to hear of my Sisters indisposition—But I hope in yr. next to hear of her recovery and that its conquences will be as Salutary as that of my Rib has been who has encreased as much in Latitude almost as she has done in Longitude. N.B. she is two foot taller than when she left Virginia—the Short intervals which I can steal from Business I almost always devote to my Friends in Virginia—and I write to them as the Maggot³ takes me—if you will state the Matter

fairly I think you will find no cause to blame me for neglecting you. The Matters before Congress are at this time so weighty—so numerous, so important, so interesting—and most of them so essential to be kept secret untill they are prepared to be known that you will readily excuse my not entering on the subject—which were I at liberty freely to write on would take almost a Quire of Paper to give you any Satisfactory Idea of. We have had a pretty full confirmation of the Combined fleets of Fr & Spain having taken almost the whole of a fleet of Eng. E & W Indiamen (5 of the former) outward Bound to the amount of about 50 part of which in a letter from a Gentn. at Cadiz to the Pr. of Congress are said to be safe arrived at that Port and the others daily expected. Don Barcelo before Gibraltar has also taken five or Six Provision Ships sent with Supplies to that place by the English—This with the News of our southern success has operated on us like a Cordial. Give my best affections and love to Fanny & the Boys & Girls. I hope by this time they are all well. I have written to the Boys & have sent them presents. Dick Meade who carries this will tell you all the news &c. &c. God Bless you.

Theok. Bland

N.B. There were one thousand Highland Soldiers taken in the Captured fleet.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ "Sapponi" may have been a Tucker plantation unit on the Sappony River in Prince George Co., Virginia. "Matoax" was Tucker's plantation in nearby Chesterfield Co. See Bland to Tucker, September 17, 1780, note 2.

² That is, in his medical, in contrast to his musical ("Cantator") capacity. Apollo's functions were "especially music, archery, prophecy, medicine, and the care of flocks and herds." *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. M. Cary et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 68.

³ That is, whim or caprice.

Nathaniel Peabody to Nathanael Greene

Dear General

Morristown Octor. 27. 1780

I take the liberty to inclose to your care a Letter from Dr. Shippen to Mrs. R. H. Lee, as also one from your Humble Servant to Mr Lee which I have put under a flying seal,¹ and which you will please to Close before it is deliverd.

I most Sincerely Congratulate you on the dawn of success both Southward & Northward the particulars of the latter you will have in the fish kill paper which Martin has took with him.

The Tories have took the Mail going east between fish kill & Danbury and Carried to N. York.²

The Marques with his light Infantry undertook an Expedetion to Staten Island this morning but, as I am inform'd to his Great

Chagrean, when he arrived at the place of embarkation instead thirteen boats which were ordered to that place he found but five, which were totally inadequate to warrant the undertaking, and after waiting, till too late, without being Supplied, he was under the disagreeable Necessity of returning with the Mortification of being disappointed in a Capital object.³ This has raised a Clamour against him whose right it is to reign uncontroled, in kingdom of Transportation!!⁴ But hold! I am this moment inform'd that the Marques waited Some hours before the five boats arrived. I am exceedingly pain'd for this unhappy event—fear the Consequences will be unfavourable for the officer who neglected his Duty, which may possibly blow up the Coals of dissatisfaction between the Army, and those who ought to Support it.

I am happy to find that the loss of Charlestown So. Carolina has not prevented our Bills of Exchange from being accepted in Spain.

His Excellency is Exceedingly pleased with the News from the Southward, says if rightly improve'd it may be a lucky opening to greater & more Sucessful events. I reced. the Philada paper of the 24th on the evening of the 25th which I forwarded to H. Quarters so that it arrived by Sunrise the 26th. Arnold has publish'd a flaming proclamation of a Tennor that Corresponds with the rest of his Conduct.⁵

The Enemy in New york are all in motion, And Not a little Alarm'd at Some thing. It is reported here that the french fleet have left R. Island.

With Great esteem, I have the Honr. to be, Sir, Dear Genl. Your most obedt. And very Humbe Servt., Nathl Peabody

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers).

¹ See the following entry.

² See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10, 1780, document note.

³ For the cancellation of General Lafayette's planned attack on Staten Island, see Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 3:206–11.

⁴ That is, Timothy Pickering, Greene's successor as quartermaster general.

⁵ Probably Arnold's October 20 broadside proclamation *To the officers and soldiers of the Continental army who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress, or of France. . . . I rejoice in the opportunity I have of inviting you to join his majesty's armys* (New York: James Rivington, 1780). See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 16,789; and Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, 16:422. Arnold, who had been granted a brigadier's commission by the British, was in the process of forming the American Legion in the Provincial Service of the British army.

Nathaniel Peabody to Richard Henry Lee

Sir, Morris Town, State of New Jersey Octr 27. 1780

I have been duly honored by your agreable favour of the 24th

Ultimo, Inclosing a letter to the director general,¹ which has been delivered.

Since the 22d November, the date of a letter you mention to have received, I have wrote two other letters,² containing such matters as I should be unwilling to have fallen into the possession of some persons, whose heads and hearts, are unworthy of my confidence, and who I fear have filch'd those letters under way, as you make no mention of having received them.

It appears to me, Sir, your apprehensions are well founded, when you observe, "I fear the season is much too far advanced for any decisive operations to be attempted against New York, this Campaign" &c., and that your queries claim the highest attention when you farther add, "may not the winter be most profitably employed in retaking Charles-Town, and recovering the two southern States, from our enemies &c". The reasons you mention in favour of the attempt, are weighty, and the successes, which have lately attended our Arms in that quarter render the operations you have proposed, both for the winter & spring, less hazardous.

The spirited exertions of your state in raising three Thousand recruits for the Continental Army, and One thousand good western Militia, at so critical a period, evinces a redoubled attachment to our cause, and add much to the prospect of success in our operations in that vicinity.

I cannot quit the subject, without congratulating you, my dear Sir, on the appointment of Major General Greene, to take the command of the southern Army. That gentlemans great abilities in the field, his extensive knowledge of the various departments in the Army, gives him the advantage of almost every other General Officer in America, in immediately reducing to order and System an Army and affairs, which at present are almost "without *form* and *void*".

But alas of what avail will be the exertion of the greatest Generals, unless fully aided with *men*, *money*, and the other necessary *supplies*? In the present deranged situation of our public affairs, can this aid be furnished? Our Treasury is empty—Our Military and ordnance stores in that quarter are much exhausted—and I fear, the resources of that Country under its present embarrassments will prove incompetent for those other supplies.

Your Zeal and exertion in the cause of our distressed Country on every former occasion forbids my mentioning a single argument to induce your utmost efforts in the present alarming conjuncture.

General Greene entertains a high opinion of your influence and abilities, and wishes for your assistance, in support of such measures as he may find necessary to adopt for recovering the southern states, or rather what is more probable, to prevent the Enemy, from making further progress, and as the General is a gentleman in whom you may place the most unreserved confidence, not only as an Officer,

but as a private gentleman, have not the least reason to doubt but there will be a perfect harmony, and free correspondence, between you and that gentleman; and which I am sure will be assiduously cultivated on his part.

The Honorable Arthur Lee, passed through this place a few days since, on his way to Philadelphia; but I was so unhappy as not to have the pleasure of seeing him, though I have been honored by a line from him since his arrival there.

As the present situation of the southern States bespeak the Theatre of War, at least for the ensuing winter, I should esteem it an addition to the obligations I should otherwise be under, by being favor'd with a letter from you, as often as you may find opportunity and leisure for that purpose.

With sentiments of real friendship, I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Most Obedient And very Humble servant,

Nathl. Peabody

RC (PPAmP: Lee Papers). In the hand of Benjamin Brown and signed by Peabody.

¹ Lee's September 24 letter, enclosing one for the director general of hospitals, William Shippen, Jr., is in Lee, *Letters* (Ballagh), 2:204-6.

² No letters from Peabody to Lee for the period November 1779 to October 27, 1780, have been found.

Committee for Foreign Affairs to John Adams

Dear Sir

Oct 28th. 1780

I shall endeavor to write largely to you, en ami, but I will not risque the Sailing of the Vessel for that purpose, at this moment. It is *reported* Mr. Searle is taken; our affairs in Holland must in such Case be very bad as you will not have recd. any Powers for acting instead of Mr. Laurens who is *too probably* taken and carried to England from Newfoundland¹ and I also know of other Fatalities to my Letters.²

Your Friend & humb Servt,

James Lovell

C of f Affr.

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Written and signed by James Lovell.

¹ The report of James Searle's capture was erroneous, but Lovell's supposition about Henry Laurens proved to be correct. Searle had arrived in Europe and delivered his dispatches, and Adams already knew of Laurens' capture. Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:60, 97.

² Lovell also wrote the following brief note to Adams this day, added as a postscript to a third copy of his July 11-August 1 letter, which is in the Adams Papers, MHi.

"P. S. October 28th. The Journal of Sepr. will show the Receipt of your Communications up to June 10th." See *JCC*, 17:749, 798, 803, 18:817, 841, 853.

And to this note he appended the following comment on December 9: "I add a list of receipts and dates [*which have not been found*]."

For Lovell's July 11 letter and the postscripts he added in August, October, and December, see also Committee for Foreign Affairs to Adams, July 11, 1780, note 2.

Committee for Foreign Affairs to Thomas Bell and James Josiah

Sirs¹

Philadelphia 28 Oct 1780

The Committee of Congress for Foreign affairs ask your kind care of some letters, Gazettes and Books for Doctor Franklin and others. The Letters should be sunk in case of danger from the Enemy. They are of much importance and Should be put into faithful hands for Conveyance upon your arrival in Port. The books and Gazettes may take their chance of such conveyance as may be most convenient. Should the Ship be obliged to go into a port of Spain, all *those* Letters to Doctor Franklin *marked Z* may be forwarded to Mr *Jay* by some *very trusty* person, but not risqued in the Posts. God prevent this & every unfortunate change of the Ships course and grant you every prosperity.

Your most humble Servt,

Signed James Lovell

FC (DNA: PCC, item 79). In a clerical hand.

¹ Thomas Bell was captain of the Pennsylvania ship *Chevalier de la Luzerne*, and James Josiah was captain of the privateer *Lady Washington*.

Committee for Foreign Affairs to Benjamin Franklin

Honble. Sir,

Copy

Octr. 28. 1780.

A Committee was appointed in Congress on the 6th “to draught a Letter to our ministers at the Courts of Versailles and Madrid to enforce the Instructions given by Congress to Mr. Jay by their Resolution of the 4th Instant and to explain the Reasons and Principles on which the same are founded, that they may respectively be enabled to satisfy those Courts of the Justice and Equity of the Intentions of Congress.”¹

That Comtee. reported a Draught of a Letter to Mr. Jay “and that a Copy of it be transmitted to Doctr. Franklin together with the Resolution directing the Draught.”²

There is no member of the Commtee. of forgn. affairs attending Congress, but myself nor have the Comtee. had a Secretary or Clerk since T. Payne’s Resignation. I must entreat you therefore Sir to excuse the Oeconomy of my Request that you would transmit to Mr. Jay all of the Papers which happen to reach you directed for him, taking Copies of such as are left open for your Information. I persuade myself that you will readily communicate to Mr. Adams what appears so much connected with his Commission, though it has not been

specially ordered by the Report of the Comtee. on the Draught.

I am, Sir, your most humble Servant, James Lovell³

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers). In the hand of James Lovell.

¹ For the text of Congress' lengthy instructions to John Jay, which were approved by Congress on October 17, see *JCC*, 18:900-902, 935-47; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:127-35.

² *JCC*, 18:935.

³ Pennsylvania delegate Frederick A. Muhlenberg also apparently concluded his congressional service this day, although he was last recorded on a roll call vote on October 19 and his term did not expire until a new slate of delegates was elected on November 23. See *JCC*, 18:954, 957, 959, 981, 21:1103. He had been elected on October 10 to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which was scheduled to convene on the 23d but which in fact failed to muster a quorum until November 3, the day he was also elected speaker of the assembly. According to an account he submitted the following day, Muhlenberg claimed compensation for attendance at Congress from March 3, 1779 to October 28, 1780. The account has been printed in Burnett, *Letters*, 5:431, from a manuscript in the Gratz Collection, PHi; and payment of the claim is recorded in the November 7 entry of *Pa. Council Minutes*, 12:531.

John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

My Dear sir

Philadelphia Octr. 30th 1780.

I am favoured with yours inclosing a Letter to Mr McCarty, which I immediately Sent to him. The House rent you mention I shall Confer with him about, and whatever is necessary, shall be done, if within my power. I also thank you for your favour of the 27th Instant, by the post. I am very Sorry you was put to the Expence of postage, on Account of my neglect. Am afraid you had a very bad penny worth.

Congress this day received intelligence of the Cavalry part of the Tories lately embarked at New York, being landed at Portsmouth in Virginia, the rest of their fleet were in sight.¹ General Green is now here on his way to take the Command of the Southern Army. He leaves this place tomorrow or next day. Much is expected from his experience, prudence and abilities. Baron Stuben is also to join the Army in that quarter as is Major Lees Corps of Light Horse. The Enemy at New York have been lately reinforced with about 800 Germans, and about 1200 British Troops. This may enable them to Send Some more men to the Southward. Many they Cant Spare from New York and their [out]posts. Doct. Lee is now in Town, he has applied to be heard, [in ju]stification of his Conduct, while in public Service. Congress does not incline to go into the enquiry at present. The matter will be put of in such way as may give some Satisfaction and prevent the time of the House being taken up.

The state of our public affairs wear a most melancholly Aspect. Instead of being able to extricate ourselves from the embarrassments we have been long under for want of Money, our expences and distresses are daily encreasing—two armies to feed, Cloath and pay, without money or the means of getting Any. Borrowing here is at an End, no one will lend, And foreign Loans I am afraid are not to be obtained. France we are told is so far from being in a Condition to Supply us, that She is Solliciting Loans herself to Carry on the War, And the Cursed Claim set up to the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the extention of our limits to that river, will if insisted on prevent an Alliance with Spain, or of procuring Any Aids from her. The Jealousys of that Court respecting Contraband, will be hard to be removed, And it is probable nothing will Satisfy their fears on that Score, but relinquishing our Claim to the navigation of that river. I wish for my part it Could be given up Conditionally. The Claim if granted Could not be of any immediate Advantage to us, and the State of our Affairs require it. I am of Opinion With you, that a few Millions of hard Dollars would go a great way in putting our finances into proper order, but Could a foreign Loan of hard money be obtained, the hazard of getting it here would be very great, and Bills of Exchange would not Answer the purpose of Calling in our old money. It is difficult to Account [for] the rapid depreciation of the Continental Currency, but I have been for a long time of opinion that it proceeds more from the nature of our trade, than from any other Cause Whatever. Most of our Valuable produce is prohibited from being exported; this Obliges the foreigners who come to trade Amongst us, after laying out part of the money Arising from the Sail of their Cargoes in Li[vres?], to purchase Gold and Silver with the rest. This enhances the price of hard money and raises the Exchange between that and paper; hence it is no uncommon thing to see Exchange raised 4 or 5 prices, in a day or two, And this is an evil that will Continually encrease while our imports are so much larger than our exports, the difference must be made up in gold & Silver, and as that is daily going from us, and none brought in, it becomes Scarcer, and of Course the difference of Value between that And paper will be the greater. All dealings in this place, (And I suppose it is the Case everywhere Else) is rated in gold and silver payable in paper at the Exchange. This way of dealing makes the Shop Keeper, Tradesman, and labourer rather incline to favour a rise in the Exchange between hard money and paper than otherwise, and I have observed that the Sail of a few half Joes (and purchased perhaps by a person who has a number to sell) has in a day or two established the Exchange throughout the Town. The Citizens find their Account in it. The Farmers and others who bring their goods to Market, dont so soon find out the difference, they sell every thing for paper and the price has been nearly the Same for meat &c ever

since I have been in Town, tho hard money has advanced twenty percent.

You will in a few days receive resolves of Congress for raising Six millions of hard Dollars, or money of the new Emission part in Specific Supplies.² Our part of that Sum will be about a Ninth—about 550,000 payable in Specific Supplies (without [any] alternative) and the rest in money—a heavy Tax but must [be] Complied with, or inevitable ruin of our affairs must be [the] Consequence. I know who I am writing to, and therefore deliver my Sentiments with freedom And the Situation of our Affairs require it. My Compliments to the president and the rest of your Honble Board, Mr Carroll and the Ladies and am with best Wishes for your health, Dear sir Your most hble Servt,

John Hanson

[P.S.] Sir Since writing the above an Express Arrived this morning from the Southward Confirming the Account of the Enemy having Landed at Portsmouth and that Cornwallis had left Charlotte and was making a rapid March to Camden.³ Our people were hanging on his rear And will no doubt harass him greatly. yrs

J H

RC (MdHi: Carroll Papers).

¹ For Gov. Thomas Jefferson's letter of October 22, 1780, reporting the arrival of the British fleet in Chesapeake Bay which "debarked some light horse in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth," see *JCC*, 18:994; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:58.

² A ways and means committee had been appointed on August 11 to examine the dual problems of a collapsing currency and an alarming failure of the specific supply system. Although it had offered a number of interim reports, the committee addressed the issue directly on October 26 when it proposed that a tax of six million dollars be levied by the states to be paid in specific supplies and monetary contributions, a system that was adopted on November 4. Each state would deliver at a fixed price a specified quantity of flour, beef, pork, salt, or rum on given dates from January 1 to July 15, 1781. The remaining balance was to be paid in gold, silver, or bills of credit issued under the resolution of March 18, 1780, in quarterly installments beginning May 1, 1781. See *JCC*, 17:723, 18:891, 1011-18. The committee submitted a further report on November 8 and the following day Congress adopted the committee's draft of a circular letter to the states encouraging "speedy and punctual compliance," for which see *ibid.*, 18:1033-35, 1038-40, especially 1040n.

³ This information was contained in Thomas Jefferson's letter of October 25 and Horatio Gates' letter of October 16-18, 1780, which were read in Congress on October 31. See *JCC*, 18:997; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:67-68.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Octr. 30th. 1780

Your Favor of the 19 is a pleasing Testimony before my Eyes that you were then well. And I thank you for the kind memorandum in regard to the Health of Mrs. Lovell.

If I at any time send you a surplus Journal you can deliver it to Mr. Avery. I now forward July & Sepr. I suspect you will find one of the former in the Secretary's Office with your name. It is not however a Matter of Importance equal to the Search.

Genl. Green & Baron Steuben are going to the Southward.¹ The Enemy have landed in Virginia and I presume mean to take Post at Portsmouth according to what was long ago mentioned in Campbel's Letter which has been printed but the *Kentucks'-mad* Folks have not been alarmed by that Notification. Govr. Jefferson *writes* with a proper Spirit and Nelson *acts* with the same But the latter is not able to prevent the Invaders from securing such Passes as suit their Views.

I fear we call for too many men to have a proper Army. I think myself Soldier enough to do the Business of this Continent with 25000 well armed, well cloathed and well fed Effectives, much better than with double the Number deficient in those three points. I hope Mass. will rival all the other States in Vigor for the next Campaign. I am persuaded you do not comprehend how much depends upon her. You did not carry home contemptible Ideas enough of the Negro States, or of this great Braggadocio.

My Eyes are better than when I last wrote but alas I have lost my Spectacles and have had 3 laborious writing Days without them to which were added Evenings and Nights, therefore now to Bed.
Affectionately Yours, James Lovell

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

¹ For the appointment of Generals Greene and Steuben to southern commands, see Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene, October 31, 1780.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir

Philadelphia Octr. 30th. 1780

I Received your Excellencys favor of the inst^l a few days ago by Genl. Greene. And am extremely obliged to you for your kind care, & attention respecting my application for Mrs. Mathews's going to Carolina. Permit me at the same time to assure you sir of her most grateful acknowledgmt. for your benevolent intentions towards her. I was surprized the Board of War had not wrote to you about the flag, however the matter seems now to be pretty well fixed.

I am made happy by Congress having at last agreed on the plan for the army, on such a footing as is likely to produce the desired effect. Had they but done this at first, there would have been little doubt of it's success, but there is yet room to hope for important benefits from it, tho' late.

By a letter this day received from the Governor of Virginia, we

learn the enemy have landed at Portsmouth in that state. I suppose a little time will point out their real object. I hope Genl. Greene will not be detained above a day or two longer here.

I am Dear sir, with the most sincere esteem, Yr. Obedt. Servt,
Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ That is, Washington's letter of October 23, 1780, for which see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:248-49.

Samuel Adams to Richard Henry Lee

My dear Sir

Philada Octob 31. 1780

I cannot begin this Letter but by intreating you to impute my past omission to any Cause you please excepting a Forgetfulness or willful Neglect. The making of Apologys is among Friends so formal a Business that I hardly know how to set myself about it. I am sure you will not be prevaild upon to suspect the Cordiality of my Affection for you—that I assure you would be punishing me more than I am conscious I deserve. I will frankly own to you that I am astonished at the Reflection of four Months having elapsd since I last came to this City, without my having written to you one Letter, not even to acknowledge the favor I have receivd from you.¹ But will you my friend bury what may seem to you a Fault in oblivion upon my Promise to amend for the future.

I have more to say to you than my Leisure will at present allow—And indeed The Situation of your Country, I fear is likely to be such as to render the Conveyance of Letters precarious and a free Communication of Sentiments unsafe. Should they fall into the Enemies hands we know not what Use they will make of them—to be sure an ill Use & very probably injurious to our great Coun[try]. I hope the People of Virginia are able to prevent the Troops that may have arrivd from taking a Post there. It will give our Enemies occasion to boast of their having subdued that populous State, in order to give an unfavorable Aspect to our Affairs, in Europe. This, with other important Considerations, should induce you to make every possible Exertion to defeat their Design. I have always thought that the Intelligence containd in a Letter of Colo Campbell intercepted last Spring was genuine.¹ If so, the making a Lodgment at Portsmouth is a material Part of their Plan.

Upon conversing with your Brother Mr Arthur Lee, I am confirmd in my own opinion that his Character is very different from that which his Enemies gave him two years ago. You know I have long corresponded with him, and a Mans confidential Letters are so sure a Criterion by which to judge of his real Disposition, that I before

thought I could not be mistaken. He has shared the Fate of honest Patriots in all Times of Corruption in being persecuted. But I am satisfied the People in the Eastern States entertain an high opinion of his Integrity & Abilities. I hope he will meet with Justice in Congress—I think he merits Applause.

Please to pay my Respects to Mrs Lee—your Brother Colo Frank & others to whom they are due. I will write as often as I can, Adieu & be assured that I am affectionately, your friend.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ That is, Lee's letter to Adams of September 10, 1780, which is in the Adams Papers, NN; and Lee, *Papers* (Ballagh), 2:200–203.

² Perhaps Adams had in mind the intercepted letter from “a Campbel in Britain to his Son a Lieutent. & Adjutant in a British Regiment here” that had circulated among the delegates in April, for which see John Morin Scott to William Floyd and Ezra L’Hommedieu, April 17, and to George Clinton, April 19, 1780.

Abraham Clark to Josiah Hornblower

Sir,¹

Philada. Octr. 31. 1780.

Herewith I enclose a Resolution of the 12th Inst.² granting half pay for Life, as well to Officers reduced as to Others. This Resolution is a kind of Supplement to the Resolution of the 3d directing a Reduction of the Army. On this precipitate, and in my Opinion, injudicious Act of Congress it is un[necessary], perhaps improper for me to make any Comments; it speaks for it self, and in a Language which in New Jersey will be better understood than Relished. The States which had Established halfpay for life to the Officers of their Lines, Aided by N. York who entertains Simular Sentiments forced this measure upon us; A Measure contrary to the Genius & Political ideas of the New England states & New Jersey.

In Opposition to this Resolution it was urged that the measure was unjust, improper & altogether Unnecessary to be forced upon the States who Opposed it, as it was of no Consequence to the United States in what mode any particular state gave Satisfaction and rendered justice to their Officers, provided they kept their Regiments properly Officered, which there could be no doubt would be done where the mode of doing it was left to themselves, whereas a Measure so disgustful would irretate and prevent the exertions so Necessary at this Time; but no reasons could prevail upon Men fixed & determined. What is now to be done? Will, or Will not our Legislature Remonstrate against this procedure, and insist upon an exemption. If they mean not to sit down easy and quiet under this Act, the sooner they explain themselves upon the Subject the better, as I believe no reductions have yet been made in the Army.

As some persons are of opinion it would be of general Utility for Congress to repeal that part of the Resolution of the 18th of March which Admits of receiving one Dollar of the New emission in Lieu of 40 of the old; it may be proper for the Legislature to instruct their Delegates upon the Subject in case they think the measure Adviseable. This hath not been moved in Congress nor do I know that it will. I do not in this wish to call off your Attention from more important matters unless you think this a matter of Consequence. The Subject I have not Considered maturely since the New emission is passing where issued at a depreciation of near one half: owing as is Supposed to fixing the same at one for forty of the old emission. The expectation of Congress in that Act was, that the New bills would fix the Value of the old, but we find the Value of the new is fixed and Varies with the old. As the Laws of our State are Conformable to the Resolutions of Congress your Delegates cannot consent to any Alteration without your direction, should the same be moved and become ever so Necessary Under the present Change of Circumstances. This tie makes any consideration of the Subject unnecessary in your Delegates without your particular Orders for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, Sir, With all proper regard, Your Obedt.
Humble Servt.,
Abra. Clark.

RC (Nj: State Papers).

¹ Josiah Hornblower (1729–1809) was speaker of the New Jersey Assembly. An engineer and manager of copper mines in New Jersey, he became politically active after 1776, serving on various revolutionary committees and in the state legislature to 1784, before his election to a congressional term in 1785–86 and appointment as judge of the Essex County court of common pleas in 1790. *DAB*.

² Actually Congress' resolution of October 21, for which see Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 3.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Octr. 31st. 1780

I do my self the honour to inclose to your Excellency the Act of Congress mentioned in my last with the yeas and nays.¹

The president of Congress will soon present to you a resolution recommending to the Several states to levy their proportion of Six Million of Silver dollars about Four Million and a half to be paid in Flower, Beaf, pork, Rum and Salt in certain Quotas at fixed prices and the remainder in silver & gold or the Bills emitted in persuance of the resolutions of the 18th of March last.²

I am not able at present to inform your Excellency when the states Quota of the said New bills will be ready to go forward. You may rest asured nothing on my part shall be wanting for their dispatch as I apprehend they will be wanted for the payment of Taxes.

John [*i.e.* Charles] Earl Cornwallis (we are informd by an express that arived last evening from Genl. Gates,³ hath retreated in great hast from Sharlott to Camden. North Carolina is once more clear of British Troops. We have also official accounts that the Enemy have landed a considerable force in Virginia near Portsmouth, their exact force is not yet asertained. They consist of a sea and land force both Horse & foot. General Greene is now in this City on his way to the Southard to take upon the Command of the Army in that Quarter. He intends to leave this place to morrow.

I could wish you would send me an exact return of all the provisions furnished by the state on Continental Account since the mode of furnishing states supplies was adopted.

Mr. Rivington saith in his paper that some of their brave fellows have taken our post with his mail and carried both to N. York. If this is true they must have taken a letter to your Excellency dated either the 10th or 17th of which I expect to be informed as I suppose they will publish it.⁴ Either of letters contain some particulars I should by no means have wrote to the Enemy. Yet conscious of the rectitude of my Conduct I flatter my self my Carrector will not suffer. And I am sure they will not be much benefited. All this is upon a supposition they publish the truth.

I have the honour to be your Excellencys most obedt Hum Servant,
Ezek Cornell

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ Cornell's enclosure actually consisted of "the yeas and nays" on a motion to amend a committee report on half pay "for life" for Continental officers debated on October 20, not the "Act of Congress" on the subject adopted the following day. Cf. *JCC*, 18:956-57 and 959-61. For a discussion of the meaning of this discrepancy, see Cornell to Greene, October 24, 1780, note 3. The enclosed "Extract from the Minutes," in Cornell's hand and certified by deputy secretary George Bond, is in Letters to Governors, R-Ar.

² See John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2.

³ See *ibid.*, note 3.

⁴ For the intercepted letter at issue, see the document note at Cornell to Greene, October 10, 1780.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Octo 31st 1780

I received your two letters one by the post and the other by Express, with their inclosures, the money I have not Counted but Suppose it to be right. As the Exchange is rising Shall pay it Away immediately (I expect at 75) tho' your Carriage is not quite finished it is in the hands of the painter—will find you out a Couple of Horses If I Can, And let you know the price before I agree for them.

The Enemy have been lately reinforced at new york with about 800 Germans, and about 1200 British Troops. This may enable them to Send Some more men to the southward, many they Cant Spare from New York, and their other posts. Last night an Express Arrived from the Southward Confirming the Account we before had of the Enemys landing at Portsmouth and advising that Cornwallis had left Charlotte, and was making a rapid retreat to Camden.¹ Our people were hanging on his rear, And it is thought would be very troublesome to him.

I have the honor to be with the highest Esteem and regard, Dear
sir your Excellencys most hble Servt, John Hanson

[P.S.] Some Cash would be *very* Acceptable. General Green is now in Town on his way to take the Command of the Southern Army. He will leave this place in a day or two. Baron Stuben is also to Join the Southern Army As is Major Lees Corps of Light horse.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ See John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 3.

This intelligence was also reported in the following brief note of this date by James Lovell to [Elbridge Gerry?]. "Cornwallis is retreating in some Confusion as appears by his leaving the Camp Kettles on the Fire and 5 Loaded Waggons 5 miles on his Road from Camden. We have this in Letters from Gen. Gates. Tuesday, 31 Octr." Gerry-Townsend Papers, NN.

Samuel Huntington to Certain States

Sir, Philada October 31. 1780
By the Act of Congress of the 30 Instant herewith enclosed, your Excellency will observe, that Major General Greene is appointed to take the Command in the southern Department; and you will receive the necessary Information of the Powers & Instructions given to him by Congress; and that it earnestly recommended to the Legislatures & Executives of the several States from the Delaware State to Georgia inclusive to afford him all necessary Aid & Assistance.¹
I have the Honor to be &c &c &c, S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To the Supreme Executive Powers from Delaware to Georgia inclusive."

¹ See JCC, 18:994-96.

² To his letter to Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson, Huntington added a postscript acknowledging the receipt of letters from Jefferson of October 10, 15, 22, and 25. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:85.

Samuel Huntington to Horatio Gates

Sir, Philadelphia October 31. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, an Act of Congress of the 30 Instant, by which you will be informed that they have approved of the Appointment of Major Genl. Greene to the Command of the Southern Army, and of the Powers & Instructions they have given him during the Time he shall retain that Command.

Your Letters of the 16 & 18 Instant¹ with the Despatches enclosed have been received, as also Copies of several of your Despatches thro' Governor Jefferson, the Defeat of the Col. Ferguson with his Party, and the Retreat of Ld. Cornwallis with the other agreeable Intelligence you have communicated are important Events, which I hope may be attended with still greater Success.

I am, Sir, with much Esteem & Respect, your most obedient & most humble servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (NHi: Gates Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Actually a single letter of October 16, with a postscript of the 18th. See *JCC*, 18:997; and *PCC*, item 154, 2:299-314.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia October 31. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30 Instant, by which you will be informed that your Appointment to the Command of the southern Army meets with their Approbation; and that Major General the Baron de Steuben is directed to repair to that Department under your Command.¹

That the Army for that Department will consist of all the regular Regiments & Corps raised or to be raised from the States of Delaware to Georgia inclusive until the farther Orders of Congress or the Commander in Chief.

That all the Powers given to Genl. Gates while in that Command are now vested in you, and that the Acts of Congress during that Period be considered as Instructions to you in that Department.

You Sir are also authorized to organize & employ the Army under your Command in the Manner you shall judge most proper, subject to the Controul of the Commander in Chief; and it is earnestly recommended to the Legislatures and Executives respectively in that Department to afford you every necessary Assistance & Support, and you are authorized to call for the same.

The Heads of the several Staff Departments are directed to furnish

to your Orders such Articles as cannot be obtained in the Southern Department.²

You will also observe that you are empowered to cooperate with our Ally or his Catholic Majesty if Occasion shall offer in your Department in such Manner as may appear most effectual.

To prevent all Doubts on the Subject of exchanging Prisoners you are expressly authorized to negotiate from Time to Time an Exchange of Prisoners with the Commanding Officer of the British Army in that Department, provided such Exchanges be not contrary to any general Directions of Congress or the Commander in Chief.

The necessary Information on this Subject will be forthwith communicated to the Supreme Executive in the respective States in the Southern Department.

Be assured Sir my best Wishes accompany you, that your Command may be attended with desired Success, to the Satisfaction of your Country and your personal Honor.

I am Sir, with sincere Esteem & respect, your most obedient & most humble servant, Sam. Huntington President³

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See JCC, 18:994-96. Huntington also sent a copy of this "Act" with a letter of this date to baron Steuben, which is in the Steuben Papers, NHi.

² Huntington also sent a copy of the enclosed October 30 "Act" to Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering on November 2, directing his attention to this particular feature of Greene's instructions. PCC, item 15, fol. 151.

³ Huntington also sent Greene another letter on November 2, enclosing a copy of Congress' October 21 resolutions "respecting the Arrangement of the Army," for which see Huntington to Washington, October 26, 1780. Greene Papers, MiU-C.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Octr. 31. 1780

Your favor of the 23 came to hand yesterday.¹ We received notice of the invasion of Virga. yesterday morning and more fully last evening. I am sensible of the great difficulties you will have to contend with and that no practicable exertions can save the State from much injury whilst the Enemy have a total command of the Bay & rivers. The meeting of the Legislature at this juncture is fortunate. They will certainly arm the Executive with all the authorities requisite to call forth the military resources of the Country. This could be necessary at any time, but the emptiness of the Treasury makes it peculiarly so in the present moment.

Congress have felt a becoming resentment of the barbarous treatment of the gentlemen in captivity at Charlestown, and have directed General Washington to require of Clinton an explanation

of the matter. Nothing has yet been done in consequence of it except an application to Clinton, which as he had at that time not been officially informed of the fact, he evaded by general assurances of the humanity &c. of Cornwallis. Gen Washington had very luckily between the application & the answer received two of the Earl's bloody proclamations which he very handsomely communicated to Sr. Harry.²

The motions of our Allies are no less mysterious here than they appear to you. We have however experienced so many proofs of their wisdom & goodness towards us, that we ought not on slight grounds to abate our faith in them. For my own part I have as yet great confidence in both.

I recollect nothing to be added to the inclosed paper, except the arrival of about 2000 German & British recruits at N. York. The Cork fleet is not yet arrived and the delay begins to make them very uneasy in that place. Genl Green is appointed to command in the S. Dept. during the enquiry into Gel Gate's Conduct. He is now here on his way. Baron Stuben will accompany him. With sincere regards,

I am Dr Sr. Yr. Obt friend & Servt.

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:157.

¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

² On September 23 Congress had directed Washington to inquire of Sir Henry Clinton whether "respectable citizens of South Carolina" captured at Charleston had been "seized and confined on board a ship of war." See Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene, September 24, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia November 1. 1780

Your Excellency will be informed by the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30 Ulto, that they approve of the Appointment of Major General Greene to the Command of the Southern Army, and have adopted your Opinion in ordering Major General the Baron de Steuben to that Department.¹

Your Excellency will also note the Powers and Directions given to Major General Greene, and the several State's Troops that are to compose the Army under his Command.

You will see by the enclosed Paper,² the Enemy have landed in Virginia—that Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte the 12 Ulto, and the Success of Col. Clarke against Augusta is confirmed. These Facts are not to be doubted, altho' we have not the Particulars with Exactness.

Your several Despatches of the 21, 22, & 29, Ultio have been received & laid before Congress.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest regard, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Nathanael Greene, October 31, 1780.

² The intelligence related in this paragraph appeared in the November 1 issues of both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal*.

³ *JCC*, 18:982, 999. These letters are in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:230-32, 244-45, 263-64; those of October 22 and 29 are in *PCC*, item 152, 9:323-26, 333-35.

Benjamin Huntington to Oliver Ellsworth

Sir

Philadelphia Novr 2d 1780

Inclosed is Yesterday's Paper by which you will see all the News we have at Present.

Congress have Resolved to Recommend to the States to Tax to the Value of Six Million Dollars in hard Money to be Collected Partly in Specific Supplies and the Remainder in Cash of the Emissions Pursuant to the Resolves of the 18th of March, but as the Whole Report is not finished I have no Right to say what the Remainder will be. It is the Order of this Day. I Expect it will be the Proportion of the Several Articlcs to be Raised in Several States.¹

I Wrote you by the Post of the 17th of Octor² which I fear has not Come to hand as I hear the Mail of that Day was taken.

I am sir your Most Huml Servt, Benj Huntington

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

¹ See John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2.

² Not found.

Samuel Huntington to John Rutledge

Sir,

Philada November 2, 1780

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Copies of two Acts of Congress of the 10 of October & 6 of September last, respecting the unappropriated Lands, with several other Papers to which the latter refers, together with a Proclamation for a Day of Thanksgiving & Prayer.¹

I have thought it proper to forward these Proceedings of Congress for your Excellency's Information, being general Acts, altho' the present Circumstances of South Carolina may prevent for a Time

the Carrying into Execution of those Acts that relate to the unappropriated Lands.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For his transmission of the enclosed resolves to the states other than South Carolina, see Huntington's circular letters to the states of October 16 and 20, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Philada November 2. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 25 Ulto, recommending to the respective States, to exert their utmost Endeavors to furnish their Troops with Cloathing on the Terms formerly mentioned.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Congress resorted to this emergency appeal to the states after discovering that several promising ventures for importing clothing and blankets for the army were about to end in disappointment. This fact had finally become clear as a result of the debate over the report on ways and means concluded on October 25, and led to the adoption of a number of expedients for meeting the crisis involving the Board of Admiralty, Board of War, and Committee of Commerce as well as this appeal to the states. See *JCC*, 18:914, 918, 962, 966, 973-78.

For a discussion of Congress' realization that the "Cloathing & Military Stores Purchased in France by Dr. Franklin" would not be delivered in time to relieve the immediate distress of the army, see Benjamin Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, November 4, 1780.

James Lovell to Nathaniel Peabody

Dr Sir

Nov. 3. 1780

I was not able to acknowledge by the last Post the Receipt of your Letter of Octr. 27th.¹ I was put upon a deciphering Business respecting some of the intercepted Letters of Cornwallis;² and I bogued at it till the Last Rider was gone. J.L.³ being a Cornet and Adjutant in Lee's Corps will be here so that I may see him as well as you shortly.

I do not see how I can remain here to be paid 1/2 dollar per day at 40 for one when 2 dollars was pd. in 1776 at par and I lend here at 75 for 1 as I did in the Case of 3 half Joes which you know Mr. Clymer lent me for which I paid 1800.

You promised to tell me what Course you meant to take from Morris Town—whether Easterly or southwesterly.

Baron Steuben is to go southward, consequently that *untouched*

Treasure will remain in Status quo another Season. I can give you Amusement for Amusement whenever we meet to make a regular Exchange of Anecdotes.

Matters in the southern Department wear a more pleasing Countenance than some time ago. Cornwallis retreats rapidly and I think will get his wings cropped, before he reaches Camden.

Yours as ever,

J L⁴

[P.S.] I send a Journal for Sep.

RC (NhHi: Peabody Papers).

¹ Not found.

² Lovell was probably working on Cornwallis' October 7 cipher letters to James Wemyss and Nisbet Balfour, which are in PCC, item 51, 1:527-35.

³ That is, Lovell's son, James.

⁴ The delegates of South Carolina also wrote the following letter this day, probably to the newly appointed commander of the southern department, Nathanael Greene, concerning prospects for the exchange of a prisoner from their state.

"We beg leave to introduce to You the bearer of this, Captain Le backer of the 1st South Carolina Continental Regiment. Should You esteem his exchange practicable, & should it not interfere, in your opinion, with the right of others in captivity to a previous exchange, we can safely recommend him as an officer of merit, & as one who may render service." Seige of Yorktown Collection, NNPM.

The letter was written by Francis Kinloch, and signed by Kinloch, Thomas Bee, John Mathews, and Isaac Motte. No further information on the fate of Captain Le backer has come to light.

Benjamin Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia Novr 4th 1780

I Understand the President has not Informed your Excy. of the Reasons why our Cloathing & Military Stores Purchased in France by Dr Franklin are not Imported which is truely a Heavy Disappointment to Congress and Obliges them to Recommend to the States to Provide Cloathing for their Troops the Ensuing Season the Necessity of which is Obvious.¹

I think it my Duty to acquaint your Excellency that those Necessary Articles were Purchased In Good Time by Dr. Franklin and Ordered to be Shiped on Board the Alliance, That forty Cannon, Sixty seven Chests of Arms and two Hundred Barrels of Powder of about Ninty Eight Tons Weight in the Whole were Shiped. (The Cannon I Suppose for Ballast or at Least ought to be) And by means of Disputes and Animosities Subsisting between Capt J. Paul Jones & Capt Landais and Some other Gentlemen whose Duty it was to Promote the Service, Dr. Franklins Express Orders for Shipping the Cloathing was Disobeyed and the Importation wholly Prevented. This is a sumary Conclusion from the Facts that appear from Letters and

Testimony now in the Admiralty Office but not in the hand of the President of Congress.

Your Excy will Please to Consider this as a Private Letter or to be Communicated as shall be thought Prudent.

The Inclosed is the News of the Day. The Account of the Landing of French Troops at Louiburg as mentioned in the Paper is by no Means Authentic. I wish it, and the Evacuation of Virginia by the Enemy may both Prove True. I am with the greatest Respect yr Excys
Most Obedt Huml Servt, Benj Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ For President Huntington's brief announcement of the army's need for clothing, see Samuel Huntington to the States, November 2, 1780.

For Benjamin Franklin's August 10 letter explaining why the supplies had not been shipped in the *Alliance*, and what supplies could be expected in the *Ariel*, see Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:25-26. The *Ariel's* delayed arrival is discussed in James Madison to Joseph Jones, December 12, 1780.

Artemas Ward to Jeduthan Baldwin

Philadelphia Novr. 4. 1780

Agreeably to your desire I have laid the Subject matter of your Letter of the eleventh of Octor. last before Congress; and now have the pleasure of inclosing their determination thereon,¹ which I hope will be to your satisfaction. It is a pleasure to me to render service to my fellow men in the Army² notwithstanding the insinuations that are thrown out against me I have ever been and ever shall be ready to afford every reasonable aid in my power to those that desire the same so far as is consistant with the rules of Justice and equity.

I am Sir with Sentiments of Respect & Esteem, Your Obedient Humble, Servant.

FC (MHi: Artemas Ward Papers). In the hand of Artemas Ward. Addressed: "Jeduthan Baldwin, Colonel of Engineers in Camp."

¹ In his October 11 letter to Ward, Baldwin had explained that since 1776 he had held an appointment as colonel of engineers and as an "extra" assignment had commanded "all the Artificers in the QMG department." The paymaster, however, had recently sought to reduce his pay and benefits from a colonel of engineers to a lieutenant colonel commanding a regiment of artificers. On November 3 Congress adopted the Board of War's recommendation that Col. Jeduthan Baldwin should "continue to receive the pay of colonel of engineers." See PCC, item 78, 4:21-23; and JCC, 18:964, 1005.

² At this point Ward inserted "not excepting" above the line, but he did not line out the following word.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

[November 5, 1780]¹

The great depreciation of money and the extravagant prices of every thing here together with the difficulty of negotiating Bills renders it absolutely necessary that some stable provision should be made, & some fixed mode adopted for supplying us with money, other wise we shall not be able to exist, we should be glad to be informed on this head as soon as possible.²

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:160.

¹ The endorsement on this brief extract, probably written by Jefferson's clerk, indicates that it was prepared from a November 5 letter from the Virginia delegates that has since been lost. The original may have been written by Theodorick Bland whose financial distress in Philadelphia was apparently more acute than that of his fellow delegates—James Madison and John Walker—and whom Jefferson specifically mentioned in submitting this extract to the Virginia House of Delegates. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:121.

² From his November 10 letter to James Madison it is clear that Joseph Jones had been striving "to forward money to the Delegates" since he had returned to Virginia in September, but found he "could not effect it." Indeed, the House of Delegates approved the accounts submitted by the delegates, but failed in its fall session to increase their compensation, leading Bland to complain to Gov. Jefferson the following June that "My Finances are as well as my Credit entirely exhausted." See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:96n.4, 160n.1, 170n.10, 289n.8; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 6:73.

George Plater to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 6th 1780.

I am honor'd by your Favor of the 3d for which be pleased to accept my Acknowledgments. We have various flying Reports of fortunate Events having taken Place in the South, & waited impatiently the Arrival of this Days Post, expecting it to bring Confirmation; but we are as yet without it, notwithstanding some have come in a pretty direct Line. A Letter of short Date from Mr. Curson in St Eustatia mentions a Disposition in the Dutch to War,¹ that they have fifty Sail of Ships, & that the Admiral in that Iland pays great Regard to the American Flag by regularly returning every Salute. A Paragraph in a late N York Paper, complaining of the Perfidy of some Powers which (as they think), ought to be more attached to Britain, seems to give Strength to the above Observation. I am much obliged by your Attention to our Wants, & as you say you shortly expect a considerable Sum, I will take the Liberty to draw. Mrs. Plater begs to be presented to your Lady, & I entreat you to believe

that I am with the highest Respect, yr Excellency's most obt. &
obliged hble Servt, Geo Plater

RC (MdHi: Revolutionary Collection).

¹ There is no letter in PCC of "short Date" from Samuel Curson, the Continental agent in St. Eustatia, relating to "a Disposition in the Dutch to War," but for the drift of the United Provinces into direct conflict with Great Britain during the fall of 1780, see Friedrich Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), pp. 148-73; and Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, *The Dutch Republic and American Independence*, trans. by H. H. Rowen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 146-57.

William Sharpe to Matthew Locke

6th Novr. 1780

Specific supplies for the southern Army. Quota of North Carolina.

To furnish against the first of January next.¹

3000 Barrels of Beef

7000 Do. pork²

2000 Do. Flour

4000 Gal. Rum or other Spirits equivalent

To furnish on or before the first of March

1000 Barrels of Flour

2000 Gal. Rum

Against the first of May

2000 Barrels of Flour

4000 Gal. Rum

Against the 15th July

1000 Barrels of Flour

11,000 Gal. Rum

991 Bushels Salt

10,000 C. Weight of Beef to be delivered to the order of the
Commissary Genl.

NB: an accurate account ought to be kept of all the Beeves, Hogs,
Sheep &c taken either from Whig or Tory or at least the number
of rations supplied by our State—which will all stand part of Our
quota & be charged to the Continent. Wm. Sharpe

RC (PRO: Cornwallis Papers, P.R.O. 30/11/43). Addressed: "Matthew Locke Esquire."

¹ Matthew Locke is identified in these *Letters*, 8:648n.1. If there was a covering letter enclosing this list of enumerated items requested of North Carolina under the resolve of November 4 (for which see John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2), it has not been found.

² Listed as "5000 barrels of pork" in the journals. *JCC*, 18:1016.

Samuel Adams to Samuel Cooper

My dear Sir

Philada Novr 7 1780

Your favor of the 21st of Septr^l was deliverd to me by my very worthy Friend Arthur Lee who came to this City about a Fortnight ago. The Respect which you say was paid to him by the principal Gentlemen in Boston is exceedingly pleasing to me, because, from an intimate & confidential Correspondence with him for ten years, I am convincd that he was among the most early and consistent American Patriots. His inflexible Virtue in the first Stages of our Contest renderd him obnoxious to the great & powerful in England, and equally of late to interested Persons in France & their Connexions in America. My Friendship for him is not private; it is groundd altogether on publick Principles. You tell me, his short Residence in the State of Massachusetts, has been very far from diminishing that Estimation in which the People held him there. I should have been indeed sorry if it had been otherwise; for his great Services to *them* in particular, had justly merited their Esteem. I rejoyce that *my own* Countrymen are not ungrateful. I hope they will always be too knowing and too just, either to pay servile Hommage to the weak and wicked, or to withhold the Marks of their Approbation due to the wise and good.

You have doubtless before this time been informd that Congress have called on the States to take immediate and effectual Measures to fill up the Army with their respective Quotas during the War. They have since orderd a Tax to the Value of Six Millions of Dollars in Specie, to be paid partly in specifick Articles for the Supply of the Army, and the Remainder in Gold & Silver or Bills of the new Emission.

Their Design is to have a permanent Army, and to provide adequate Magazines for its Subsistence without Delay. We have often a Choice of Difficulties presented to us. I think, upon the whole, we have in this Instance fixed upon the best Method. At least it appears to me to be the surest, considering all our Circumstances. And I am the more satisfied, because I understand that our Legislature have anticipated the Measure and already begun to assign the Towns for their respective Proportions of the specifick Articles. Had our Money been stable we might have contracted for the Supply of our Army; but the Paper, as all the World knows, is depreciated, for which we are in part obligd to our Enemies who are dexterous in counterfeiting.

Our Affairs in N Carolina wear a more agreeable Aspect than they did a few Weeks ago. The Enemy, you have heard, are got into Chessapeak Bay. It is said they are landed at Portsmouth & Hampton & that they burn all before them. It is also said that the Militia

turned out with great Spirit, but we have had no official Letters by the last post.

Although we are pressd with Difficulties, we are in chearful Spirits and by the Blessing of Heaven expect to overcome them.

Adieu my dear Sir, and beleive me to be affectionately, Your Friend,
S A

[P.S.] Be pleasd to acquaint Mrs A that I am in good Health.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ Cooper's September 21 letter is in the Adams Papers, NN.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir

Philadelphia Nov 7th 1780

I am favoured with your by the post, with its inclosure. Am glad to hear of the Sudden departure of the English fleet and Armament from our Bay. If this is true, it is probable the report of the french having landed in Georgia,¹ Will Soon be Confirmed. An Event which would Effectually recover the Southern States. The affair of Augusta and Cornwallis's rapid retreat from Charlotte, may be relied on. Have inclosed you a paper and have not more to add at present only to assure you that I am with great sincerety, Dear sir Your Excellencys most hble Sert,
John Hanson²

RC (CSmH: HM39002).

¹ This proved to be a false report.

² This day Hanson sent a nearly identical copy of this letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, adding only his encouragement that Carroll attend the Maryland assembly and requesting copies of the *Maryland Gazette*. Carroll Papers, MdHi.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Novr. 7th. 1780

Your favor of the 30 of last month came by yesterdays post, and explained a report which had amused us here for several days. It was said that some movements of the French to the Southward, had alarmed the enemy to such a degree that they had suddenly re-embarked their troops and were leaving Virginia. The re-embarkation of the detachment which had taken possession of Hampton and its vicinity was no doubt the foundation of it.¹ Our curiosity is at present almost wholly directed to the Southward and I am happy in having so intelligent and punctual a correspondent so near the principal scene of military operations.

There is I believe no doubt of an intended Congress at the Hague not of Ministers from the Belligerents but neutral powers under the auspices of Russia; and as the avowed object of it is to establish the liberty of the Seas which G. B. has so little respected, and is highly approved by France & Spain as well as all the neutral Maritime powers, it must necessarily prove unfavorable to G. B. and consequently friendly to our views. Congress have thought it advisable to testify their approbation of the liberal principles held out by Russia as the basis of the proposed negotiation, and have accordingly by a public Act adopted them so far as to direct the Board of Admiralty to prepare instructions for their Armed Vessels conformable to them.²

Doct. Lee and Mr. Izzard particularly the latter have been here some time, and I believe are not very reserved in their reflections on the venerable Philosopher at the Court of Versailles. Mr. Izzard I understand is particularly open in his charges against him. Doctr. Lee on his arrival applied to Congress for a hearing on the subject of Mr. Deanes allegations, if any doubt remained of the falsehood [and] malice of them, but nothing final has been done as yet in Consequence of it.³ I have had great anxiety lest the flame of faction which on a former occasion proved so injurious should be kindled anew, but as far as I can judge the temper of Congress is in general by no means prone to it, although there may be individuals on both sides who would both wish & endeavour it. Not a word has been heard of the Saratoga's prizes. A partial exchange of Prisoners we hear is agreed on, but have no official account of it.⁴ Genls. Lincoln, Thomson, & du portail it is said are included in it, having been set against Philips & Reidezel. I have but few inferior officers named, except Col. Laurens.

A gentleman in Statia writes to the Commercial Committee of Octr. 3d that a Dutch war is seriously talked of at that place,⁵ that the Dutch are certainly preparing a formidable marine, and that open protection & respect is now given to American Vessels in the same manner as to those of other Independent Nations. If this fact be truly represented, and it is mentioned with strong circumstances of credibility, it is probably one of the fruits of the neutral combinations set on foot by Russia.

Congress have just finished an estimate of supplies for the ensuing year requiring of the States the value of 6 Millions of Drs. in specie. The principal part of the requisition consists of specific articles, the residue specie or the new emissions, receivable as specie.⁶ If the States fulfill this plan punctually there is no doubt that we can go smoothly through another Campaign and if they would forbear recurring to State emissions & certificates, in procuring the supplies, it may become a permanent & effectual mode of carrying on the war. But past experience will not permit our expectations to be very sanguine. The collection & transportation of specific supplies must necessarily

be tedious & subject to casualties, & the proceedings of 13 separate popular bodies, must add greatly to the uncertainty & delay. The expence attending the mode is of itself a sufficient objection to it, if money could by any possible device be provided in due quantity. The want of this article is the source of all our public difficulties & misfortunes. One or two million of guineas properly applied would diffuse vigor and satisfaction throughout the whole military departments and would expel the enemy from every part of the United States. It would also have another good effect. It would reconcile the army & every body else to our republican forms of Governments; The principal inconveniences which are imputed to these being really the fruit of defective revenues. What other States effect by money, we are obliged to pursue by dilatory & undigested expedients, which benumb all our operations and expose our troops to numberless distresses. If these were well paid, well fed, and well cloathed, they would be well satisfied and would fight with more success. And this might & would be as well effected by our Governments as by any other if they possessed money enough as in our moneyless situation the same embarrassments would have been experienced by every government *<not excepting the most absolute.>*

With very sincere regard I am Dr Sr. Yrs &ca.

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:165-66.

¹ For Pendleton's October 30 letter reporting that Gen. Alexander Leslie's forces had "re-imbarked from Hampton," see *ibid.*, pp. 154-56.

² For this "public Act" of October 5 supporting the maritime rights of neutral nations and the "instructions" for the commanders of American armed vessels, see Samuel Huntington to the marquis de Barbé-Marbois, October 7, 1780.

³ See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 24, note 6; and Samuel Huntington to Arthur Lee, December 4, 1780.

⁴ For the instructions to Washington for negotiating a prisoner exchange that were adopted later this day, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.

⁵ See George Plater to Thomas Sim Lee, November 6, 1780, note.

⁶ See John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2.

John Sullivan's Committee Notes

[November 7-23? 1780]¹

Proposition by Mr. Mathews That Congress Immediately Call upon the Inhabitants of these States for all the Coined Silver & Gold all the plate they can possibly Spare to be Lent to the united States on Security with Interest. Agreed.

Agreed That a Resolution be Draughted for Calling in the old Bills & Supporting the Credit of the New. See The resolution by Mr Clark & Colo Bland on File.

Proposition by Mr Sullivan for Draughting an address to the People to Induce them to Lend their Coin & Bullion & also an address to the respective Legeslatures requesting them to Encorage the Loan. Agreed.

<Proposition by Mr Clark that the address be to the Legislatures of the States & the Supply reced through them. Agreed.>

Proposition by Colo Bland that the Several Legislatures be Directed to call in their State Emissions & not Issue any more Bills of Credit but by advice of Congress. Agreed.

Question, by Mr. Sullivan whether is the money if obtained to be Deposited in the General Treasury or in a Bank. Agreed to a Bank.

Proposition by Mr. Sullivan, That The Manager of the Bank or Strike & Sign a number of notes from a hundred pounds to an Eighth of a Dollar, a Quarter of which to be payable in one year, one Qr in two years another in 3 years & The Last Quarter in 4 years on Interest of Six per Cent Without Date. That the State Treasurers be Authorized To receive Coin & Bullion & Date & give out notes in Exchange.

Agreed, That Congress recommend to the Several States to pass Laws Enabling them to Lay Imposts on Importations for raising a revenue to Defray the Expençe of the war & for paying the Debts of the united & States & to take Every possible measure for Encouraging Exportation.

That the State of Maryland be Called upon immediately to Accede to the Confederation and in Case of Neglect to Call upon the other twelve States to Confederate.

That the States be called upon Respectively to pass Laws Establishing Funds for Redemption of the Bills Emittē by virtue of the resolution of the 18th of March Last & also for Authorizing Congress to Lay Embargoes in time of War.

That a manager of the Bank be appointed by Congress.

That the Bank be Regulated in the following manner.²

Agreed, That some Mode must be adopted to establish the Credit of Congress.

Agreed, by messrs Bland, Clark & Sullivan that this can only be done by calling in Buillion.

Said by Mr Matlock, this is not the only way; a Tax founded on Established Faith, will answer the same Purpose.

Questions

How can Bullion be called in and in what time?

How can a Tax founded on established Faith be made & Collected and in what time?

Mr Bland

Proposes a Bank (or rather Several different Banks under the same Regulations)

That Subscriptions be immediately opened in the United States and a Letter Draughted addressed to the feelings of the People requesting them to bring in their Silver, gold and Copper coined & uncoined for establishing a Bank for Supporting the Credit of paper notes to be Issued thereon in the following Manner viz

Every man who will bring in ninety five Dollars shall be credited on the Books one hundred and Shall be entitled to receive an Interest of six per Cent in half yearly Payments which stock shall be Transferrable by Power or Letter of attorney.

That notes shall be issued from the Bank for nine tenths of the money received payable in 7 years without Interest to pass as a Circulating medium. The remaining Tenth is to be reserved for Drawing and redrawing.

That all the Plate shall be coined into pieces of particular Sorts as well as the Copper and the whole Deposited in the Bank as a Security for redemption of the Bills at the Days of payment.

That an annual Tax in Specie shall be Collected, Deposited in the Bank & appropriated as a sinking fund for paying the Interest due on Stocks received & for redemption of the notes issued.

That when the sum accumulated by Tax amounts to a certain given part of the sum in Stock (Say one half) notes are to be Exchanged for Specie at the Bank.

Questions by Mr. Matlack

If the money is to be Deposited in Bank & nine tenths of it only to be represented by paper notes where is the advantage of keeping your money in Bank and representing it with paper?

Answer³

Question. If your Notes are Truly to represent Coin and to pass as such why shall the man who holds a note payable in 7 years & for which he has paid a valuable Consideration receive no Interest while he who Deposits money in the Bank draws an Interest of six per Cent—besides a Douceur—and will not tend to Depreciate the notes and Inhance the Prices of Articles?³

Question. Will not the publick Suffer a Loss by the coining of plate?³

Mr. Matlack

In order to Show the Improbability of our Deriving any advantages from a Bank Consider the origin of Banks: he Says they originated among Gold Smiths whose real property, Respectable Characters added to their being in the visible Possession of Large Quantities of the precious Metals gave them an unlimited Credit.

He therefore Concludes that a Bank must be founded on a Credit already Established and Cannot in its nature be the means for Establishing a Credit in the first Instance—or for Restoring a Lost Confidence.

He Says that Congress have Lost their Credit & the first Steps must be to Re-establish it which if Done will answer Every purpose & Even make paper Bills answer us Every purpose of Gold & Silver. To prove which he mentions an Emission of paper in Pensylvania Issued by an assembly in whom the People had the most unlimited Confidence founded on Land Security which passed as Specie though it Drew an Interest of Six per Cent for the use of the State.

He allows that Congress have not Either this Confidence or the property to Pledge for redemption of their Bills.

Therefore recommends an immediate ratification of the association with an Additional Clause oblidging the States to pass Laws for funding the Bills Emitted by Congress not to be repealed But by Consent or Direction of Congress, to this Mr Bland agrees.

He then Shows that in young Countries where the Increasing wealth appears by additional Cultivation only must have a Ballance against them which will Draw off their Specie to other & older nations with whom they have Commercial Connections whose wealth cannot appe[a]r by additional Culture of Lands but by Specie in possession.

To Turn this Ballance of Trade in our favor he Deems Essential & proposes Every Encouragement to Exportation & Large Duties on the importation of all the Luxuries of Life. He also Recommends Sumptuary Laws but allows them to be attended with many Difficulties in the Execution.

Mr Matthews agrees with Mr Matlack on the Necessity of Sumptuary Laws.

Mr Clark agrees with Mr Matlack on the addition to the Confederation & proposes that Congress Shall in addition have the Absolute Controul of all the Ports in America.

Mr Sullivan

Suppose that the obstruction of our Commerce by the war has not only prevented our paying in Specie The Debt due from America to Britain but has Layd us under a necessity of relying more on the manufactures of our own Country & prevented in great measure the Consumption of those Luxuries with which we once abounded, & for which Large Sums of money were drawn from this Continent.

That the obstructions of the Custom House Channel which Drew immense Treasures from America & the variety of Channels opened by the French & British Army for Supplying the Farmers & others with Specie must prove that there is a much greater Quantity of the precious metals in America than at the Commencement of the War: That the reason why this Specie does not appear is because the Introduction of a fluctuating paper Currency Daily Deprec[i]ating in value operated as a prohibition To The holders of Specie to Throw it into Circulation Especially as Tender Acts were attempted in almost Every state & proved exceedingly injurious to those who had ventured

their hard money into Circulation. But Should he be mistaken in this Conjecture he says it will not be denied that The Coin and Plate in America will amount to a Large Sum in value & that this if procured will be of great advantage to these States—provided Specie can be introduced as an auxiliary to the Bills Emittted on the 18th of March without proving injurious or Destructive to them.

He therefore proposes the following Plan, viz.

That an address be sent to the Several states to be communicated to the People informing them of the true state of our Finances and the situation of our Publick affairs & requesting them to Furnish to the Publick Treasury Through the Treasurers of the respective states all Coined Silver & gold & all Plate which they can possibly be induced to part with and with this requisition to Send the plan for repayment that they may be assured of payment in Specie with the Annual Interest.

He Says that as the Circumstances of this Country will not admit of Establishing a Bank on the Principles of that of England or Amsterdam he Chuses to Consider the whole as a Transaction between Congress, The Continental Treasurer and Individuals—& Conducted in the following manner viz.

That Notes be given by the Treasurer to Each person for the Sum he shall furnish in four Equal Annual payments with Interest of six per Cent. That the plate & Copper be Coined & Deposited in the Treasury for payment of the notes with the Interest as they may become Due.

That Congress in no Case Draw more than half the Specie out of the Treasury & not This till They have previously forwarded to the States an Estimate with a Requisition of a Tax in Specie for the money so Drawn out with a years Interest of the whole Sum which is to be Deposited there for the purposes aforesaid.

That there be Annually an Estimate of the Expenditures of the Ensuing year & Collected one half in the New Bills & the other half in Specie in Case the Specie will amount to a Sufficiency to pay The Sum Drawn from the Treasury with the Interest of the Sum in Bank & if not: then the Specie Tax is to be augmented to make that Sum & the paper Tax Diminished and for all the Surplus (if any should be) the Treasurer may Issue his notes payable in one year in Specie first Deducting a years Interest That there may be no failure of payment or Defect of Credit.

That in all payments Bills of the 18th of March be Considered as Specie & received as Such & an allowance made for the Interest Due thereon, but that no person Shall be Compelled to receive more than half his Demand in those Bills the other half is to be made in Specie & Every Tax is to be paid Equally in Specie & paper Except as Shall be found necessary to augment the Specie for the Reasons aforesaid.

That all notes be redeemable on Sight at the Treasury after the Time of payment is Elapsed with the Interest Due at the time they are presented—and that the Interest on all notes be paid annually if requested.

That in receiving paper Bills of the aforesd. Emission by the respective Collectors of Taxes the Interest due thereon be allowed up to the time of their being received And that Congress may if they find it necessary re-Issue Such Bills for Defraying the publick Expences or may hold them out of Circulation if they think proper.

That for a present Supply of Specie all the Continental vessels of war *and* all the Publick Stables & the Barracks at Cambridge & all Naval Stores be Sold for Specie & Deposited in the Treasury Subject to the order of Congress to be Drawn out in Specie or by notes without Interest payable in one year & in Case notes are Issued thereon Congress may Draw one half the Specie so Deposited by them, provided they first make a requisition for a Tax in specie for the amount so Drawn with the Interest of the whole payable in one year.

This will not be Liable to the objections made to Mr Blands Plan, Because Congress will Ever have it in their power after the whole sum is Deposited to obtain the Loan of one half in Specie for a year & of Course one third more money is represented than is really in Stock without Injury or Danger to the Lender as to the Residue remaining inactive in Bank while we are paying Interest for it two answers can be given 1st that we never need pay Interest for more than two thirds of what is really in Circulation, & that the money kept out of Circulation Serves to uphold our Credit & by remaining out of Circulation will Lower the prices of Articles & in the natural Course of Commerce Draw money from other nations to fill up the vacuum & Introduce that Level of money which must take place among all Commercial Nations.

2dly that Should the money itself be Thrown into Circulation you can only have two thirds as much in Circulation as upon the Plan proposed and This Instead of revolving round the Bank as a Centre will fly to those nations with whom we have Commercial Connections under the Disadvantages of a Ballance of trade against us—which would soon Leave us in as great want of Specie as at present—for which reason I recommend all foreign Loans that may be obtained to be Deposited in the Treasury under the foregoing regulations.

The 2d objection to Mr Blands proposal can have no force against this plan.

He recommends that all Treasurers Notes of which the time for payment is Elapsed be received by the Collectors in Lieu of Specie allowing Interest thereon, up to the Day of payment provided they be paid in one month after the Collectors warrants are Signed but in no Case to allow more than a months Interest after the Date of Such warrant.

He also Recommends that Every Person Interested in the Bills may have Liberty to Examine the Treasury & Inspect the Books to Satisfy himself of the State of it & the Treasurer is to Show him the Draughts of Congress & their requisition for a Tax in Specie to replace what may have been Drawn out.

Upon This Plan Let us Suppose two Millions to be Collected on the first Day of May 1781 notes being Issued payable to the Bearer with Interest the whole will be represented by notes Congress then Draw out a Million in Specie & put it in Circulation. There will then be Three millions in Circulation, when in fact only two millions have been received & Congress only pay Interest for Two millions.

To This it may be objected that Congress only have the Disposal of one million & asked why it would not be best for Congress to put the Two millions of Specie in Circulation at once? To this he answers that though this objection might have weight between Individuals yet it cannot have the Same force in a State. The Business of Congress is to provide & Support a proper Circulating medium for the State out of which they have a right to Demand from the States as much as will answer to Defray the publick Expences & where there is not a Sufficiency of money to answer the Demands of the State Increasing it by representation on payment founded on a fixed & Certain plan for paper is Essentially necessary, besides if you were to throw the whole into Circulation the Specie would Soon make its way to nations with whom we are Connected & which hold the Ballance of Trade against us. But on the present plan the Bank will be the vortex for Drawing all the money from persons who wish to Live on the Interest of their money & will Serve as a Centre to attract the notes & hold the Specie from flying to Distant Nations.

But another objection may be raised viz what Security will Individuals have for the repayment of their money.

Answer, one half will Ever be in Stock which will be Sufficient for two years payment & if we Suppose that in two years the States will not or cannot furnish the Sums Drawn out we must have no faith in the virtue of the people or prospect of Supporting the war. To Illustrate this I will Suppose that Congress Sell their Armed vessels &c. for two million Sterling but this is not Sufficient by one million to Defray the Expence of the war for the year—& cannot hire sums for the purpose. What is to be Done? Why upon the foregoing plan the whole is to be Lodged in Bank & notes Issued & then a Million Drawn out in Specie This will put three million into Circulation & by Loosing the Interest of the million in Bank the Credit of your Bills is Supported while the Hoarding up that million Serves to Lessen the prices of Articles & Consequently will if your paper is not too much Increased attract Specie from the neighbouring nations to fill the vacuum which this makes for However Paradoxical it may appear

the only way to bring Large Quantities of Specie into a State is to hoard up Large Treasures.⁴

If common Reason and the Observation of Mankind did not evince the Truth of this Proposition the Reasoning of Mr. Hume on the Subject must convince every unprejudiced Mind. He after treating the Idea of the Balance of Trade as rather Chimerical says,

“Suppose the four fifths of the Money in Britain to be annihilated in one Night, and the Nation reduced to the Condition, with regard to Specie as in the Reigns of the Harrys and Edwards what would be the consequence! Must not the Price of all Labor and Commodities sink in Proportion and every Thing be sold as cheap as they were in those Ages? What Nation then could dispute with Us in any Foreign Market or pretend to Navigate or to sell Manufactures at the same Price which to us would afford sufficient Profit? In little Time therefore must this bring back the Money which we had lost and raise Us to the level of all the Neighbouring Nations? Where after We have Arriv'd We immediately lose the Advantage of the Cheapness of Labor and Commodities; & the farther flowing-in of Money is stoped by Our fullness and Repletion.

“The only expedient by which We can raise Money above its proper level is the gathering up of large Sums into a Publick Treasury locking them up and absolutely preventing their Circulation, this Fluid not communicating with the Neighbouring Elements may by such an Artifice be raised to what height We please the immediate Consequence of such an Event would be the attraction of an Equal Sum from all the Neighbouring Nations.

“So little are we commonly acquainted with this Principle that tho all Historians agree in relating uniformly so recent an Event as the immense Treasure Amassd by Harry the seventh which they make amount to £1,700,000 wt of Silver.⁵ We rather reject their concurring Testimony that admit of a fact which agrees so ill with our inveterate Prejudices.

“Tis indeed probable that Sum might be three fourths of all the Money in England.⁶

“But where is the Difficulty that Such a Sum might be amassed in twenty Years by a cunning, rapacious, Frugal and almost Arbitrary Monarch? Nor is it Probable, that the diminution of Circulating Money was ever Sensibly felt by the People or ever did them any Prejudice. The sinking of the Prices of all Commodities would immediately replace it by giving England the advantage in its Commerce with all the Neighbouring Kingdoms.”⁷

By the foregoing Calculation we may readily Discover the State of money while in Bank & How Easy it is to Increase Either the Quantity of the paper or the Specie without those violent Shocks which States generally feel on Such Changes.

State of 2 Millions of Dollars in Bank with a Tax of 2 Millions of Dollars
Annually to be Paid Equally in Specie & Paper Bills

Time	Specie in Stock	Specie drawn out	Notes For Circulation	Specie in Circulation	Paper Bills Drawn out of Circulation by Tax Increasing the paper as the Specie Tax is Diminished.
1st May 1781.....	2,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	
May 1782 after paying the first notes.....	1,500,000	750,000	1,500,000	1,750,000	1,000,000
May 1783 after paying the 2d notes.....	1,000,000	500,000	1,000,000	2,250,000	1,250,000
May 1784 after paying the 3d notes.....	500,000	250,000	500,000	2,500,000	1,500,000
May 1785 after paying the 4[th] notes.....	250,000	250,000	000 000	2,750,000	1,750,000
		2,750,000			5,400,000 ⁸

There cannot be a possibility of This Plan Depreciating the paper Bills as the Demand for those Bills by Tax will be Annually Increasing while that of the Specie is Diminishing beside which Some auxillary accts may Easily be Devised to keep up its value.

The foregoing plan proves that 2 million Dollars with a Tax Diminishing Annually in Specie & Augmenting in paper will in four years Sink 5,400,000 Dollars of your New Bill[s] pay all your Bank notes & Leave 2 milln. 7 hundred & fifty Thousd Dollars in Circulation & that the Interest will annually Decrease & that you at no time pay Interest for more than two-thirds of the Sum in Circulation & after the Second year not Even a Quarter of what Specie Congress Draw & Issue.

Let us Suppose that Two million in Specie & Plate is held out of Circulation by Individuals on Account of the Incertainty of a repayment in Case of its being thrown into Circulation. Congress want immediately to pay away one million & a half & also to furnish an Additional Sum of Two million as a Circulating Medium upon the foregoing plan Suppose 2 million is furnishd: Congress represent this in the hands of the Lenders by Notes to that amount Then Borrow one half which they represent by notes payable in a year without Interest & then Issue half of the Sum represented Calling for a tax to replace it. This furnishes Congress with 1 M & a half & the publick with a Circulating medium of two millions more.

MS (MHi: Miscellaneous Papers-Sullivan). In the hand of John Sullivan and a clerk, for which see note 4.

¹ Although undated, these notes were undoubtedly prepared in connection with the proceedings of the committee appointed on November 7 to devise "a plan for arranging the finances, paying the debts and œconomising the revenue of the United States." The committee was composed of Sullivan, Theodorick Bland, Abraham Clark, John Mathews, and Timothy Matlack, who was replaced by George Clymer on December 1. Because Matlack's contributions loom large in the proceedings covered by these notes, and he is known to have left Congress on November 23 when his credentials expired, it is presumed that these notes pertain to committee deliberations held before that date. Furthermore, as Matlack was involved in an investigation of the treasury department that heavily engaged him during the week November 17-23, it also seems likely that the notes were drafted during early committee proceedings before November 17. See *JCC*, 18:1028, 1114; and Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, November 23, 1780.

The committee's work was carried out during a period of fiscal stress and experimentation, and overlapped that of other committees charged with similar functions. Its report, also in Sullivan's hand, was submitted on December 18, 1780, and stimulated debate on a number of issues during the ensuing months. But except for a congressional resolve of February 3, 1781, exhorting the states to vest Congress with power to levy a 5% ad valorem duty on foreign imports and prize goods, little concrete evidence of its activities survives. See *JCC*, 18:1157-64, 19:112-13; and PCC, item 26, fols. 221-35. For the context of the committee's appointment and discussion of its work and recommendations, see Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, pp. 479-81.

² At this point Sullivan left a page and a half blank, presumably for the insertion of regulations to be drafted.

³ At this point Sullivan left one half page blank.

⁴ In the MS, the next three pages of notes are in a clerical hand.

⁵ "wt of Silver" was interlined by Sullivan.

⁶ This and the following paragraph consist of quotations and paraphrases from David Hume's essay "Of the balance of trade," first published in his *Political Discourses* (Edinburgh: Printed by R. Fleming, for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, 1752).

⁷ The remainder of the MS is in Sullivan's hand.

⁸ This total should read \$5,500,000; although Sullivan repeated \$5,400,000 in the second paragraph below.

Samuel Huntington to William Palfrey

Sir,

Philada November 8. 1780

I have the Pleasure to transmit you the enclosed Extract from the Proceedings of Congress, of the 3 & 4 Instant, by which you will be informed, they have been pleased to appoint you Consul to reside in France, with a Salary of fifteen Hundred Dollars per Annum, in Lieu of all Commissions for Business done on Account of the United States.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Interest in appointing a consul to France had originated in the work of a ways and means committee deliberating an approaching clothing crisis, whose recommendations had been adopted by Congress on October 25. As the crisis seemed

to be attributable in part to the breakdown of arrangements made by Benjamin Franklin to secure clothing from France on loan, it was recommended that "a consul be appointed to reside in France, whose duty it shall be, in addition to his consular functions, to receive and forward all supplies to be obtained in that kingdom for the use of the United States." Palfrey was immediately put in nomination for this post by Virginia delegate John Walker, but the appointment was not actually made until November 4, after a salary for the position had been decided upon on the 3rd. See *JCC*, 18:914, 918, 962, 966, 973-79, 1009, 1018; and *PCC*, item 25, 1:291-93, item 31, fols. 69-74.

Palfrey immediately notified Congress of his acceptance of the appointment; his commission and instructions were adopted on December 9. See *PCC*, item 165, fol. 545; and *JCC*, 18:1041, 1134-37.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philada November 8. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 3 Instant expressing the high Sense they entertain of the virtuous & patriotic Conduct of John Pualding [Paulding], David Williams & Isaac Van wert, and granting to each of them a Pension of two hundred Dollars during Life, with a silver Medal to be delivered to each of them by your Excellency, so soon as they can be procured by the Board of War.¹

I have also enclosed three other Copies of the above mentioned Act of Congress, which you will please to transmit to those three worthy Militia Men above named.

I have the Honor to be &c, &c,

S.H.²

LB (DNA: *PCC*, item 15).

¹ Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert were singled out for this special recognition because of their capture of Maj. John André, which had foiled Benedict Arnold's conspiracy to surrender West Point to the British "notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, noble disdaining to sacrifice their country for the sake of gold." See *JCC*, 18:918, 1009. For Alexander Hamilton's description of their role in André's capture and Washington's October 7 recommendation that they be granted "a handsome gratuity" for preventing "our suffering one of the severest strokes that could have been mediated against us," see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 2:463-70; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:133

² This day Huntington also wrote a brief letter to Colonel Armand-Tuffin, marquis de La Rouërie, informing him that his recent request for a brigadier's commission had been denied because such a promotion would be "inconsistent with the Arrangement of the Army." See *PCC*, item 15, fol. 153; and *JCC*, 18:1010-11. For Armand's persistent efforts to obtain this promotion, see also these *Letters*, 12:22, 14:410.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Novr. 9th. 1780

I do my self the honour to write your Excellency by the express that goes to Carry the recommendation to the several States for levying a Tax equal in value to Six Million of Silver dollars to be paid as is therein recommended,¹ Upon which I beg liberty to observe that the provisions is called for upon the most accurate calculation the Nature of the business would admit and upon the most mature deliberation. Congress were unanimous of opinion that a lesser quantity could not be relyed on with safety. The Tax is proportioned both as to the Supplies and money agreeable to the proportion on which the first fifteen Million Monthly Tax was recommended. Great care hath been taken that the states be called on for such kind of provision as each state could best Supply. It is probable there may be some disproportion in the prices of the several Articles which is intended to be remedied by a resolution reserving the whole for a liquidation at a future day. The consideration of this business took up much of the time & attention of Congress and they were fully sensible of the burdens their Constituents groaned under at the same time found themselves under the absolute necessity of making the recommendation. They could devise no alternative. I hope our state will adopt the recommendation and find their resources adequate to the requisition.

Much is said upon the subject of an Armed Neutrality and some politicians Conjecture it strongly forebodes a general peace. I confess I am not sanguine in my expectations on the subject And can assure you Sr. Congress have not received the most distant official hint that a peace is even conjectured by those Neutral powers.

I inclose to your Excellency a Copy of my letter of the 10th Ultimo that fell into the hands of the Enemy Since Mr. Rivington hath been so kind as to publish it.² His motives for so doing I am at a loss to gess, but I must do him that Justice as to say he hath given the publick an Accurate Copy. General Greene left this City on Saturday last on his way to joyn the Southern Army as did also the Baron Stuben. We have had no news from the Southard for a considerable time—it is generally beleived the Enemy have reimbarcked their Troops at Virgina tho Congress have no official account. Where they are gone is not known but it is probable further southard, A letter from Genl. Washington was read in Congress yesterday informing that an embarcation was taking place in NYork supposed to reinforce their Armies to the Southard.³ Congress have receivd no official letters from abroad for several week past, And I have no further Intelegence worth your Notice.

I have the honour to be your Excellencys most obedt Huml
Servant,

Ezek Cornell

NB. I apprehend you have not seen the arraignment of the Army Mentioned in the Inclosed Coppy as they fell into the hands of the Enemy at the same time My letter did⁴ But as the arraignment was after wards altered and sent forward which I trust you have received it is not so material. I shall be more cautious in future in writing as you can easily Judge of my feeling if some of my letters you have received had met the fate the one did of which the inclosed is a Coppy.

E.C.

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ The circular letter sent to the states by President Huntington this date is in *JCC*, 18:1038-40.

² See Cornell to Greene, October 10, 1780.

³ Washington's November 4 letter containing this report was read in Congress on November 8. *JCC*, 18:1031; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:289-90.

⁴ See Samuel Huntington to the States, October 6, 1780, document note.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia November 9. 1780

I have been honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 27 Ulto, with the Appointment of Delegates for the State, in which the Powers of the Delegates are not in the least defined, or any mention made what Number of them are authorized to represent the State.¹ I should suppose there is some Act of Assembly, either general or special, relating to this Subject, otherwise it must require at least a Majority of all the Delegates named in the Appointment to represent the State. Genl Woolcott is not yet arrived. Mr B. Huntington's Time is expired.

I find the Post was robbed of my official Letters of the 6 Ulto addressed to the four eastern States, covering Dispatches relating to recruiting the Army, as your Excellency had conjectured;² but presume the Intelligence the Enemy obtained thereby must be very disagreeable to them, and as Events have turned up hope it will not retard the recruiting Service. A Copy of that Arrangement was transmitted to the Commander in Chief, to obtain his Sentiments thereon and in Consequence of his Opinion & express Desire, some Alterations have been made in the final Arrangement, which was completed the 21 of October, and transmitted to the several Eastern States, under Cover of my official Letter of the 26 October by a faithful Messenger, who I presume hath delivered them safe long before this.

B. Huntington Esqr who will deliver this, cannot wait until the Duplicates of the Despatches which were taken by the Enemy are made out, but they shall be forwarded soon.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect & Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Trumbull's letter is not in PCC, but for the credentials of the Connecticut delegates that were apparently sent with it, and which were read in Congress on November 6, see *JCC*, 18:1021-22.

² For the capture of Huntington's October 6 letters and a number of others posted at about the same time, see the document note at Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10, 1780.

William Sharpe to William Lee Davidson

Novr. 9th [1780]¹

P.S. I forgot to inform you² that Genl. Lincoln with upwards of an hundred Officers are lately exchanged. And that the commanders in Chief are about to negotiate a general exchange, including the convention troops and our Militia. Genl. Washington is instructed to endeavour to obtain a condition, that, the convention and other british prisoners shall not take the field nor bear Arms before the first of May.³

However humanity dictated an immediate exchange, yet our present critical situation to the southward made it a great question in policy; was the exchange to take place immediately and the enemy at Liberty to Arm and send forth their liberated troops it might be a fatal stroke to the State of No. Carolina; because in that State we have not Arms, Stores &c at present to put into the hands of Our liberated troops & Militia in order to make a vigorous defence, therefore the Delegates of No. Carolina have been the means of keeping back the exchange a few weeks past and of quallifying the measure as above mentioned,⁴ with a view to get Genl. Greene in command, get forward some Arms, Stores &c—and get time to draw out and organize a little Army, that may promise us some defence, all which I hope will sufficiently justify our conduct to our brave and virtuous Officers and Soldiers who are in a distressing captivity. We have been so opposed in this business of delaying the exchange, by some of our neighbouring Delegates, who has a passionate fondness for their friends, that we have been threatned with the displeasure of those in captivity. These things have but little effect on the minds of men determined to do what appears to be *right*. We are so well assured of the patriotism of Our Officers & Soldiers, that they would at the risk of their lives endure six months or perhaps twenty months longer confinement rather than obtain liberty at the risque of a whole State.

Wm. Sharpe

RC (PRO: Cornwallis Papers, P.R.O. 30/11/106). Addressed: "Genl. Davidson."

¹ Only this partially dated postscript to Sharpe's intercepted letter has been found.

² Gen. William Lee Davidson (1746-1781), who had served in northern campaigns with units of the North Carolina Continental Line, was militia commander of the

Salisbury district. He was killed February 1, 1781, at the battle of Cowan's Ford, N.C. *DAB*.

³ Washington's letter of November 7, informing Congress of the exchange of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and "about one hundred forty of our Officers," had reached Philadelphia this day. Congress, meanwhile, had instructed Washington to seek the exchange of "all Continental Prisoners of War." See Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.

⁴ It is unclear from the journals how the North Carolina delegates had been "the means of keeping back the exchange a few weeks past," but for the background of the present attempt to revise Washington's prisoner exchange instructions, see William Churchill Houston's Proposed Report, July 10, 1780. The delegates' suggestion that they had succeeded in "quallifying the measure" reported at note 3 above, however, does not appear to be the case. North Carolina was the only state to vote against the clause of the instructions permitting Washington to decide whether or not the restriction on the use of the Convention troops in the southern campaign before May 1, 1781, would be made an ultimatum in such negotiations. See *JCC*, 18:1030.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 10th. 1780

The subject I am now to address your Excellency upon gives me pain. At the same time necessity obliges me to inform you that I am destitute of Cash. I receivd, before I left the state, £4000 supposed at that time to be sufficient for Sixty days Expençe. I have obtained from the Continental Treasury with much difficulty 5000 Dollars all which is expended and I am much in debt and liable to be duned every day in the week which I am obliged to submit to without any prospect of being able to make payment unless I can obtain releif from you Nor shall I be able to live in the place much less get home. I do not pretend to Claim your attention from any merit or demands I have a right to upon any other principals then that of the treatment of former delegates. I hope you will pardon the freedom I have taken in this letter as it was dictated by my feeling and not my wishes. I have the honour to be your Hum Servt, E Cornell

NB. My Board is at present Six Silver Dollars per Week Exclusive of any kind of licquor and half that sum for a Servant. The Exchange is at least Eighty for one—And the New Money will not pass at forty for one. My Horse costs me Twenty Continental Dollars per Day in the Continental stable which is less then I can get him kept for in any other place. E.C.

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Duplicate Circular. Philadelphia November 10. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith inclosed, an Act of Congress of the 21 Ulto, containing a new Arrangement of the Army; special reasons have delayed the sending of it forward to the several States until this Time.¹

By this Arrangement the Number of Battallions is greatly reduced, & of Consequence many of the Officers now retained in the Service must retire for the present; but after just & equitable Compensation is made to them the Saving of Expençe will be very great.

Congress are extremely anxious, not only to avoid the Dangers & Embarrassments heretofore experienced by Delays in recruiting the Army until the Opening of the Campaign, but also to establish a permanent Army, of Troops engaged for the War to consist of such Numbers as may be adequate to the Service, and at the same Time not exceed the Ability of the States to raise & support, and constantly recruit so as to keep up the number.

It is recommended to the States in the most pressing Manner to have their regiments completed & in the Field by the first Day of January next at farthest. The Commander in Chief will cause immediate returns to be made of the Deficiencies of each State according to this Arrangement.

You will observe Sir that the respective States are to select from the Line of the Army the Number of Officers to command the several regiments to them respectively assigned, taking Notice that no new Appointment is to be made, of higher rank than Lt Colonel Commandant, for substantial reasons supposed to be known to all the States.

But the first & immediate Object is to complete the regiments to their full Number of noncommisioned Officers & Privates, which is recommended in the most pressing Manner as of the greatest Importance.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This statement is mystifying, for the October 21 "Act" enclosed herewith was previously sent by Huntington with an October 26 circular letter to the states that is known to have been received by Trumbull and several other state executives. Furthermore, the present letter varies considerably from the former communication, although it is explicitly labelled "Duplicate Circular." Cf. Huntington's first letter to the states of October 26, 1780, above.

Willie Jones to Unknown

Dear Sir

Philad. November 10. 1780.

I received your favor of the 10th of October, since which nothing very material has occurred.

The Delegates for the State of No. Carolina, from the hour of my Arrival at this place have been endeavouring to obtain arms & Military Stores for the Southern Department, but with very little Effect. Five or six hundred Tents, and about as many muskets are at length prepared, and left (to be forwarded) in Care of Colo. Phebecker by Order of Genl. Green, who, together with Baron Stuben, set out for No. Carolina five or six Days ago. Colo. Lees Corps marched two Days past from this place for the Southward.

We are informed by Genl. Washington that another Embarkation is going on at New York, supposed to be destined for the Southward. I think the Enemy will push hard this Winter for the Conquest, or at least for the possession of No. Carolina, for which Reason it will be good policy to make the utmost possible Exertions, let the Expence attending them, or the Duty in the Field fall ever so hard upon our Constituents. There are many Reasons to justify such Measures, too obvious to need repeating to you; but I will mention a single one; a powerful armed Neutrality is about to hold a Congress in Europe, and how far their Views may extend is unknown; possibly they may dictate a peace to the Belligerent powers, and, if so, it is to be dreaded that an *Uti possidetis* will be one of the articles. The Idea of taking New York (the favourite child of Congress and of Genl. Washington for two years past) may possibly prove the Ruin of the Southern States.

With the most sincere Regard for you and your family I remain,
Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Servt. Willie Jones

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philade Nove 11th 1780.

I have receivd no Letter from you since the 9th of October. Some Accident prevented the Arrival of the Eastern Post last Monday and he is now not expected till the next. I hope I shall then receive a Line from you, to let me know at least that you are well. If you do not acknowledge the Receipt of my Letter of the 10th of October,¹ I shall conclude that it fell into wrong hands; for the Post that took Charge of the Letters from hence of that Date, was robbd of his Mail in Connecticut and it was carried to New York. I am uncertain

whether I sent that Letter to the Post office, or deliverd it to Mr Torry who left this City about the same time. If the Enemy have filchd it, their publishing it will do no good to them nor Injury to me or any one else. Indeed it was an harmless thing, and worth no ones Notice but yours, and yours, only as it was intended to inform you that I was then, as I am at this time, in good Health. I flatter my self you are always gratified when I can give you this Intelligence.

Nove 13th. The Post is just arrivd & has not brought a Letter from you—his latest Letters and Papers are dated the 26th of Octobr. By the next we expect to receive Accounts of the Organization of our government under the new Constitution, in all its Splendor—to see the Speech from the Chair, The Answers from the several Branches of the Legislature—Congratulatory Addresses &c, &c. I have been anxious lest our Countrymen should misjudge in the Choice of their first Governor.² They are grateful; and I was affraid that from the goodness of their Hearts they might be induced to give their Suffrages for a Man, who, they might conceive, had done them eminent Services, in other Stations, without a due Consideration whether he possesses those excellent Qualities which should characterize and dignify their cheife Magistrate. Our present Governors may probably stamp the moral as well as political Character of the People. I shall most heartily rejoyce, if the “*Abilities and disinterested Zeal*” of the Gentleman called to fill the Chair prove adequate to the strong Expectations of my fellow Citizens in Boston expressed in their late Vote of Thanks. But why do I trouble you with a Subject of this Nature? Let me ask you before I finish this Letter—Are you in health? Have you a Sufficiency of fire wood and other necessaries for the approaching cold Season? Are your Family Cares alleviated with the Visits & chearful Conversation of your Friends and mine? You must answer me these Questions, for I am greatly interested in them. My love to my Family and Friends. Adieu my Love. Believe me to be most sincerely and affectionately, Your, S Adams

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Not found, but presumably intercepted as Adams speculated, for which see Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10, 1780, document note.

² That is, John Hancock.

James Duane to Mary Duane

Philadelphia 11th November 1780

You made me happy, my dearest Polly, by your agreeable favours of the 14t & 19 of October. I longed to hear from you most anxiously; and am satisfied to find that so many of my Letters had safely reached

you. The Barbarities committed on our frontiers are as disgraceful to the Britons as they are injurious to us. The time may come when they may be severely retaliated; & they will have Reason to repent of their Cruelty. I feel much for my poor fellow Citizens who daily fall the Victims of such implacable Malice and Vengeance.

I find with singular Satisfaction, that our dear Harry has not only escaped from imminent danger, but acquired Reputation.¹ Before he was attacked he wrote me that he had grown fond of a military Life. I suppose he will soon favour me with a Line.

Brother John, I presume, returned with the Governour. I requested the favour of him to assist in disposing of my Horses, the price he is the best Judge of & his opinion shall govern mine. Be so good as to tell him so.

Hughey² is remiss in not writing to me, or at least giving you his Account. Mr. McDougald³ has deceived us both in withholding the Amount of the order he accepted in Hughey's favour. It is for that Reason probably that he applies the other money received by him, to discharge the order. I do not blame him for it; but he ought to have informed us for his own sake; as well as to give me an opportunity of checking McDougald; especially as we may want the money. I am ready enough to make all proper allowances. The Distresses on the frontiers, I foresaw must have prevented Business in our Township. The twenty pounds he paid you is, I conclude, for a year's Rent of the Mill farm; & paid by young Westly.

The Governour has, I find, given you Expectations of my Return for want of sufficient Supplies. I shall endeavour, in any Event, to pay you a Visit in the Course of the winter, and suppose I shall be relieved by Col. Floyd & Mr. L'hommedieu (or General McDougald), as they have long been absent from Congress. Believe me it will give me unspeakable pleasure; your praises of our little darling I enjoy as you intended. She and all our dear Children have my tenderest Blessing.

I thank you for your kind attention in reserving for me a Share of your Industry. I shall wear it with great Satisfaction. The Stockings came to hand and were acceptable. Sister Livingston has her Cloak. I have not had time to pay her and Brother Robert a Visit since my Arrival here. They will take it unkind; but I am so involved in business that I have not yet paid ten Visits, even in Town, including those of mere Ceremony. The Cold weather has set in, and it promises to be a severe winter. Mrs. Campbell the Bearer will assure you of my Health. On Sunday General Scott returns and I shall have the sole Representation. With respectful Compliments to all our Friends; I remain unalterably: my dearest Polly, Your sincerely affectionate, and faithful Husband,

Jas. Duane

¹ That is, Mary's brother Henry Livingston.

² Hugh Keeler.

³ Alexander McDougall, a tenant at Duanesborough.

George Walton to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia, 11 November, 1780

Your Excellency will be pleased to recollect, that, sometime since, the delegates of Georgia addressed you respecting lieutenant Morris, of the Southern artillery, and to which you answered, that you would transmit the proposal to Sir Henry Clinton. A considerable time has now elapsed, and Mr. Morris remaining in a disagreeable state of suspense, I cannot forbear to entreat your farther attention to his case.¹

Congress, in the former part of the present year, referred an application from the same State, to the Commander in chief. It was respecting Samuel Elbert, esquire, Colonel and principal Officer in the line of the State, and Brigadier-general of the militia, who being a prisoner of war, the Government was very solicitous to procure his exchange.² Should you have done any thing in consequence of this reference; Should be happy in having it in my power to make the communication.

Major-general Lincoln, during his command of the Southern Army, made a proposition to Major-general Prevost, to exchange Elbert for Governor Wright: but the latter objecting that he ought to be considered as a prisoner, it was referred to the decision of Sir Henry Clinton. General Lincoln can advise particularly respecting this business and I rely upon your Excellency's moving in it to a proper length.³

Mr. & Mrs. Matthews inform me that an application is about to be made to Sir Henry Clinton, thro your Excellency, for permission for the latter to go in a flag to Charles-town; and Mrs. Walton's Sister, (who is now with us,) having an Estate of Negroes in Georgia; Seems inclined to embrace so good an opportunity of going there. I request, therefore, that you will apply also for leave for Miss Ann Sarah Camber, to go to Savannah in Georgia, by way of Charles-town in South-Carolina.⁴

As it will be her wish to return to her sister, by this or some other flag, I leave it to your Excellency to determine, whether it is necessary to mention such intention—or whether it may not be left open, and for her to depend upon a passport to return from the Commanding Officer there? If there could be no doubt of Sir Henry's agreeing to give a permission to return at leisure, I could wish it asked for, altho it might encrease the difficulty of getting her negroes. Miss Camber is hopeful of returning this winter; but I think it improbable.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's most
Obedient servant,
Geo Walton

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ For Lt. Thomas Morris' exchange, see Georgia Delegates to Washington, August 2, 1780, note.

² See these *Letters*, 14:412.

³ In his November 19 response, Washington reported that nothing had been done regarding Elbert's exchange because negotiations for a general exchange of prisoners had been "broken off, for want of proper powers on the part of the British Commissioners," but added that he was "ignorant of any transactions between General Lincoln and General Prevost on the subject." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:366.

⁴ In his reply, Washington indicated that he had "requested liberty for Miss Camber to go to Charles town . . . upon the same terms as those asked for Mrs. Mathews." See *ibid.*; and John Mathews to Washington, October 14, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia November 12. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, Copies of several Acts of Congress, of the 4th, 7th, 9th & 10th Instant.¹

By that of the 4th, the several States therein mentioned, are called upon to levy a Tax equal to Six Millions of silver Dollars, to be paid partly in specific Articles of Provision, & partly in Money, at the Times & in the Manner expressed.

By the Act of the 7th (a Copy of which will be forwarded to Genl Greene) your Excellency is authorized to effect an Exchange of all Continental Prisoners of War & now in Possession of the Enemy, and of the Hostages given in Canada; all Officers on Parole & Officers Violators of Parole, & Militia *actually taken in Arms* & remaining Prisoners of War, for an equal Number of Prisoners in our Hands, including the Convention Troops if an Exchange can be affected upon the Terms mentioned in the Act.²

It is needless to remark to your Excellency how exceedingly the Individuals of our Troops in Captivity feel themselves injured, if they are not exchanged in the Order of their Captivity; as I take it to be a rule you have ever adhered to, when not inadmissible from peculiar circumstances, which have caused a Deviation therefrom in some particular Cases.

The Act of the 9th will inform your Excellency that the Hospital Chaplains are discontinued, & Brigade Chaplains from Time to Time are to attend the established Hospitals.

The annexed Order enjoining the Officers of the Cavalry to purchase no more Horses on public Account without the Order of Congress, was passed several Days before your Letter of the 7th Instant came to Hand which mentions the Propriety of such Practice

in the Commanding Officers of Corps in the Cavalry. Orders in future may be given for that purpose if Congress should think proper.

By the Act of the 10th, Congress proposed (if practicable) to make a Saving of Forage in Camp, by removing all Horses that in your Opinion are not absolutely necessary to be retained with the Army for public Use; to be disposed of or fed at a Distance from Camp.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant, Sam. Huntington President

P.S. Your several Dispatches of the 1st, 4th, 5th & 7th have been received. The latter came to hand this moment.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1011-18, 1028-31, 1035-36, 1045-47.

² For the background of this revision of Washington's prisoner exchange negotiating instructions, see William Churchill Houston's Proposed Report, July 10, 1780. See also Huntington to Washington, January 2, 1781, note 1.

³ *JCC*, 18:1022, 1031, 1048-49. These letters are in PCC, item 152, 9:339-50, 355-62; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:275-76, 289-90, 293-94, 311-15.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia Novemr 12th 1780

You will (I doubt not) forgive my neglect in not writing you when I assure you that I have had nothing to communicate which Could give you pleasure or avoid giving you pain—& that I was unwilling to add to the pressure which your mind has been so Long accustomed to. To Enumerate the Evils which have flown from party Spirit from inattention and from other Sources would fill a volume in Folio. We are now struggling to Extricate ourselves from those Difficulties into which our Folly or our prejudices have thrown us, perhaps we may succeed. Some advances have been made toward a reformation many more will shortly be attempted. The army is arranged I hope agreeable to your Excellencys wish. The officers have half pay for Life; The states are Called upon for men & Specific supplies, Loans are Demanded, the Several Departments are Aranging; the expensive naval & other Boards will be Demolished, oeconomy introduced and I trust Specie will relieve paper Bills from the Task of Deceiving mankind & yield to every man his Just Demand. Party Spirit Though not annihilated is Compelled to hide its head and Jealousy of the Army which has Long obstructed Salutary measures dare not appear in publick. I know it is Late for a reformation to Commence but I hope not too Late. I Lament Exceedingly the Distresses of our Army and will Chearfully Contribute Every thing in my power to relieve them or to Lighten that Burthen which I know your Excy must feel provided

I could have the honor of a Line from you pointing out the Evils and the mode you would have adopted for redress.¹

I feel very sensibly for the Southern States and fear Either a Conquest by force or a Defection which will bring about a base Submission. We are Informed that Clinton is about to Embark with great part of his Army for Virginia should this Event take place I fear the Loss of the four Southern States will be the Consequence.

To prevent this I beg Leave to Submit to Your Excellency's consideration whether it would not be prudent to order the French Fleet to Boston where they may Lay in Safety & call the French Army to head Quarters? Will not this cause Sir Henry to Tremble for New York & Diminish the force if not Totally prevent the Blow meditated against the Southern States? These are only hints which arise from my Zeal to Save the Southern states & which however unmilitary & Injudicious they may appear I flatter myself your Excellency will readily pardon.

I have the Honor to be with the most unfeigned Esteem Dear General Your Excellencys most obedient Servant,

Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Washington's November 20 reply with his "mode" for relieving the "Distresses of our Army," see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:371-74.

Committee of Congress to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia Novr. 13th. 1780.

We inclose you an extract of a letter from the Commander in Chief of the 4th inst. as it contains matter of importance to your Command.¹

Congress have finally determined on a genl. exchange of Prisoners, we think, on such principles as are likely to attain the desirable objects.²

Congress have likewise determined on a general system, providing for the support of the army the ensuing campaign, which will be forwarded to you by the President.³

We do not recollect any other acts of Congress since your departure, the contents of which render any information thereon, necessary to you.

By letter this day received from Genl. Washington we find the fleet is not yet sailed from New York but preparations for that purpose are still prosecuting with vigour.

We are sir, with much Esteem & regard, yr. most Obedt. Servts.,
By order of the Committee, Jno. Mathews. Chairman.

RC (MH-H; bMS Am 1649.5). Written and signed by John Mathews.

¹ Not found. Writing in behalf of the committee on the southern department, Mathews undoubtedly sent Greene excerpts of Washington's November 4 letter to Congress concerning the arrival of Gen. Alexander Leslie's forces in Chesapeake Bay and intelligence of a possible second British embarkation at New York "destined to the South," for which see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:289-90.

² See Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.

³ See Huntington to Greene, November 16, 1780.

John Henry to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir

Philadela. Nov. 13. 1780

Last Spring Mrs. Stevinson my unfortunate Relation, made an application to the General Assembly, for permission to visit her Husband Doctor Stevinson a refugee in New-York.¹ Since her residence in that City, from Indisposition and distress of Mind, she has been totally deprived of her sight. In this melencholy Situation, without the Hopes of soon re-visiting her native Country, the absence of her Children, greatly augments her afflictions. Her eldest child does not exceed nine years of age the other two of course must be younger.

Their Innocence and youth will cover them from public resentment and their incapacity to injure the State influence your Excellency to afford them an oppertunity of enjoying the Comforts and protection of a parent.

The criminality of the Father I trust will not reach his unoffending offspring.

If an application should be made to your Excellency and the Council, in their behalf, for permission to go into New York, it will afford me some Satisfaction, to hear that their request was not rejected.²

Could the State be any way interested or affected by their detention I should not interest myself in their behalf, but as they are incapable of harm, no reasonable objection can be made.

For the News of the Day I shall refer you to my letter to the General Assembly.³

I am Sir with the highest sentiments of respect, Yrs,
J. Henry

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ In November 1779 the Maryland Assembly had granted Mrs. Ann Stevenson permission to apply to the commanding officer at Elizabeth, N.J., for leave to visit her husband Henry in New York and to return. See *Md. Archives*, 43:24.

² In March 1781 the Council granted permission for the Stevenson children to join their parents in New York, for which see *ibid.*, 45:350.

³ Not found.

Samuel Huntington to the Continental Loan Office Commissioners

Sir, Philada November 13. 1780

By the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10th Instant,¹ you are directed to forward to the Continental Treasury at Philadelphia, all such Continental Bills of Credit as may have been from Time to Time lodged in your Office, pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 18 of March last, having first cancelled them in the Mode prescribed by the resolution of the first Day of September last² that they may be examined and burned.

I have only to add, that a punctual Compliance with this resolve of Congress is very necessary and important.

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To The Commissioners of the Contl. Loan Offices in the several States from New Hampshire to Georgia inclusive."

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1045.

² *JCC*, 17:800.

Samuel Huntington to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir, Philadelphia November 13. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10th Instant, by which you will be informed of the Measures they have adopted to prevent the Inconveniencies resulting from the Abuse the British make of Papers & Clearances they take in American Prizes which you was pleased to communicate to Congress in your Letter of the first Instant.¹

I have the Honor to be &c,

S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The enclosed November 10 resolves contained a recommendation to the states to require that privateer commissions and letters of marque include "minute" descriptions of the officers of ships—"with their age, stature, complexion, &c. respectively certified by the governor or president under his seal of office." The proposal had originated with the governors of the French West Indies, who had informed La Luzerne that in the absence of such authentic descriptions in captured documents, the British had been able to impersonate American privateers and "commit the most daring actions" to the injury and inconvenience of the shipping of America's allies. This information had been provided in a letter of November 1 from La Luzerne to Congress which had been referred to the Board of Admiralty on November 3. See *JCC*, 18:1009, 1043; PCC, item 95, 1:166-69; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:111.

For Congress' extension of the enclosed recommendation the following spring

to include "all vessels, unarmed, as well as armed," also adopted at the request of La Luzerne, see Huntington to the States, May 19, 1781.

² This day Huntington also wrote a second brief letter to La Luzerne notifying him that William Palfrey had been appointed "Consul from these United States to reside in France," for which see PCC, item 15, fol. 158; and Huntington to Palfrey, November 8, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Timothy Pickering

Sir,

Philada November 13. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress calculated to make a Saving of the Consumption of Forage in Camp (if practicable) by removing & disposing of all Horses from Camp which in the Opinion of the Commander in Chief are not absolutely necessary.¹ A like Copy is transmitted to his Excellency General Washington.

I have repeatedly desired an Answer to your request in your several Letters, to explain what is meant by *other Currency equivalent*.² So soon as an Explanation is obtained, it shall be forwarded.

I am &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1046-47.

² In a September 29 letter to Huntington, Pickering had complained that the pay of officers in his department was in arrears and that although Congress had pledged to pay them in specie "or other current money equivalent," many were suspicious that new paper dollars would eventually be tendered as "equivalent" money. Pickering indicated that he needed to be reassured about Congress' intent, and warned that should he be disappointed he would have no choice but to resign as quartermaster general. As he had not received a reply to this letter, he repeated his query in a letter to the president of October 30. PCC, item 192, fols. 29-31, 37-39.

For additional information on this issue, and Pickering's heightened frustration when he learned that Congress resolved on November 15 to pay "officers on the civil list . . . in bills of credit emitted pursuant to the resolutions of the 18th of March, 1780, any former resolution to the contrary notwithstanding," see Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), pp. 67-70; and *JCC*, 18:1055-56.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir,

Philada November 13. 1780

Congress having received Information from the Honorable the Minister of France, of Inconveniencies & Injuries received by our Allies, resulting from the Abuse the British make of Papers and Clearances they take in American Prizes, by personating the Officers

& Commanders named in such Papers, being fully acquainted with the Language & Manners of our Officers & Seamen &c.

In Compliance with the Request of the Minister of France, Congress have adopted the enclosed resolution, in order to detect such Abuses in future; and I am to request your Excellency's Attention to the necessary Measures for carrying the same into effectual Execution.¹ I have the Honor to be &c, &c,

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1043; and Huntington to the chevalier de La Luzerne, this date.

George Plater to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir, Philadelphia Novr. 13th 1780

The enclosed I lately received,¹ & beg Leave to lay it before you. Genl Washington writes that another Embarkation is about to take Place at New York, destined southward—that Rodney is to sail for the West Indies as soon as the Cork Fleet arrives. It seems to be the Plan of the Enemy to push the War in the South, in Hope of making more considerable Impressions in that Quarter, it being supposed by them the weaker, than they can in any other. Yet I trust our late Successes in Carolina will in some Measure defeat & frustrate their Intentions. I have for some Time past endeavoured to sell a Bill on Maryland, but cannot find a Purchaser, therefore fear we must put you to the Trouble of forwarding by Post or otherways the Money for our Support, of which we stand in great Need.² Mrs. Plater offers her Respects to your Lady, & I am with the greatest Regard & Strongest Attachments, Yr Excellency's most obt.& obliged Servt.,

Geo Plater

RC (MdHi: Revolutionary War Collection).

¹ Not identified.

² On November 18 the Maryland Council ordered £3,000 each to be forwarded to Plater, John Hanson, and John Henry "on Account." *Md. Archives*, 45:216.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir, Publick, Philadelphia 14th November 1780

I have the Honour of both your Excellency's dispatches of the 29th October, accompanied by several Resolutions of the honourable Legislatures;¹ to all which I shall pay the strictest Attention.

The Desolation of so great a part of our Northern and Western Frontiers is deeply to be deplored: but when a powerful nation will descend to the low Employment of an Incendiary; and plume herself

on wasting a Country which she cannot subdue: when she can sacrifice her Glory to her Vengeance; and trample upon the Laws of War; the Rights of Humanity; and the Obligations of Honour and Justice; merely to ruin and distress!

When her military are taught to destroy without Distinction of Remorse; and to fly without Shame! Is it to be wondered at that she should be successful in Feats not beyond the Achievement of the midnight Ruffian!

The Time may come when such unexampelled Cruelty shall draw down Just Retaliation, and she shall feel the sad Effects of an Example which fills the World with Abhorrence!

Your Excellency's Remarks respecting the Grants are but too well founded: But to press for a Decision would hitherto have been highly impolitic. Those who are convinced of the Justice of our Cause wish it to yield to the pressure of our publick Affairs; and that we should give no Room for complaint that we embarrass the national Councils with a partial Concern, while the Preservation of the common Liberties demands all our Efforts for a vigorous and decisive Campaign. When this great business is dispatched, I shall recall the Attention of Congress to our Cause and do my utmost to bring it to a happy Issue. The Motives which Have additional weight to reconcile us to Passivity the General,² who is the Bearer of these dispatches, will communicate. The Legislature, in their late Appointment of Delegates, have distinguished me by a fresh proof of their Confidence, and I shall not fail to give the best Evidence, which uprightness and Assiduity can produce, of my Zeal and Attachment to the common Interest, and of my constant Attention to the Rights and the Security of the State which I so long have had the Honour to represent.

The honourable Legislature will observe that by the Reduction of the five State Regiments to three, agreeably to the new Arrangement of the Army, their Instruction in the Joint Resolution of both Houses of the 7th of October is anticipated.³ The Objections which are raised in their Resolutions of the same day on the Acts of Congress directing a Compensation for the Army, deserve great Consideration. The Subject, as your Excellency must perceive, is involved in great difficulties, and it will be hard to lay down a Rule for defining what Troops, not of the respective Lines, shall be provided for, by each State; so as to do equal Justice to All. It will however be attempted, and is now under Commitment. The mistakes of the Board of War in assigning to our Quota Officers and Privates who are known to have been Natives And Residents of other States, can readily be corrected.

The Joint Resolutions of our Legislature on the Act of Congress of the 26th of August for ascertaining the Current Value of Continental Bills of Credit, compared with Specie at the time the

debt became due &c is also under the Consideration of a Committee: and I have no doubt but the Mode of Adjustment suggested by the Legislature will meet with Approbation: It affords full Security to the publick, and the Creditor, and nothing further can be desired.⁴

The last Resolutions of the Legislature investing full power in Congress for an effectual prosecution of the War, does Honour to their Zeal and publick Spirit; it shall be communicated and enforced. The Compulsory Clause is not perhaps proper for publick Inspection;⁵ as it implies most Strongly and will certainly hazard what General Scott will better explain in a verbal Conference. On this point I shall wait for further Instructions; observing however that I shall not, In Case of Necessity fail, to pursue the Spirit of the whole Resolution; tho' at present we both are struck with the Impolicy of producing the Clause alluded to. We hope to be pardoned for exercising our Discretion so far as to represent Inconveniencies which we apprehend, before an Instruction is publickly announced; especially as we cannot foresee that a Short Suspension will be attended with any pernicious Consequences.

General Scott will fully apprise your Excellency of the State of our publick Affairs; and of the preparations for a vigorous Campaign; and the necessity of all our Efforts to expell the Enemy by a Combination of the Strength and Resources of the several States. The Estimates for the ensuing year are large, and the Demands upon each State burthensome. They are not, however, conceived beyond their Abilities: while The Object is of the utmost Importance. A respectable, well appointed, well supported Army, with the Cooperation of our Allies will, under the Divine Blessing, put an Period to the Expences and the Calamities of War, and fix the Liberties of our Country on a permanent Basis: while scanty and precarious Supplies of Men and Provisions, must continue to render every Enterprize Abortive, and to involve us in Ruin and Disgrace.

I entreat your Excellency to assure the honourable Legislature of my respectful Attachment, and my Strenuous Exertions to discharge with Fidelity and Success the Trust which they have been pleased to repose in me: And that you will believe me to be—with the utmost Regard & Esteem—Dear Sir, your Excellency's most Obedient and very humble Servant,

Jas. Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

¹ Clinton's October 29 letter to Duane and another of that date to the New York delegates are in Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:345-47. The enclosed resolutions "accompanied" three letters of the New York legislature (two of October 7 and one of the 10th) that were laid before Congress on November 8 and referred to a committee chaired by Duane. See *JCC*, 18:1032; and *PCC*, item 67, 2:314-24. A seven-page summary of Clinton's letters and enclosures, drafted by Duane and dated October 7-29, 1780, is in the Duane Papers, NHi.

² That is, Gen. John Morin Scott, whose last recorded vote in Congress was October 30, 1780, but who had not yet left Philadelphia. *JCC*, 18:993.

³ The issues of state troop quotas and troop compensation had been raised in an October 7 letter of the New York legislature cited in note one above. See also Duane to Clinton, November 29, 1780.

⁴ The question of the comparable value of specie and Continental bills had been raised in the New York legislature's October 10 letter cited in note one above.

⁵ Accordingly, Duane omitted this "Compulsory Clause" from the copy of the legislature's October 10 resolution that he submitted to Congress this day—i.e., six days after submitting the other documents sent by Clinton. This document, in Duane's hand and misrepresented by him as "A true Extract from the Instruction of the Delegates from the State of New York," is in PCC, item 67, 2:326-27. The original instruction read: "That the Delegates from the State be instructed to declare in Congress, that it is the earnest wish of this State, that Congress should, during the War, or until a perpetual Confederation shall be completed, exercise every Power which they may deem necessary for an effectual Prosecution of the War, & *and that whenever it shall appear to them that any State is deficient in furnishing the Quota of Men, Money, Provisions or other Supplies, required of such State, that Congress direct the Commander in Chief, without delay, to march the Army, or such Part of it as may be requisite, into such State; and by a Military Force, compel it to furnish its deficiency*." *Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly of the State of New York; at the Fourth Session* (Albany: Munsell and Rowland, 1859), p. 58. The extract Duane submitted to Congress, i.e., from which he deleted the offending "Compulsory Clause," ends with the phrase "for an effectual Prosecution of the War."

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir,

Philada. Novr. 14th. 1780

I am glad to find by your favor of the 5th inst.¹ recd. yesterday that your health & that of your family have admitted of your going to Richmond. The tardiness of other members is very unfortunate and inexcusable at the present critical moment. I wish when they do meet the vigor & wisdom of their measures may make amends for it.

I do not learn that any of the States are particularly attentive to prevent the evils arising from certificates & emissions from their own treasury, although they are unquestionably the bane of every salutary arrangement of the public finances. When the Estimate for the ensuing year was on the anvil in Congress, I proposed a recommendation to the States to discontinue the use of them, & particularly in providing the specific articles required.² It met however with so cool a reception that I did not much urge it. The objection against it was that the practice was manifestly repugnant to the Spirit of the Acts of Congress respecting finance, and if these were disregarded, no effect could be expected from any additional recommendations. The letters from G. Washington & the Com: General for some time past give a most alarming picture of the state & prospects of the Magazines. Applications to the contiguous States on the subject have been repeated from every quarter, till they seem to have lost all their force. Whether any degree of danger & necessity will rouse them to provide for the winter season now hastening upon

us, I am unwilling to decide because my fears dictate the worst. The inroads of the Enemy on the frontier of N. York have been most fatal to us in this respect. They have almost totally ruined that fine Wheat Country, which was able and from the energy of their Govt. most likely, to supply Magazines of flour both for the main Army & the NW posts. The Settlement of Schoarie which alone was able to furnish, accordg to a letter from Genl Washington 80,000 bushels of grain for public use has been totally laid in ashes.

Genl Washington in a letter to Congress of the 4th inst: mentions that another embarkation was on foot at N. York. In another of the 7 he says he had received no further intelligence on the subject, but had reason to think such a measure was still in contemplation. From the last letter it appears that by the late exchange abt. 140 officers including Genls. Lincoln, Thomson, Waterbury & du portail & Col. Laurens are liberated, as also all our privates amounting to 476. The General had acceded to a further proposal of Clinton for exchanging almost the whole residue of Our Officers for Convention Officers with out attaching any privates to them.

Reports of the 2d division of the French fleet are again reviving as you will see by the inclosed paper. It is also said that Rodney has sailed from N. York with 10 Ships of the line for Europe, but if there be any reality in the first report, it is more likely he is gone out to meet the french. The Cork fleet is not yet arrived, and very serious apprehensions begin to prevail at N. Y. on account of it.

Mr. Walker has been detained since the expiration of his service by an indisposition. He will set out in two or three days.³ Col. Pendleton informs me that Mr. Henry has resigned his place in Congress and intimates his fears that you may follow his example. I hope he is mistaken in the first as I am assured by your requ[est?] concerning Pemberton that he must be in the last. If Mr. Henry however should have resigned I intreat you to see that the vacancy is judiciously filled; and if any thoughts of it have been indulged by your self, I intreat you still more strongly to dismiss them. I have not yet received an answer from Pemberton, and have not had time since yours came in hand to apply for it.⁴ I was unwilling to appear very anxious about the matter. You shall know what is to be expected from him by next Post. I make no apology for inaccuracies & bad writing because you know the manner in which we are obliged to write for the post, and having been prevented by Company from doing any thing last night I am particularly hurried this morning.

Dr sir, J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:172-74.

¹ Ibid., pp. 161-63.

² Madison is referring to the requisition for money and provisions which Congress adopted on November 4, for which see John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2. If he proposed a specific amendment while the measure

“was on the anvil in Congress”—that states not be permitted to use their own “certificates and emissions” in meeting assigned quotas—it was not recorded in the journal. In a direct vote on October 26 Madison had supported that portion of the measure which permitted the states to pay the monetary portion of their quota in “bills of credit of the emissions directed by the resolution of the 18 of March last.” See *JCC*, 18:981.

³ For John Walker’s departure from Philadelphia, see Walker to George Weedon, October 24, 1780, note.

⁴ For Edmund Pendleton’s November 6 letter regarding James Henry’s resignation and Jones’ November 10 inquiry concerning “Pemberton,” see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:164, 168–70.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dr. Sir

Philada. Novr. 14th. 1780

Yr. favor of the 6th inst:¹ came to land yesterday. Mr. Griffin² by whom you appear also to have written has not yet arrived.

It gives me great pleasure to find that the Enemy’s numbers are so much less formidable that [*than*] was at first computed, but the information from N. York makes it not improbable that the blank in the computation may shortly be filled up. Genl. Washington wrote to Congress of the 4th inst. that another embarkation was going on at that place, and in another letter of the 7th he says that although he had received no further intelligence on the Subject, he had reason still to believe that such a measure was in contemplation. Neither the amount nor the object of it however had been ascertained.

The inroads of the Enemy on the Frontiers of N. York have been distressing & wasteful almost beyond their own example. They have totally laid in ashes a fine settlement called Schoarie which was capable Gel Washington says of yielding no less than 80,000 bushels of grain for public consumption. Such a loss is inestimable, and is the more to be regretted because, both local circumstances, and the energy of that Govt. left little doubt that it would have been applied to public use.

I fancy the taking of Quebec was a mere invention. Your letter gave me first account of such a report. A different report concerning the 2d. division of the French fleet has sprung up as you will see by the inclosed paper. It is believed here by many, and some attention given to it by all. It is also said that Rodney has sailed from N. York with 10 Ships for Europe. If he has sailed at all & the first report be true also, it is more likely that he is gone out to meet the french.

The late exchange has liberated abt. 140 Officers & all our privates at N. Y. amounting to 476. G. Washington has acceded to a proposal of a further example of the Convention Officers without attaching any privates to them, which will liberate almost the whole residue of our Officers at that place.

I am Sir with the highest esteem & regard, Yr obt. friend & Servt.
J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:175-76.

¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 163-64.

² That is, Cyrus Griffin, former Va. delegate and a judge on the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir, Philadelphia Nov. 15th 1780

The painting of your Carriage is not yet quite finished. Would recommend your Sending the Ballance of the money as soon as possible. Should the Carriage be finished before the money is ready a pretence may be made for raising the Exchange now between 80 & 90.

The House of Delegates I am informed have Come into a resolution of Calling in the old Continental money at forty for one. Their views I suppose extend no further than to Call in as much of the old as will put into Circulation Our part of the Continental new Emission on which, And the Support of its Credit, much depends. I am afraid that the want of unanimity in that House, will much embarrass their proceedings, but hope the Sordid Interest and private views of Individuals will not be Suffered to prevail So far as to defeat measures Calculated for the public good. It ought to be Considered that our All is at Stake and that every exertion is necessary for our Safety. The Army is again in great want of provisions, and unless Sufficient Supplies are Sent forward before the hard weather Sets in, they must be in great distress.

The Cork provision fleet so long looked for at New York is not yet Arrived—the embarkation of Troops at that place is Still going on, destined it is probable to reinforce their Army in Virginia.—For Southern news I refer you to the last paper.

My finances are very low And Shall in a very little time be in disagreeable Situation. I hope therefore you will have it in your power to Send me A reinforcement by the next post, for which I shall be much obliged.¹ My Compliments to Mrs Lee and wishing you health And happiness, Am Dear sir, your Excellencys most hble Servt,
John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ See George Plater to Lee, November 13, 1780, note 2.

² This day Hanson sent a nearly identical copy of the second and third paragraphs of this letter to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, for which see the Carroll Papers, MdHi.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Schulkill Falls November 15th 1780.¹

Some time has Elapsed, since I wrote You last owing to my having been ill, with the Fever which raged in the City. I was not confined more than a Week, yet it left me so Enfeebled that an attention to the Business in Congress; and on Committees which met every Morning and Evening not only prevented my Writing but reduced me so low that I was compell'd to move to this Place for recovery of Health from which I ride into the City every Morning to meet Committees at Nine, attend Congress afterwards; and return at Night, this Deprives me of that Leisure which I would wish to Employ in giving You every possible Information respecting our Publick Affairs. I am sorry to say that they are far from affording Pleasure to the Friends of America; former Congresses undoubtedly had their Difficulties; and whether any other set of Men under their Circumstances would have done better is not Easy for a Judicious Mind to Determine. Events have however proved their Error and call aloud for a speedy reformation. Perhaps most of our Difficulties have arisen from an Ignorance of Finance, & the want of System in every Department.

A new Army is now Arraigned the States now called upon for Men and Specific Supplies. All Publick Departments are now Arranging upon oeconomic Principles. The several and expensive Navy Boards will be Abolished. The War Office and Treasury Board regulated. A Committee is appointed for arranging our Finances. A Loan from France solicited in the most pressing and Positive Terms: and a regular System will soon take Place. Perhaps it may be thought a late Hour for this reformation, but is it not better late than never? Every Days Experience proves that many of our Distresses arise from a want of Power in Congress to carry any of their Measures into Execution. They send Requisitions to the States, some comply, some do not; and the Consequence of this is too Obvious to need Explanation. Hence it is that our Army is often ready to Perish with Hunger and Cold. I am happy to find that New Hampshire stands foremost in Her Compliance with the requisitions of Congress. At present we have no Money in the Treasury, some States have not yet receiv'd their new Money or call'd in their Old. This with the Artful Industry of Tories, and Speculators has Depreciated the Old Money to Eighty five and even to a Hundred and ten for one in this City. This of course more than doubles our National Debt; for as the Bills of the 18th of March must be redeemed with Silver and Gold, and are Issued at forty for one Five Million of Silver Dollars must be employed to redeem the two Hundred Million of Dollars Emittid: When at only Eighty for one two Millions and a half of

Silver Dollars would purchase in the whole Sum. Consequently there is a National loss of more than two Millions and a half of Silver Dollars with its Interest without any Prospect of Publick Advantage. But this is not all. Speculators, and Tories, who have hoarded up the Specie take every advantage of our Necessities, Speculate upon our Foreign Bills so that we loose 25 per Cent on all our Money borrowed from France. Our Army is almost Naked yet we have had Clothing sufficient for them at Cape Francois more than Eighteen Months, and Frigates employed in Useless adventures. We had also Arms for 20 thousand Men and Clothing for forty nine thousand purchased in France and sent to the Stores to be Shipped in April last. The Capt. of the Alliance was to have brought them but he came off and left them. We then hop'd they might come in the Ariel, but She has not arriv'd. In short, this season has Exhibited a Scene of Misfortunes, scarcely to be Equaled in History many of them have Arisen from unforeseen Events; & too many from our own inattention and Neglect. Measures are now taken for forwarding the Arms and Clothing. But to prevent the other Evil ari[sing from] Depreciation and Speculation is not so easy. The first loss of two Millions and a half of [Dollars] is inevitable: for the Credit of the last Money must be supported or Publick Faith can no longer Exist. To do this and prevent the loss on our Bills Specie must be introduced, to Circulate with the Bills, to redeem them and to act in all respects as an Auxilary to them. Perhaps it may be said that it was wrong to Issue these Bills in the manner they were Issued, to which I agree but it is now too late to prevent an Evil which has had all its Effects; and an attempt to remedy it would draw on Consequences still more Injurious.

I have the Honor to be one of the Committee for Arrainging our Finances,¹ and flatter myself that we shall yet have them established upon a respectable Footing.

Thus have I given You a True though Malencholy Picture of our Political Affairs and sincerely wish that truth would permit me to give You a more Pleasing One.

With respect to our Military Affairs, I can give you but little Information. Lord Cornwallis, since the famous Furgerson was Defeated has retreated towards Charlestown. Genl Green has gone on to take the Command from Gates. The British that landed at Portsmouth in Virginia remain there sending out small Parties to Pillage. Genl Clinton is about Imbarking with a large Force: I suppose for the Southern States to employ the Winter there as he did the last; though I [hope] not so successfully.

[I su]ppose You will readily conceive by the Account I [have] given that my Employment here is not of the most Entertaining kind. I freely confess it, and wish to be releived as soon as is convenient. I must at all Events be Home by the first of the Spring to look after my Farms which are now the only Barrier between me and extreem

Poverty. Perhaps if requested I may return again in the Summer. I wish as soon as the Assembly meets to know what Wages I am to expect (in real value) as the duty I owe to myself and Family will no longer permit me to serve the Publick in the highest and most perplexing offices to the ruin of my Fortune when even the common Soldier receives a superior reward and commands Superior Attention. This has ever been my misfortune since in Publick Service except when I had the Honor to serve in Congress before for Newhamphshire.

And as it is my Duty to serve the Publick with Fidelity I at the same time ought to know what I am to expect as a reward for those Services.

With Respect to Vermont the case was several times Argued and at length Congress met to consider upon it at six in the Evening and sat till twelve: it was learnedly and Candidly Argued; The Agents on both sides attended without speaking. The Arguments ran so much against New York that the Agents who were before pressing a Decision have never Mentioned it since & thus it rests at present.²

I am compell'd to inform You that I shall be in immediate want of Money. Articles are so dear here that You can scarce have a conception of it. Board without any thing but water to drink Eight hard Dollars per Week Then firewood and all Lyquors to be paid for. Horse keeping forty Dollars per Day. A common riding Saddle twenty one pound hard Money and every thing else in proportion and daily rising. In short a thousand Continental Dollars will not purchase what five formerly did.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully Dear Sir Your most Obedt
Servt,
Jno Sullivan

P.S. The exchange here, is from Eighty five to one Hundred and ten. The price of Articles in hard Money is on an Average three times as much as formerly upon this Price they take the Exchange in Continental money at about a Hundred for one so that three Dollars would formerly Purchase as much as nine Hundred will at this Time.

Jno. Sullivan

RC (MiU-C: Clinton Papers). In a clerical hand, and signed by John Sullivan. Sullivan's letter was one of several letters of delegates that were intercepted by the British when the rider for the "eastern" post was overtaken at Stratford Landing, Conn. The letters were delivered to Sir Henry Clinton "by the good management of Major Delancy" and copies of "several that are very interesting" were forwarded to Lord George Germain by Clinton on December 16. See C.O. 5, 101:10-58, PRO; and Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution*, 16:458. Sullivan's letter was one of several subsequently published by James Rivington in the *New York Royal Gazette*, December 18 "Extraordinary," and December 27, 1780. See also Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10, 1780.

¹ Sullivan was chairman of the committee appointed on November 7 "to prepare and lay before Congress a plan for arranging finances, paying the debts and oeconomising the revenue of the United States." For his work on this committee,

see *JCC*, 18:1028, 1157–64; and Sullivan's Notes of Proceedings of the Committee on Finance, November 7–23? 1780.

² For James Duane's similar conclusion that the debates in Congress on Vermont had turned against New York, see Duane to George Clinton, October 7, 1780.

James Duane to Mary Duane

Philad. 16 Novmr. 1780,

I wrote to you my dearest Polly a few days since by Mrs. Cambell. Yesterday I receivd a Line from Brother Robert who expects soon an Encrease of his Family. I am sorry to find sister seems from his account to be much in the disagreeable way she was at the manour. I wait to hear from them with real Anxiety.¹

I mentiond in one of my former Letters my wish that a note for £26 due for my mare Bess, by a man at Corry's bask whose name I have forgotten might be sent to Mr. Cuyler of Schenectade to be received. I hope it has been done as the money woud be of use to me here. The state has made a sufficient provision £750 of the new Emission equal to silver; but it has not been forwarded neither woud it pass in this Town. General McDougald is daily expected; and I shall then know what I have to depend upon. There is no news of any great moment here; but what you will read in the news papers now forwarded.

I forgot to mention that Sister Livingston has received the cloak and returns you thanks for your kind attention to her.

Kiss and bless our dear children for me and believe it is impossible to be more sincerely than I am, Your affectionate & faithful Husband,
Jas Duane

[P.S.] My affectionate Compliments to every Branch of the family. Tell Brothers John & Harry that I shall esteem it a great Pleasure to be favourd with a Line from each of them. What's done with my young Horses? Is Harry still fond of Military Glory? or tired of the Fatigues of War?

RC (NH: Duane Papers).

¹ Duane's concern was for Alice Swift Livingston, wife of Mary's brother Robert C. Livingston.

Samuel Huntington to Certain States

Sir,

Philadelphia November 16. 1780

I have the Honor to transmit your Excellency an Extract of a Letter of the 7th Instant from General Washington, together with the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 14 Instant,¹ earnestly requesting that

as great a Proportion as can be procured, of the Quota of Provision for the Army assigned to the State of Maryland² may be forwarded without Loss of Time. The great Destruction of the Grain upon the Western Frontiers of New York in the late Incursions of the Enemy makes this request peculiarly pressing, and the Efforts of the State in Compliance therewith the more essential.

Your Excellency will further observe, that by the Act enclosed it is recommended to the respective States (where it hath not been already done) to pass laws to inflict Capital Punishment on all Persons who shall furnish the Enemy with Provisions, military or naval Stores, and that the most effectual Measures be adopted for the vigorous Execution of such Laws.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (MdAA: Red Books). LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "For The first Executive Officers in Pennsylvania, Delaware & Maryland."

¹ Congress adopted this resolution in response to a warning from General Washington that the recent destruction of grain on the New York frontier (particularly at Schoharie, where at least 80,000 bushels had been lost), had undermined efforts to maintain the Continental magazines "upon the North River," and that if an effective remedy was to be provided, grain from Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania would have to be made available "previous to the interruption of transportation by frost and bad roads." See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:312-13; and *JCC*, 18:1049, 1051-52.

² Or Delaware or Pennsylvania, in the other two letters.

³ See Huntington to the States, November 17, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia November 16, 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10 Instant, requesting your Excellency to cause an Enquiry to be made into the Circumstances of the Canadian Families residing in the State of New York and to take them under your Protection; and to give them such Assistance, further than what they have already received, at the Expense of the United States, as you shall Judge necessary.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (N: Clinton Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ In a letter to Congress of November 1, General Washington explained that he had learned that Canadian refugees living in Albany were not receiving rations previously authorized for them, and therefore had ordered the commander at Albany, Gen. James Clinton, to provide them until sent further orders. The enclosed resolution simply signified congressional approval of Washington's action and went on to order Governor Clinton to conduct an inquiry into the circumstances of the

Canadians while continuing to provide them assistance “at the expence of the United States, as he shall judge necessary.” See *JCC*, 18:1022, 1042; *PCC*, item 152, 9:339-41; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:275-76.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir,

Philada November 16. 1780

I have herewith enclosed for your Information, the Extract of an Act of Congress of the 7th Instant, by which General Washington is empowered to effect a general Exchange of all Prisoners of War, including the Convention Troops, provided the Enemy will accede to such Terms as are admissible.¹ I have thought proper to give you this Information to prevent any Embarrassment that might possibly arise in the Exercise of the Powers with which you are invested for the Exchange of Prisoners; altho' I suppose you would not apprehend yourself authorized to exchange any of the Convention Troops, or settle any Cartel that should extend to all Prisoners in America on either Side, but consider your Powers in a limited Sense, as restricted to the Department in which you have the Command. Should a general Cartel take place with the Assent of General Washington in Consequence of this Act, (which is yet uncertain) you will be informed of it without Delay.

I have also enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 4th Instant, requesting a Tax from the several States therein mentioned, equal to six Millions of Dollars in Specie; to be paid part in specific Articles & Part in Money, at the Periods & in the Manner mentioned in the Act.²

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.³

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1028-31; and Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780, note 2.

² *JCC*, 18:1011-18.

³ This day Huntington also sent a second letter to Greene, enclosing a November 13 resolution commending the troops engaged in the victory “over the enemy at King’s Mountain, on the 7th of October last.” *JCC*, 18:1048; and Greene Papers, MiU-C.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia November 16. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 10th Instant, respecting the Canadian Families residing in the State of New York; their Protection and future Support.¹

Also the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 14th Instant, by which you will be informed of the Measures Congress have adopted respecting Colls Armand's & Lee's Corps, and the several other Subjects therein mentioned, in Consequence of your Letter of the 7th Instant.²

Your Excellency will please to note, that a Return is to be made to Congress of the Officers of the Engineering Department, including those of the Companies of the Sappers & Miners; and distinguishing such as in your Judgement it will be necessary to retain in the Service.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to George Clinton, this date.

² In his letter to Congress of November 7, Washington had submitted a critique of the "new arrangement" of the Continental Army adopted on October 21. The enclosed November 14 resolve simply endorsed Washington's recommendations for augmenting the Continental Cavalry, authorizing him to incorporate the survivors of the late Casimir Pulaski's corps into that of Colonel Armand's and to complete both Armand's and Henry Lee's cavalry corps "according to the late establishment." See *JCC*, 18:1049, 1051-52; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:311-12.

³ Washington had pointed out that in the new arrangement of the Continental Army, Congress had entirely ignored the engineering department. The enclosed resolve invited the commander in chief to constitute the department as he saw fit, which although long delayed was eventually implemented in his general orders of June 6, 1781. See *JCC*, 18:1052; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:312, 399, 22:165.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada November 17. 1780

The Intelligence contained in the enclosed Copy of a Letter just received from General Washington is of such a Nature, I have thought proper to transmit the same to your Excellency by Express.¹

Your several Despatches of the 26 Ulto, 3d, 7 & 10 Instant have been duly received.²

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Endorsed: "N.B. Similar Letters, excepting the last Clause, to Governor [Thomas Sim] Lee and General [Nathanael] Greene."

¹ Huntington's enclosure was Washington's letter of November 14 warning that Admiral George Rodney's fleet, "with the transports which have been sometime preparing," was about to set sail from Sandy Hook, their destination "generally believed to be to the Southward." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:246.

² For Jefferson's letters, see *JCC*, 18:1004, 1066; PCC, item 71, 1:491-94, 499-520; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:69-71, 92-93, 98-99, 110.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada November 17. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 14th Instant representing the criminal Practice carried on by Individuals from some of the States in supplying the Enemy with Provision.

And recommending to the Legislature of the respective States; by whom it hath not been already done; to enact Laws inflicting capital Punishment on all such Persons as shall directly or indirectly supply the Enemy with Provisions or military or naval Stores; and adopt the most vigorous Measures for the Execution of such Laws.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Congress adopted this "Act" in response to a November 7 warning from General Washington "that the enemy at New York derive great supplies of provisions from a trade with the adjacent states," and that the laws of the states designed to prevent this abuse were inadequate to the purpose. See *JCC*, 18:1052-53; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:314.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia November 17. 1780

I enclose your Excellency Copy of a Letter of the 10 Instant, just received from Governor Jefferson, with the Copy of an intercepted Letter (referred to in the Governors) from General Leslie to Lord Cornwallis; which in some Measure discovers the Designs of the Enemy at the Time they landed in Virginia.¹

I have this evening received your Letter of the 14th Instant, and shall immediately forward the Intelligence it contains to the Southern States.²

With every Sentiment of Esteem & Respect, I am, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1066; PCC, item 71, 1:517-20, 522; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:110-11.

² See Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, this date.

Timothy Matlack, Ezekiel Cornell, Charles Thomson, and James Duane to John Dunlap

To the Public.

Philadelphia, Nov. 17, 1780.

The three following certificates will, I presume, sufficiently support before you the declaration made by me in the last *Pennsylvania Packet*,¹ and I shall to-morrow give to the honourable house of general assembly farther proof that I never made use of any such sentiment or expressions as has been insinuated by Dr. Morgan.

Nov. 17.

TIMOTHY MATLACK.

To the Printers.

In your paper of the 11th instant I observe a piece, intitled "Doctor Morgan's continuation," in which are the following words, "as is alledged That the secretary of the state of Pennsylvania should affirm in Congress, That this state made a point of it, or would resent it, if doctor Shippen was not re-appointed director general:" which appears to me a little extraordinary, as I was present in Congress, during the whole time the Doctor's tryal was reading, and at his re-election: and I do declare that I never heard the honourable Timothy Matlack, esquire, utter such a sentence or insinuate the most distant hint tending to that purpose; but, on the contrary, he appeared through the whole affair to conduct himself with the greatest candour.

EZEKIEL CORNELL.

I do not recollect, that I ever heard Mr. Matlack say in Congress or elsewhere, that "this state made a point of it, or would resent it, if Dr. Shippen was not re-appointed director general," nor words to that import.

CHARLES THOMSON.

At the request of the honourable Mr. Matlack, I certify, that before the late election of Dr. Shippen as director general of the hospitals, I had a conversation with him on that subject; That he discovered great candour in his opinion; and, as far as it depended on his judgment, left me uninfluenced.

JAMES DUANE.

Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, November 18, 1780.

¹ This "declaration" consisted of the following note printed in the November 14 issue of the *Packet*: "In your paper of Saturday last [November 11] Dr. Morgan had insinuated, that I had affirmed, that 'this state made a point of it, or would resent it if Doctor Shippen was not re appointed director general.' I never made any such declaration, and it is a duty which I owe to myself to say so thus publicly, T. Matlack."

Dr. John Morgan's prosecution of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., director general of Continental hospitals, had been dealt a blow in July when a court-martial acquitted him of charges of corruption, and officially ended on August 18 when Congress, after a month of bitter debate, finally adopted a compromise resolution accepting Shippen's acquittal and ordering his release. Thereupon, Morgan took his crusade

directly to the people of Pennsylvania via John Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, in which details of the case were aired in no fewer than 20 issues from September 2 to the end of December 1780.

Though greatly disturbed at Shippen's acquittal, Morgan was even more outraged at Congress' decision to reappoint Shippen director general on October 6, and subsequently broadened his attack in an ever more desperate bid to win support. One of the results was that in the November 11 issue of the *Packet* Morgan insinuated that Shippen's reappointment was due to the connivance of Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Pennsylvania Council, who was alleged to have argued in Congress that Pennsylvania would resent the decision if Shippen were not reappointed. Matlack thereupon responded by issuing the "declaration" quoted above, printed the 14th, and securing the testimony of Ezekiel Cornell, Charles Thomson, and James Duane in support of his rebuttal of Morgan's allegation, printed here from the *Packet* of the 18th.

For the background of Morgan's campaign against Shippen, see John Armstrong to Horatio Gates, July 21, note; and Samuel Huntington to Shippen, October 9, 1780.

James Madison's Certificate

[November 17? 1780]¹

[At] the request of the Honble. T. Matlack Esqr. I received the inclosed papers from him Octr. 27, and have since had them in my care. The two certificates of faithful entry, on the margin of two of the sheets by Mr. Walker were signed in my presence at the time I received them.² Mr Walker was not desired to certify the like with regard to the other passages. He observed that he was constantly present during the inquiry and had no doubt that the whole of the within minutes were a true recital of facts.

J Madison Junr.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). Written and signed by James Madison.

¹ For the context in which Madison executed this "certificate," see the following entry. With it he "delivered in a bundle of sealed papers" to a committee that had been conducting an inquiry into the conduct of the treasury department, which resumed this day and opened with a review of its previous hearings. The papers Madison delivered consisted of minutes kept by Timothy Matlack covering the committee's proceedings from October 9 to 26.

² For these "two certificates of faithful entry, on the margin of two sheets by Mr. Walker," see the Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 25, note 1, and October 26, note 11. They had been solicited by Matlack because of accusations by Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson, two of the commissioners under investigation, that he was hostile to their case and prejudiced their chance for a fair hearing. The two had repeatedly attempted to obstruct the committee's investigation, ignoring committee summonses, questioning its authority and procedures, appealing to Congress over its head, and suggesting that Matlack's minutes were not a faithful representation of its proceedings. See PCC, item 62, fols. 309-17, 599-620. Matlack's tactic of entrusting these papers to Madison and soliciting Walker's testimony on the accuracy of two specific sections of the minutes was thus aimed at blunting the force of such charges and innuendoes.

For another instance in which Walker was used by the committee to obviate similar charges, see also Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, November 23, 1780, note 2.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

The Committee met, Friday November 17th. 1780. Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Bee, Mr. Sharpe, Genl. Ward & Mr. Matlack.¹

Mr. Maddison delivered in a bundle of sealed papers with a certificate thereon signed by him which was read.²

The business was then opened (Mr. Mercier, Mr. Geddis, Mr. Govett,³ and Mr. Gibson and Mr. Furman were present (also Mr. Clarkson one of the clerks of the Treasury).

The Chairman then read the charges against the Chambers of account as stated and formerly delivered in to the Committee by the Commissioners of the Treasury.⁴

The Chairman then desired the former minutes to be opened and read by Mr. Matlack. To This Mr. Matlack objected, because he could not consent to have those minutes put into his hands, as it might be hereafter alledged, that he had made alterations therein—Whereupon the minutes was read by Mr. McKean—so far as relates to the charges laid by the Commissioners of the Treasury against the Chambers of accounts.

Note, That, during the reading of the evidence and some part of the state of facts by the Coms. Treasury, Mr. Bee had retired on business of his, observing, as he went out, that he could read the papers on his return and therefore the business might go on so far as was committed to writing. Mr. Bee having returned near the close of the reading of the minutes, when the same was finished the Minutes were put into the hands of Mr Bee for his examination.

Adjourned to Tuesday 10 o'clock.⁵

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack.

¹ This inquiry was conducted in response to a November 16 order of Congress directing the committee "to hear the complaint of the commissioners of the Board of Treasury against the commissioners of the chambers of accounts," contained in a petition of the same date from treasury commissioners Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson. The "complaint" had grown out of an earlier inquiry into the conduct of Forman and Gibson on charges directed against them by Francis Hopkinson, the continental treasurer of loans, in the course of which they had attempted to parry the thrust of Hopkinson's charges by submitting a number of their own against the commissioners of accounts. See Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 9, 11, 12, 16, 21, 23, 25, 26, 1780.

Upon completion of the previous inquiry, conducted by Thomas McKean, Timothy Matlack, and John Walker, Forman and Gibson had immediately complained that they had not had an impartial hearing, and they essentially repeated the charge in their petition of November 16. However, they exempted Walker from their charge, directing their innuendoes only at Matlack and chairman McKean, the latter suspect in part because he was related by marriage to Hopkinson. See PCC, item 62, fols. 309-16, 477-78.

Since Walker was no longer a member of Congress (his credentials had expired

on November 6 and he was about to return to Virginia), McKean immediately moved to have the committee enlarged to meet the petitioners' plea, and thereupon Thomas Bee, William Sharpe, and Artemas Ward were added. *JCC*, 16:268, 18:1063. Hearings were accordingly held this day and on November 18, 20, and 23, and the committee submitted their findings, covering both the October and November hearings, on the 24th. *JCC*, 18:1091-92.

² For the meaning of this passage, see the preceding entry.

³ John D. Mercier, William Geddes, and William Govett, commissioners of the chambers of accounts, who along with commissioner Resolve Smith were the objects of Forman's and Gibson's charges.

⁴ These consisted of five numbered major charges—1. Neglect of duty, 2. Indolence, 3. Inattention to the public interest, 4. Incapacity, and 5. Partiality—and some "lesser Matters," such as "maligning" and "opposing the authority" of the Board of Treasury. *PCC*, item 62, fols. 474-77. See also Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes, October 12, note 4.

⁵ Actually the committee reconvened the following day, for which see the committee's minutes, November 18, 1780.

Georgia Delegates' Proposed Resolutions

[November 18, 1780]¹

The underwritten Delegates of the State of Georgia propose, that the instructions to Mr. Jay, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, and the territory claimed by several States upon its Eastern banks, be reconsidered; and that the ultimatum of these States, to the Court of Madrid, be given to the purport and in the manner following.

Whereas a powerful armed neutrality hath been formed in Europe, for the avowed purpose of vindicating and preserving the rights of a free Commerce, and a Congress of the neutral powers is intended to be held in the ensuing winter: by which, it is not improbable, Overtures of peace may be made, and that the principle, *Uti possidetis*, may be the foundation—a principle utterly inadmissable by these States.

And Whereas it has been represented, that the only bar to an alliance with Spain, which it is our great interest to effect, is, the navigation of the river Mississippi.

Resolved, therefore, that Mr. Jay be instructed, in case he shall find it indispensibly necessary, to yield in his instructions heretofore given, upon this subject; And that he be empowered to cede to the crown of Spain, the entire Navigation of the river Mississippi, together with a tract of territory, to begin upon the eastern bank of the said river, where the southern line of Georgia Strikes it, running along the said line Eastwardly to the river Mobile, and thence Northwardly to Cape Anthony on the said river: provided his Catholic Majesty shall, at the same time enter into a Treaty with these States, to be approved by Mr. Jay, and shall grant an annual Subsidy of half a million of pounds Sterling, for five years, or make a loan of double

that sum annually during the war, and shall agree not to Accede to proposals of peace, without the concurrence of these States, by their Minister plenipotentiary, appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, that an Envoy extraordinary be appointed to go to the Court of Versailles, to make, in concert with Mr. Franklin, the public representations of the United-states, And that he be charged also with the dispatches for Mr. Jay, which he is to send by a trusty courier, or, in case of his arriving upon or near the Coast of Spain, he shall proceed first to the Court of Madrid, and deliver them in person.

Ordered, that the board of Admiralty, be directed to have a frigate in readiness, to carry the said Envoy and dispatches to Europe.

Done at Philadelphia, the 10 November, 1780.

Geo Walton

Richd Howly

MS (DLC: Force Miscellany). In the hand of Walton and signed by Walton and Howly.

¹ These resolutions, written in their present form on November 10, were presented in Congress this day by Walton and Howly, for which see *JCC*, 18:1070-72. The Georgia delegates were reacting to the aggressive position taken by Congress on October 4 when it adopted instructions to John Jay concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi—the position favored by Virginia—and its approval on October 17 of a letter drafted by a committee headed by James Madison explaining the “reasons and principles” behind the instructions. See *JCC*, 18:900-902, 935-47; and James Madison’s Notes on Barbé-Marbois’ Observations on the Western Boundary of the United States, October 6-16, 1780. The Georgia delegates feared that any peace overtures made at the forthcoming European congress of neutral powers would embrace the principle of *uti possidetis*, thus leaving large areas of South Carolina and Georgia in British hands, and here appealed for Congress to abandon its ultimatum on the Mississippi question to bolster the war effort. Although Congress set aside November 22 for consideration of the motion, it was not taken up until December 5. On December 8, however, the Virginia delegates moved that the Georgia delegates’ resolutions “essentially affect the claims . . . the State of Virginia has expressly instructed their representatives in Congress to insist upon,” therefore “further consideration of the said Propositions [should] be suspended” until the Virginia assembly could transmit new instructions, which the delegates requested soon thereafter. See *JCC*, 18:1072, 1121, 1131-32; *PCC*, item 36, 1:115-16; and Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, December 13, 1780. Although Charles Thomson’s endorsement on the Georgia resolutions indicates that on December 29 Congress assigned January 5 “for the consideration of this,” there is no evidence in the journals that Congress did so. The Georgia delegates thereupon made their case public by issuing a small pamphlet, for which see Georgia Delegates’ “Observations,” January 8, 1781.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir

Philadelphia Nov. 18th. 1780

Your Carriage is finished. Exchange is now from 90 to 100 & rising

rapidly. You never gave any direction about having your Coat of Arms put on the Carriage. I have searched some Books of heraldry, Where I found the Arms for Lee Earl of Essex, Which I presume is the Arms of your family, & which I have odered to be painted on the Carriage. If it is wrong, you will be pleased to give your direction. The painter Says he Can make Any Alteration with little trouble, and no Expence to you. I think the Carriage will please you. No news.

With respect, I am, Dear sir, Your most humble Servt,
John Hanson

[P.S.] I hope you will have it in your power to Send me Some Conti[nentals] by the first Oppertunity, have not enough by me to pay one weeks board.

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Dear Sir,

Philada. 18 November 1780

I do myself the Honour to enclose to your Excellency, Extract of a Letter of the 10th inst. from Governour Jefferson, of Virginia, to the President of Congress, covering an intercepted Letter from Major General Alexander Leslie to Lord Cornwallis, dated the 4th of the same Month, Copy of which I also send you.¹ This is the first authentick Disclosure of the Purpose of the Enemy in going to Virginia; and the Letter carries the Appearance of Embarrassment and Derangement in their Object at present. From it also we may derive the Means of forming, with more Certainty, Conjectures of their future Movements. Their Disappointment in not being able to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, may occasion new Plans at New-York, to which we ought carefully to attend.

I am to beg your Excellency will communicate the Contents of this to Mr. Speaker and such Gentlemen as may be curious to attend to the Course of our Affairs; observing at the same Time that I know not whether the Enemy at New-York have yet heard of Leslie's Difficulty, and Congress have not ordered it to be published. I suppose Govr. Jefferson will *reward* the Bearer of the Letter.

I have the Honour to be, with great Respect, your Excellency's most obedt. and very humble Servant, W C Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to Washington, November 17, 1780, note 1.

Samuel Huntington to Charles Stewart

Sir, Philadelphia November 18. 1780
 I have received your Letter of the 10th Instant and laid the same before Congress, in Consequence of which they have passed a resolve of the 16 Instant Copy of which is enclosed, approving of your Proposal by appointing James Gamble to conduct the Business heretofore under the Charge of Mr. Gray, until the Settlement of Mr Gray's Accounts; which being done Mr Gray's Resignation is accepted.¹

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ In a November 2 letter to Congress, James Gray, deputy commissary general of issues for the northern district at Albany, had asked permission to resign, and requested that his salary, plus clerk's pay and rations, be continued while settling his accounts with the auditors. Colonel Stewart, commissary general of issues, had endorsed Gray's request while recommending that James Gamble be appointed his successor, and Congress merely approved Stewart's recommendation. See *JCC*, 18:1059-60; and *PCC*, item 78, 10:273-76, 20:571-74.

Huntington's letter to James Gray enclosing this same November 16 resolution is in *PCC*, item 15, fols. 163-64.

John Sullivan to John Hancock

Philadelphia November 18th 1780.

Permit me my Dear Sir with the most unfeigned Sincerity to Congratulate Your Excellency on Your Advancement to the Chair of Government in the State of the Massachusetts Bay. It affords me inexpressible Pleasure to find that the Freemen of Your State have been guided by their Judgment, Their Gratitude and regard for Publick Virtue to give their Suffrages for a Gentleman who not only Possesses sufficient Skill to regulate the Political Wheels of Government but has the Abilities and Disposition to Draw forth all the resources of that Important State in time of Publick Danger and lead its Forces against the Common Enemy with that Judgment and Bravery which must insure Success.

As I ever supposed Your Excellency would have no rival for the Chair after Your Constitution of Government was form'd My Surprise was beyond Description when I found that You had a Competitor¹ for the Chief Magistracy who in Times of Publick Danger feared to venture upon the Stage and whose after Conduct seems rather to have proceeded from Fortunate Successes on Our side than from the result of Choice and Deliberation. There are already in America too many Persons Possessing the most Important

Offices who in the Commencement of the present Contest when the Event was doubtful used every Artifice to destroy that Theatre upon which they can now appear with so much Safety and Satisfaction Though this may easily be accounted for from the Principles which Govern the Human Heart Yet I confess I am not Able to decide upon the Conduct of those who have from the earliest Period been high in their Professions have condemned the doubting, the Timid and the Neutral American and yet Use all their Influence to Promote those very Persons in Opposition to others who have every Claim that Principles of Gratitude and Patriotism can Inspire to draw their Esteem and Influence. When I discover a Conduct like this I cannot help observing that it is possible for some Men to Possess the best of Principles for the most Pernicious Purposes.

That Your Excellency may long experience the Gratitude of a Brave and Generous People equal to the Merit You have ever discovered both in Publick and Private Life is the most fervent Wish of Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most Obedt. and most Humble Servant.

Jno Sullivan

RC (MiU-C: Hancock Papers). In a clerical hand, and signed by John Sullivan. One of several delegate letters intercepted by the British and published in James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*, for which see Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

¹ That is, James Bowdoin.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Saturday November 18th. 1780.

Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Bee, Mr. Ward, Mr. Sharpe, & Mr Matlack. Also Mr Gibson, Mr Forman, Mr Geddis, And Mr Nicholson.¹

Mr Huston² introduced and desired to give evidence on the charges exhibitted by the Com. of Treas. Agt. the Chambers of Accots. and the sd. charges were read whereupon Mr. Huston was requested to proceed.

Mr. Gibson rose and having made some observations on the propriety of having heard Mr Hustons evidence first in order—desired that the question then in his hand on paper might be proposed.

Mr Gibson was informed—That the Committee adhered to the mode of hearing the evidence first—and that afterwards he would be at liberty to ask any questions he pleased.³

Mr. Huston asked to what points he was to answer. It was replied—the charges of indolence &c as stated.⁴

While I attended the Treasury 10 Novr. 1779—for six months—The Board met at 9 in the Morning—the Members of Congress at

9—himself frequently 8. His only mode of judging was from the time of attending of the Com. of Accots. Thus he sometimes did not find them all there at 9 oclock sometimes not at 10. That he attended also sometimes in the afternoon—at five oclock—that he did not make observations or remark any particular negligence—nor did he find them all there—but those who were there were generally employed and he always found he could have the business he came about readily done.

I observed that except at those hours I cannot answer, being in Congress. I had no other opportunity of judging of the Case but from the reports made by the Chambers. Those that were made I did not pay particular attention to them with this board. Sometimes the Vouchers were few—sometimes many. Perhaps when the reports were few there might have been particular difficulties—the reports themselves may perhaps best show.

Mr. Huston continued.

As to incapacity.

So far as I can judge the accounts were properly stated. I was not altogether a competent judge of their abilities; but so far as I could judge their did not appear anything to prove but that they were capable. I suppose the question points to their abilities as accomptants. I have had no occasion to look into the business in any other view.

Partiality.

Do you know of any instances of it? (And the words of the charge was read).

An. I do not know any instance of that kind.

Mr Hopkinsons, Mr Gibsons & Mr Trickets accots. were mentioned.

Mr Huston. There were a variety of appeals upon reports; but it did not strike me that there appeared to be any instance of partiality in the Chambers of accounts.

Mr. Bickings accott. mentioned,⁵ and the charge read. I recollect something about a hesitation in the board to allow Bickings accott. on an opinion, that the public was credited too low for the Canvass—And I thus thought it ought to have been raised in proportion to the price of paper; but how the matter issued I cannot tell, perhaps the letters on that occasion may show.

Qu. Did you apprehend, that there was any partiality in the Chambers of Acts. in this instance?

An. I did not.

Malining the Board of Treasury—(the charge read).

Observation by Mr Gibson. This was after Mr. Huston left the board.

Mr Huston. I dont know how I should know of that as a public charge. I have heard the Chambers of accotts. when my business

lead me to the Chambers of accotts. which was often, speak freely of the abilities of the Commisrs. of the Treasury, from which I supposed they did not think very highly of them.

Qu. Did you ever hear them say any thing injurious to the integrity and attention to business?

An. No.

Qu. Was what you have heard the Com. of Chambers say of the Com. of Trea. in public?

An. What I have heard them say has been in the Chambers, when there might have been the Com. of Chambers and perhaps the Assistant Auditor Genl.

Qu. Do you recollect any particular words expressed by them respecting the Com. Treas.?

An. I cannot recollect any particular expressions; but I have heard them express a sentiment That the Com. of Tr. were not in all respects the best qualified for the discharge of the trust committed to them—and perhaps so far as to intimate their temper or disposition as being not the most favourable for that station.

Questions by Mr. Gibson

To No. 1.

An. To the best of my recollection they did.

The several questions proposed by Mr. Gibson being read altogether,⁶ it was moved, That the said questions should be delivered to Mr Huston to be answered by him in writing; but several questions not relating to the charges against the Chambers of accotts, being objected to—the committee agreed to hear and propose any questions offered by the Com. of Trea. which in any way tended to elucidate the charges against the Cham. of Accotts.⁷

Q. No. 2. Do you know that the intention of the board of treasury, of fixing hours of office for the Chambers of accounts, was communicated to them or any of them?

A. I do not know that it was communicated officially—I believe it was not, that no copy of such was sent down to the chambers.

Q. Did not the board postpone their intention of fixing hours of office for the chambers on hearing from Mr. Troop that he had conversed with them about it?

A. The Account given by Colo. Troop had some influence with the board, I believe, to postpone it; I know it had with me; but I will not say this was the only reason.

Q. Was the matter of fixing hours of office for the Chambers renewed when you sat at the Board?

A. I dont recollect, whether or not.

Q. No. 6. of Mr Gibson's Questions in writing.⁸

A. I believe, it was one of the reasons; and that the fixing hours of business was necessary in all the offices.

Q. 7th. Asked.⁹

A. It appeared well enough, large & with light sufficient; it might be not so convenient on account of the heat, but I could have done business in it.

Q. Did I not prior to the 6th. of March 1780, when I let the house for 6 months for the treasury's use, reserve the chamber on the second floor, and part of the cellars?

A. I dont recollect, but I suppose the agreement was reduced to writing; I think it was in writing, and to that I refer.

N.B. Mr. Foreman then produced a writing to that effect, dated 27th Apl. which was after the report, of the Commissioners of the chambers on Gibson's Account for rent, was made.

No. 9 Q.¹⁰

Ans. I remember there was such a proposal, but I do not recollect that we did any thing, but to advise the rent being settled on just and equitable principles—the general conversation I remember, but not particulars.

Mr. Hustons exam contd.

Qu. By Mr Mercier. Was there any official intelligence communicated to the Chambers of Accotts. of that conversation?

An. I believe there could not have been any official information upon it; but that may perhaps best appear from the minutes.

Qu. Who were those persons who were most frequently absent from the Chambers of accotts.?

An. I answered before, that I could not recollect any particular person.

Observation by Mr Mercier—That Mr Geddis & Mr. McComb were considerable time in the winter to the head of Elk on the settlement of Mr Hollingsworths Accotts, by order of the board of Treasury.

Ques. by Mr Geddis. Do you apprehend (from the knowledge you have of the ordnance that the Board of Treasury can be proper Judges of the business generally done in the Chambers; Or can it be possible that they can know the vouchers they go through unless an appeal is demanded?

An. They cannot judge of the difficulty of the Voucher; but they may know the number of Vouchers. Ten Vouchers may take up in one case, as much time as an hundred in another case.

Qu. From the business you have seen done by Mr Geddis, do you think he is an accomptant?

An. From what I know of Mr. Geddis, I had allways a good opinion of him.

Qu. (By Mr. Gibson to Mr. Govett). Did not I inform you, that the mode of stating his account of house rent was done by the opinion of the Board of Treasury?

Answr. Mr. Gibson did mention this to me.

Qu. By Mr. Govett to Mr. Nicholson. At what time did I usually attend at the Chambers in the morning & afternoon?

An. You were generally first there.

Qu. Was I ever absent two, three, or four days at a time, except when I was confined by sickness, or detained in consequence, of the death of my child?

An. [*Approximately one-quarter page left blank.*]

Mr Duane¹¹ produced on the part of Mr Gibson.

Qu. Do you recollect whether Mr Gibson reserved the chamber on the second floor for his own use, at the time he let the house to the Treasury?¹²

An. He does not remember particulars but it is impressed on his mind and have no doubt that the sd. room was reserved to Mr. Gibson—who lodged in the house and the papers were considered as being secured by his residence there which was a public benefit.¹³

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack and Thomas McKean. A continuation of the committee minutes of November 17, 1780.

¹ John Nicholson, a clerk in the chamber of accounts, whom the commissioners had attempted to have removed in July for “leaking” their correspondence and writing a “Burlesque Parody” of their conduct. See PCC, item 62, fols. 381–88, 397–400, 452–55.

² New Jersey delegate William Churchill Houston, a member of the Board of Treasury from November 9, 1779, to May 9, 1780. *JCC*, 15:1447, 18:1230.

³ The following detached note located among the committee’s papers, in the hand of Timothy Matlack, may have been written in connection with this episode. It bears upon both the repeated efforts of Gibson and Forman to dictate the committee’s procedures and their complaint that Matlack’s hostility jeopardized their right to an impartial hearing.

“Note. That Mr. Gibson demanded *then* to be heard on the charge against the Com[missioner]s of Treasury.

“The charges exhibited against the Chamber of accots. is in writing. And the Testimony on which these charges are founded is mentioned to be such as are there mentioned—among the evidences Mr. Huston was not mentioned.

“The charges against the Com. Treas. was the original and distinct thing. The charges of the Com. of Treasury against the Chamber of Accots. was instituted afterwards by the Com. of Treasury and it was evidently the design of the Com. of Tr[asury] to involve them together. This I objected to.” PCC, item 62, fol. 393.

⁴ That is, the second of Forman’s and Gibson’s charges. See the committee minutes of November 17, note 4.

⁵ See the committee minutes of October 26, note 15.

⁶ These “interrogatories to be proposed to Mr Houston,” which are in the hand of John Gibson, are incorrectly filed in the middle of the committee minutes for this date written by Matlack and McKean. They read as follows:

“Interrogatories to be proposed to Mr Huston.

“Qn. 1. As you sat Six Months at the Board of Treasury, from the Commencement of the present Establishment, we wish to know your sense of the Conduct of Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson during that Time, with Respect to Insolence and undue Pride of Office, and what is your opinion of the Expediency, of fixing Rules and Regulations, for the Government of the Treasury, & of executing the Business thereof.

“Qn. 2. While Col. Troop acted as Secretary to the Board; & Prior to Mr

Gibson's presentation of his account of office Rent to the Auditor General (which was on the 6th of March 1780) did not the Board propose to set Hours of Office, for the several Offices of the Treasury?

"Qn. 3. Did not Col. Troop very shortly after inform the Board that he had communciated the Intention of the Board of fixing Hours of Office, to some of the Commissioners of the Chambers?

"Qn. 4. What was the Conversation which passed between him and the Commissioners on that Subject, as mentioned by the said Col Troop? and who did he say were the Commissioners with whom he had that Conversation?

"Qn. 5. Did he not tell you that one of them charged John Gibson as the Author of these Measures, and threaten him with the Loss of his Seat if he persisted, by means of his Influence, or Interest with Members of Congress?

"Qn. 6. Was it not frequently taken Notice of by the Board of Treasury, that the Chambers of Accounts did little Business; and was it not from this Consideration That the Board in the beginning of May, determined to pursue Measures to oblige the Chambers, to a more close Attention to their Duty, which was begun by an Order of the Board of the fourth of May in these Words 'Ordered that the auditor General lay before the Board tomorrow morning, a State of Hours of Office, observed in his Office and in the Offices in the Chambers of Accounts.' (The members then present were Mr Houston, Mr Burke and Mr Gibson).

"[Qn.] 7th. Is not the Room over that occupied by the Board of Treasury, to which one of the Chambers of Accounts was ordered to do Business, large, commodious, and decent.

"Qn. 8. Have you not frequently while you was a Member of the Board of Treasury and since, been at the Chamber of Accounts between the Hours of nine and twelve in the fornoon, and three & five in the afternoon, and found none or a small Part of the Commissioners in the Room.

"No. 9.—Q. by Mr. Gibson. Did not Mr Gibson consult the Board of Treasury previous to his exhibiting his Account for House Rent for the Offices of the Treasury, whether he should charge the Rent from the Time he was paid up to at £80 per annum, or only the Time the House was actually employed by the Board of Treasury, and did not the Board advise him to charge the Time it was actually employed raising the Rent in proportion to the Time it was not occupied by the Board."

⁷ The testimony on the following seven questions is recorded in the hand of Thomas McKean.

⁸ That is, question no. 6 quoted in note 6 above.

⁹ That is, question no. 7 quoted in note 6.

¹⁰ Question no. 9 in note 6.

¹¹ New York delegate James Duane, who had originally been elected to the Board of Treasury in 1776 and was reelected in May 1780 in the place of Houston. *JCC*, 6:1068, 18:1230.

¹² For the context of this question, see the March 9, 1780, report of the commissioners of accounts on John Gibson's "charges for the Rent of the House in which the Treasury Office, Auditor Generals Office, and the Office of the Chamber of Accounts are kept," in *PCC*, item 62, fols. 413-16.

¹³ For the continuation of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, November 20, 1780.

John Sullivan to the Officers of the New Hampshire Line

Gentlemen

Philadelphia November 19th 1780.¹

It is with Infinite Anxiety and Concern that I hear of the Difficulties arising among You respecting the New Arrangement of the Army.

I am well convinced of the Sufferings of our Officers and have with Pleasure viewed the Fortitude and Firmness with which they Encountered and Surmounted every Difficulty and this even without any rational Hope of ever being put upon a respectable Military Establishment. But this Event has now taken Place and the Army has every thing to hope which can reasonably be expected or desired by Men who have ventured their All in defence of their Country; and even those who are to retire have proper and generous Provision made for them. But should this bring about a Contention for the Preference (not for remaining in Service but) for retiring will not this cast a shade over all their virtuous Actions and induce Mankind to believe that Interest and Ease have gained the Ascendency over Publick and Military Virtue.

Those Members of Congress who exerted themselves to obtain a proper and Honorable Establishment for their Officers had so good an Opinion of their Military Ambition that they believed there would be a contention among them for remaining in Service but by no means for retiring and I shall be exceedingly mortified if I am Compell'd to Change my Sentiments especially with respect to the Newhampshire Line.

I am Informed some doubts have arisen respecting the Resolve of Congress which I wish to explain.

Congress directed a meeting of the Officers of each State (not for determining who should go home) but to fix upon proper Officers to Command the Regiments of the respective States and where they could not agree it was to be determined by Seniority the Obvious and Natural Constructions is that where the Corps could not be Established by agreement they were to be compleated by Seniority. Whoever would put a different Construction upon it must suppose that Congress meant at once to get rid of all their old and Experienced Officers and to put the Army under the Command of Young and Inexperienced Men. This Construction is not only against the natural and obvious meaning of the Words but against common Sense and reason, and I confess I was not a little surprised to hear that some Officers in the Newhampshire Line had supposed that this was the meaning of Congress.

Permit me Gentlemen to Intreat Your Perseverance in gaining the Object so long and Nobly contended for: and You may rest assured that those brave Men who continue in Service will have in

Addition to the Applauses of a grateful Country every Emolument which the nature of our Service will admit.

I have the Honor to be with the most Perfect Attachment
Gentlemen, Your most obedt Servt,
Jno Sullivan

RC (MiU-C: Sir Henry Clinton Papers). In a clerical hand, and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ This letter was one of several intercepted by the British and subsequently published in James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*, for which see Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780. It was originally enclosed in a letter of this date to Col. Alexander Scammell, adjutant general of the Continental Army and an old friend of Sullivan's, for which see the following entry. Scammell was asked to show this "address" to General Washington, and, if he approved, then to the officers of the New Hampshire Line to clarify the seniority provisions of the new arrangements for the army adopted by Congress on October 21. The New Hampshire officers, Sullivan had learned, were apprehensive over pending reductions in the number of officers in their regiments, and especially over the provision ordering "the officers of each state to meet and agree upon the officers for the regiments to be raised by their respective states, from those who incline to continue in service; and where it cannot be done by agreement to be determined by seniority." The resolves at issue had been drafted by Sullivan as a member of the committee appointed to consider revisions of the new army arrangements recommended by Washington, and in the original version had included a provision that would have designated officers to be retained "by lot." See PCC, item 19, 6:307; and JCC, 18:960.

John Sullivan to Alexander Scammell

Dear Sir,¹ Philadelphia Novem 19. 1780

Having been informed of some difficulties in the New Hampshire Line respecting the late arrangement, I enclose you an address to the Officers which I beg you will present after shewing it to his Excellency and receiving his approbation without which I would not wish to have it communicated, as I do not conceive myself authorised to address any part of the army without his concurrence.

I am Dear Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Jno Sullivan

Tr (MiU-C: Sir Henry Clinton Papers).

¹ Col. Alexander Scammell (1744-81), adjutant general of the Continental Army, was a former law clerk of Sullivan. *DAB*. For the purpose of this letter, see the preceding entry. Both documents were included in the following letter of this date to New Hampshire governor Meshech Weare.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Novemr 19th. 1780

As I was informed that upon the new Arrangement of the Army there was a Contention among the New Hampshire Officers for retiring which gave much uneasiness to His Excellency General Washington, I took the liberty of addressing them in writing, a Copy whereof and of my Letter to Colonel Scammell is inclosed,¹ hope they will meet the Approbation of the Honorable Assembly.

I have the Honor to be, most respectfully Dear Sir, your most obedient Servant,

Signed, Jno. Sullivan

Tr (MiU-C: Sir Henry Clinton Papers).

¹ See the two preceding documents, copies of which were enclosed in this intercepted letter to Weare.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philadelphia Novr 20th 1780

In your Letter of the 17th of Sept^r¹ which is still before me you say, that “the Tongue of Malice has always been employed against me,” and in mentioning it, you discover the Feelings of a Friend. It may perhaps in some Measure relieve those Feelings, if I tell you that it serves to make me the more watchful over my self, lest by any Misconduct, I should afford Occasion to malicious Men, to say that of me which would give me just Cause to be ashamd. It is said to be a Misfortune to a Man, when all speak well of him. Is it then an Advantage to a Man, that he has Enemies? It may be so, if he has Wisdom to make a good Use of them. We are apt to be partial, in our own Judgment of ourselves. Our friends are either blind to our Faults, or not faithful enough to tell us of them. The malicious Man will utter all Manner of Evil of us, and contrive Means to send it post haste to our Ears; and if among much Slander, they say some Truths, what have we to do, but to correct past Errors, & guard against future ones. The Report you mention as propagated of me, is groundless.² Would any Man in his Senses, who wishes that the War may be carried on with Vigor, prefer the temporary and expensive Drafts of Militia, to a permanent and well appointed Army! But Envy knows no other Business than to calumniate.

Mr Penny has deliverd me your Favor of the 2d Instant.³ He has also brought us a Paper which exhibits a Picture of the Times. You express too much Resentment at the Ingratitude which you imagine has been shown to your Friend⁴—that his Name has not been found in any of the Lists, and especially that he could not be supported

in Competition with Mr ———.⁵ Your Friend makes no Claims on his Country, nor does he set himself in Competition with Mr ——— whose Connexions have made him a necessary Man. He is, I confess, one whom I have esteem'd for his Honesty and easy good Humour. We have been entertain'd with the Speeches both before and after putting on the Regalias, and we expect to see Congratulatory Addresses from various Orders, civil and ecclesiastick. I shall pity the Governor if he is apt to be discompos'd with the high Complimentary Stile. I could wish, if we must have abundant Addresses to see the manly Simplicity of Barclay the Quaker in his Dedication to Charles the 2d of England.⁶ Excepting that Instance, I do not recollect ever to have seen an Address to a Great Man, that was not more or less, and very often deeply, tinctur'd with Flattery.

If the Town Clerk of Ephesus,⁷ has "treated me with great Disrespect," I am sorry *for him*. It gives me no uneasiness on my own Account. If he treats every one in that way who "will not worship the Great Image," he leaves me in the best of Company—Company which he may at another Time, find it his Interest, if that governs him, to court and respect. We are even reduced to the Hutchinsonian Times, if a Citizen shall think himself constrain'd to malign his *old* Friend, merely because the Great Man has been prevail'd upon to mark him as *his* Enemy! But the History of all Ages and all Countries shows, that there is no Absurdity into which Idolatry will not lead Men. Pray remember me to My Friend Mr Gerry and tell him I have not forgot his Letters & that I will write him soon. All my Friends complain of me for Omission on that Score. Mr Peny I suppose will return in a few Days. Adieu. Your affectionate, S.A.

[P.S.] Will you call on Mrs A and let her know that I am well.

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Letters).

¹ James Warren's September 17 letter to Adams is in *Warren-Adams Letters*, 2:138-39.

² In his September 17 letter Warren had relayed the "report" that Samuel Adams was "against filling up the Battalions for the war and are in favour of drafts of the Militia from time to time." *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

⁴ That is, Adams himself, who had been replaced as secretary of the General Court by John Avery—a fact disparagingly reported by Warren.

⁵ That is, John Avery.

⁶ Adams is probably refering to Robert Barclay's address to the king of November 25, 1675, which was first published in Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* in 1676 in Amsterdam and had been reprinted in 1775 in Philadelphia by Joseph Cruikshank. Evans, *Am Bibliography*, no. 13,821.

⁷ William Cooper.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir, Philada. 20 Novr 1780

The enclosed¹ may afford your Excellency some Amusement. It was found among the *private* Papers of Mrs. Arnold, wife of the Traiteur-General; and is one of the Adventures of her Life, atcheived not long before she formed her present *honourable* Connection. The Papers have no Date, but the Era is easily ascertained from Circumstances.

I am, your Excellency's most obedt. humble Servant,
W C Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ Not identified.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir Novr. 20th. 1780

I find that I have not only to acknowledge your Favor of the 2d by Mr. Penny¹ recd. the 15th, and your other of the 6th recd. this day, but That from Worcester of Octr. 27 which I have just discovered wrapped up in an half written very confidential Sheet, thrown by, as I suppose, in a Qualm of Timidity lest it should be intercepted at or near Stratford.²

As to Vermont—They may sow & mow, I imagine, and reap there too, before any definitive Judgement will be made up here respecting them.

So much in answer to yr. first date.

“Popular,” say you, “beyond all Description”. Oh strange! Alack and Alas-a-day! “What? more popular than *that* one of old?!!!!”

So much to your second date. But perhaps you may be a little in the dark as to the choronological Reference. I have to lament that *good* Col. Peabody is not at your Elbow to suggest the 32d of Exodus.³ Believe me, he is really in a most critical State at Morris Town confined to his Bed.

I was indeed careless as to the 570 Dollars paid to Shelden; for, your memorandum to me expressly refers to the Warrant for 1800; which I recd. on the 11th of July of the Treasurer. I shall rectify this Error by Mr. Penny, if I have not an earlier opportunity. I thank you for your friendly motives in wishing I had taken the Bills of Exchange in my own Name; I shall get along somehow, I doubt not. The *Choppers and Changers* here had within a Week got Exchange to 100 & 105 but, this day the *Merchants* have covenanted to fix at 75 and to *enforce* that Rate; so that *when* we do get Col. P——’s Draughts

answer'd, we shall not lose, as we expected, 33 1/3 per Ct. I really do not think it useful to take any formal Steps in consequence of the Anecdote you have sent me; for I believe it would *now* be difficult to prove that there is not *a* Lubber & *a* Rascall too in the Company, tho' a Combination of them might not necessarily make the plural Number, one Skin holding the Two.

I told you some time ago that I would give you a curious motion, the product of some months Study in the Jersies; it was introduced thro' a Porch very large indeed, and of most uncouth Architecture, and is what a Mountebank Doctor would suppose *a Plaister for all Sores*. Motion by M—th—s seconded by T—lf—r.⁴

Res:⁵ That Gen. W—— be and he is hereby fully authorized & empowered to carry into Executn. in the most compleat & ample manner such measures as shall appear to him best calculated for raising & bringing into the field on or before the 1st day of Janry next an Army of 25000 men to continue in the service of these united states during the present war with Great Britain, to provide arms ammunition, cloathing, military & hospital Stores & Camp Equipage of all Kinds, Waggons, horses and forage, to supply the said army with all Kinds of provisions & refreshments, to lay up such magazines of provisions, forage, military and hospital stores & Camp Equipage as he shall judge are necessary, to appoint such Officer or Officers in the said Army as shall be from time to time required, and to bring to tryal all officers whose conduct may render it necessary and to carry into execution such sentence as shall be awarded by a court martial—To call forth from time to time such & so many of the militia of these united states as in his opinion may be necessary. And he the said Gen. W—— is by these presents required in the most speedy & effectual manner to carry compleatly & vigorously into execution the Powers & authorities hereby vested in him and to do all such other matters & things as shall appear to him necessary to promote the Wellfare of these united states, to draw on the Treasury of the United States for such Sums of money as shall be required to defray the Expences incurred in consequence of the powers to him delegated. And the Congress of these United States do in the most solemn manner pledge themselves to the said Gen. W fully & vigorously to support him and to ratify whatever shall be by him done in the premises.

That the foregoing power & authorities continue and they are hereby declared to be in full force until the 1st day of December 1781 and no longer.

I will endeavor to get some *Decency* for Genl. W—— if it is only *plump Denial* of Justice.⁶ Perhaps as Mr. Matlac is joined to Mr. Fell there may be neither Denial nor Equivocation.⁷

“Is it not Time to pay a Visit to Mass.” Does my Wife look as if she wanted a toothless grey headed sciatic Husband *near* her? I

am more Benefit to her at a Distance than in σ ,⁸ as the Almanac has it.

I shall call on *Nanny* Cl——r⁹ Tomorrow and *talk* of the Mackrel.

By the Way, this puts me in mind to tell you that Pensylvania is clearly for taking off the Embargo. Delaware has not continued it and Maryland has only done it conditionally. I think the Chance is that it will be off. I am sure it will whenever the State Quotas are furnished, and the Merchants are ready to give a per Ct. in kind of what they Export of the enumerated Articles. This State thinks this her only Way of raising her Quota. Mr. J Adams was in Holland in August but he says not a Word of money matters.

I am obliged by yr. note respecting the settlement of Accounts, and think that 40 for 1 is favorable upon a Supposition that I had drawn my pay nearly from time to time, where as I pinched myself till the very height of Depreciation. Besides the Foundation is not good; one *half* of what Connecticut gives.

The hoarse Watchman warns me to bed.

Adieu dear Sir,

JL

RC (MiU-C: Sir Henry Clinton Papers).

¹ Gerry's letter had been delivered by Timothy Penny of Jamaica Plain, Mass., not "Pierre Pennet" as stated in Burnett, *Letters*, 5:451n.2.

² Ironically this letter was one of the delegate letters in the eastern post intercepted by the British a few days later near Stratford Landing, Conn. (the second such triumph in six weeks), and subsequently published in James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*, for which see John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15; and Lovell to John Hancock, November 21, 1780.

³ Lovell is alluding to the recent election of John Hancock as governor of Massachusetts and to the story of the idolatry of Moses' followers before the Golden Calf recounted in Exodus 32.

Publication of his letter had interesting repercussions, as General Washington subsequently took umbrage at this passage, mistakenly thinking that he rather than Hancock was the butt of Lovell's jest. Thus in February 1781, both Gerry and Timothy Pickering attempted to clarify Lovell's allusion to set the touchy commander-in-chief's mind at ease. For the latter's involvement in this effort, see Lovell to Pickering, February 5, 1781. Gerry's concern can be followed in his February 7 letter to Washington and in Washington's February 20 reply, for which see Austin, *Life of Gerry*, 1:340-41; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:263-64.

"Having lately seen an intercepted letter of the 20th of November last, written by Mr. Lovell and published in Rivington's Gazette," Gerry explained to Washington, "I wish to be indulged in making a few observations on the subject.

"When general Knox was here, he informed me that the paragraph of the letter, which respected a person's being 'popular,' was supposed by some to refer to your excellency; but the date of the letter from whence Mr. Lovell's quotation was made, being a few days after the general election of this commonwealth, must, I think, convince every attentive reader, that the paragraph related to a civil officer who was then elected. This will more fully appear to every person acquainted with the circumstances of the election itself, the popularity of the officer mentioned, and the preference I publicly gave to his competitor. If however, I could conceive that your excellency viewed the paragraph in the light first mentioned, I would desire Mr. Lovell, as I have not a copy of the letter, to send you the original; but should

be exceedingly mortified to find, that any transaction of mine had produced in your excellency's mind a doubt of my friendship towards you."

⁴ That is, John Mathews and Edward Telfair.

⁵ For further information on the introduction of this motion concerning General Washington's power, see Lovell to Gerry, September 5; and John Mathews to Washington, September 15, 1780.

⁶ Lovell's use of "Genl. W" in referring to both Washington and James Warren in the same letter is indeed confusing. It is clear, however, from Lovell's attempt to clarify this reference for Timothy Pickering in February, that he was responding here to a reference to Warren in Gerry's letter to Lovell of November 6. The connection is made explicit in the extracts Lovell made from Gerry's letter and the present passage, which he enclosed in his letter to Timothy Pickering of February 5, 1781.

"Extract from Mr. Gerrys Letter dated Nov 6 1780. General Warren has an Account open with the Commercial Committee wherein there is a considerable Balance due to him for Services & Money advanced to the Public; and he thinks he is 'injuriously treated,' by their delaying an Adjustment; he has repeatedly desired me to write on the Subject; but, not knowing the Names of the Members of that Committee, I cannot address a private Letter to either of them; and if your numerous Engagements will admit of it, wish you would urge them to a *speedy* Settlement, as well for preserving the Honor of Congress as for promoting public Justice.

"Answer published by Rivington

"I will endeavor to get some *Decency* for Genl. W—— if it is only *plump* Denial of Justice: Perhaps as Mr. Matlac is joined to Mr. Fell there may be neither Denial nor Equivocation." Pickering Papers, MHi.

⁷ That is, since Timothy Matlack had been added to the Committee of Commerce, John Fell was no longer the sole attending member of that committee, and the two might now be able to settle Gen. James Warren's account.

⁸ This sign in astronomy stands for "conjunction" and in biology for the male principle. Because this letter was intercepted and published in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Lovell later expressed regret at having employed this "Hieroglyphic" lest Mrs. Lovell be pained by it. This confession was occasioned by a letter from Abigail Adams the following spring, in which she lectured him on his insensitivity and the mischief he could cause in constantly acting the gallant in his correspondence to her. See Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:91-92, 148-51.

⁹ Perhaps Clymer.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Tuesday Novr. 20th. 1780.

The Committee met. Present, Mr. McKean, Mr. Bee, Mr. Ward, Mr. Sharpe & Mr. Matlack.

Mr Gibson, Mr. Forman, Mr Geddis, Mr. Mercier, Mr. Govett and Mr Smith.

At the request of Mr. Gibson & Mr Forman a summons was issued for Major Clarkson to attend as a witness.¹

Mr. Gibson made observation upon the state of facts laid before the Committee and delivered "Copies of the Orders of the Board in May & June 1780 to the Chambers."

Mr. Gibson, Exhibitted the accounts and part of the Vouchers, which have been reported by the Chambers of accounts since the

1st of December last—by which, he says, it will appear how far they have done their duty.

On examination the list exhibitted does not contain the dates of the reference, therefore—Ordered That the Treasury do furnish the Committee with a list of the Accotts, referred to the Chambers of accotts—in order that the Committee may judge of the neglect.²

Determination of the Treasury 1 July 1780. (a Copy) Note. The 2 quire of Paper in Trickets accotts. not d[elivered]d.³

Is it deducted in the accotts. allowed by the Treasury?

Mr. Gibson exhibitts Mr. Geddis's accott., allowed by the Chambers, as an instance of partiality.⁴

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of November 18, 1780.

¹ John L. Clarkson, a clerk in the treasury office.

² The material Gibson actually "delivered" to the committee this day has not been identified, but two compilations of "Accounts Reported on by the Chamber of Accounts . . . together with the dates of references from the Auditor Genls. Books from the 1st December 1779 to the 8th day of September 1780," are at PCC, item 62, fols. 557-58.

³ For William Trickett's accounts "for Stationary," see *ibid.*, fol. 558.

⁴ For the conclusion of these proceedings, see the committee's minutes, November 23, 1780.

Virginia Delegates to George Morgan

[November 20? 1780]¹

The delegates from Virginia Inform Mr. Morgan in answer to his letter of the 16th Instant,² That as the State they represent have finally decided on the Subject to which his proposition relates, it could be manifestly improper for them to attend to it³—they think it their Duty to add that if they were less precluded they would not reconcile with the respect due from every State to its own Sovereignty and honor, an appeal, from its own decisions, to a foreign tribunal, in a case which involves the Pretensions of Individuals only—and not the Rights or pretensions of any foreign State.

Tr (Vi: Executive Papers). In the hand of Theodorick Bland but not signed. Entitled: "Copy of Answer Given to the letter Signed Jacob [i.e., George] Morgan addressed to the Virginia Delegates, &c."

¹ This undated copy of the delegates' reply to George Morgan's letter of November 16 was enclosed in Theodorick Bland's November 22 letter to Thomas Jefferson in which he also sent "A true Copy" of Morgan's letter. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:176-77; and Bland to Jefferson, November 22, 1780, note 1. This letter is probably the one referred to in item no. 558—"The Original Minute Book of the Indiana Company"—in A. S. W. *Rosenbach Catalogue* No. 7 (November 1917) as "Theo. Bland to George Morgan, Nov. 20, 1780 relative to the claims of Virginia," which has not been found.

² In his letter to the delegates Morgan had proposed that the "dispute in Question between the State and the Company" be submitted to arbitration by a panel chosen by Congress "in the Same Manner as is directed by the Articles of Confederation in like Cases, between State and State."

³ In May 1779 the Virginia assembly had voided the purchase of Indian lands within its territory and reopened its land office, an action which Morgan, as agent of the Indiana Company, had protested the following September in a memorial to Congress, for which see Hening, *Statutes*, 10:50, 97-98; and these *Letters*, 14:134. In this instance, however, Morgan was undoubtedly responding to the states' recent effort to nullify Indian land purchases by the great companies, for which see James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, 1780, note.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 21st. 1780

I had the honour to receive your Excellencys favour of the 1st Instant by yesterdays post. And have taken due notice of the contents, and so far as respects the New Bills beg leave to refer you to the official information from the Treasury board that is inclosed. But when it is struck I fear there will be a difficulty in forwarding them unless I under take the Business my self which I shall do if not done without.

I have examined at the Treasury Board for information respecting the Bills of Exchange you mention they will not own that Mr. Clark¹ hath wrote for any. There is Bills ready as soon as a safe conveyance can be had I dare not give my receipt for them to go by the post. But shall miss no safe opportunity to forward them.

So far as respects the postage of the Blank Commisns. &c I beg leave to observe that Governor Jefferson made a similar Complaint and nothing more was done then the passing the Inclosed Resolution,² At the same time it appeared to be the sense of Congress that the state ought to pay the sum charged and carry the same to the Accompt of the United States. As the matter hath been so late before Congress I cannot suppose you would wish me to Urge the matter over again.

I cannot have too high an opinion of the Honl the General Assembly on account of the particular favour they have done me, in thier liberal Grants to Enable me to return home as soon as releivd,³ which I hope will soon take place when I shall be so happy as to have the pleasure of giveing you a more particular account of our publick affairs then either time or prudence will permit at this time.

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of Esteem, your Excellencys most obedt Humble Servant, Ezek Cornell

RC (MiU-C: Sir Henry Clinton Papers). One of several delegate letters intercepted by the British and published in James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*, for which see John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

¹ That is, Joseph Clarke, general treasurer of Rhode Island.

² In the absence of Greene's letter the precise nature of Greene's concern can

not be determined, but Cornell most likely enclosed a copy of Congress' September 19, 1780, resolution directing the secretary to frank for free mailing "all the Journals of Congress and other public papers transmitted by the secretary of Congress to the supreme executive or general assembly of any of the United States." *JCC*, 18:837.

³ The Rhode Island assembly had recently directed that "£6000, in Continental bills of the old emissions be advanced" to Cornell. Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*, 9:220. He was relieved by James Varnum on December 19, 1780, but chose to remain in Philadelphia as a commissioner of the Board of War. See *JCC*, 18:1165, 1203; and Cornell to Greene, December 30, 1780.

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Dear Sir,

Philada. 21 November 1780

I enclose you the Paper of this Day to inform you of the Proceedings of the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia on the Subject of fixing the Exchange.¹ I have heard, by Report, that our Legislature are deliberating on this Subject among others respecting Finance.² Similar Measures in every State to those now taking here, would effect the Establishment of a stationary Exchange; the only Danger being that Persons will come from Places where Exchange is higher and practise their Speculations on Money and Goods.

I am, your Excellency's most obedt, and very hble Servant,
W C Houston

RC (NN: Livingston Papers).

¹ Houston enclosed a copy of this day's *Pennsylvania Packet*, which contained the proposals of the "Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia" for stabilizing the Continental dollar at the rate of 75 to 1 through a voluntary association that would report violators as "dangerous" persons.

² The New Jersey legislature had just adopted a memorial to Congress suggesting a revision in the rate for exchanging Continental currency for "new money," set on March 18 at 40 to 1 but "now depreciated as low as eighty or ninety for one." The memorial was read in Congress on November 24 and referred to a committee consisting of Houston, James Duane, and James Madison. See *JCC*, 18:1087-89.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir,

Philadelphia November 21. 1780

In Answer to that Part of your Excellency's Letter of the 7 Instant respecting the Prisoners taken at Kings Mountain, I have enclosed a Copy of the Act of Congress of the 20 Instant, recommending, that those Prisoners be secured in such Manner, and at such Places as your Excellency may judge proper.¹

That a List of the Names of the Tory Prisoners be taken, distinguishing the State, County or District to which they severally belong, and transmitted to the Executive of their several States, who

are requested to take such Order respecting them as the public Security and the Laws of the respective States may require.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Sentiments of Esteem & Respect your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1048-49, 1053, 1073; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:98-100. Huntington also sent this same resolve with a similar letter of this date to the governors of North Carolina and South Carolina, Abner Nash and John Rutledge. PCC, item 15, fol. 165.

James Lovell to John Hancock

Sir,

November 21, 1780.

Your recommendation of Mr. Penny, and his Admiralty cause,¹ to the Delegates of Massachusetts here present, has had its due influence; and your particular introduction to me of Mr. Gridley's business, has stimulated that attention which the justice of his own request had excited in me to put the bill of exchange into a proper line of acceptance or protest. The antiquity of the draught, makes a careful search of the journals necessary far back. I have been to the Treasury and Admiralty Boards, but got not full satisfaction there. I shall consult Mr. Bingham, who was connected with Chew; I wish the Eastern Navy Board had been consulted, as Mr. Secretary Brown, tells me Chew's accounts were closed by them. I think it probable however that the duplicate bills has never been paid.²

This occasion of writing on a matter of business, prevents the appearance of *adulating formality*, while I add my wishes for your happiness and prosperity in the execution of the honourable commission to which I find by the public papers you have been elected with much unanimity.

I am your Excellency's Very humble Servant,

James Lovell

MS not found; reprinted from the *New York Royal Gazette*, December 27, 1780. One of several delegate letters intercepted by the British and published in James Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, for which see John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

Rivington printed this letter following Lovell's November 20 letter to Elbridge Gerry, which contains a biblical allusion to the worship of the Golden Calf by the followers of Moses suggesting a parallel with the adulation of Hancock by the people of Massachusetts. Because Lovell himself descended to a bit of hypocritical adulation of Hancock in the present letter, Rivington took delight in this opportunity to expose Lovell's "duplicity," which he explained in the following introductory statement. "However unimportant the following epistle from the Boston Schoolmaster may be considered, we have inserted it to expose the duplicity of his heart, of which the Reader will be convinced on comparing the complementary Italics, with Lovell's allusions to his friend Mr. Hancock, in the beginning of his letter to Mr. Gerry."

¹ The subject of the "Admiralty cause" of Timothy Penny of Jamaica Plain, Mass., is not clear, but it may relate to the permission he had received in May 1779 to ship produce from his former home in Jamaica for the support of his numerous family." See *JCC*, 14:671-72.

² As a result of Lovell's efforts, Congress referred this matter to the Board of Admiralty on November 25. The bills at issue were dated December 8, 1777, and had been drawn on Hancock as president of Congress by Capt. Samuel Chew for 632 guilders "for sundries supplied for the brigantine Resistance." See *JCC*, 18:1093.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir,

Philada. Novr. 21st. 1780

Your favor of the 10th¹ came by yesterdays post. I am glad to find you have at last got a house and have made so auspicious a beginning, as a unanimous vote to fill up our line for the war. This is a measure which all the States ought to have begun with. I wish there may not be some that will not be prevailed on even to end with it. It is much to be regretted that you are not in a condition to discontinue another practice equally destructive with temporary enlistments. Unless an end can by some means or other be put to State emissions & certificates they must prove the bane of every salutary regulation. The depreciation in this place has lately run up as high as 100 for 1, and it cannot be satisfactorily accounted for on any other principle than the substitution of certificates in the payment of those taxes which were intended to reduce its quantity and keep up a demand for it. The immediate cause of this event is said to have been the sudden conversion of a large quantity of paper into specie by some Torys lately ordered into exile by this State. It is at present on the fall and I am told the Merchants have associated to bring it down & fix it at 75. The fate of the new money is as yet suspended. There is but too much reason however to fear that it will follow the fate of the old. According to the arrangement now in force it would seem impossible for it to rise above 1 for 40. The resolutions of Congress which establish that relation between the two kinds of paper must destroy the equality of the new with specie unless the old can be kept down at 40 for 1. In New Jersey I am told the Legislature have lately empowered the Executive to regulate the exchange between the two papers according to the exchange between the old & the new, in order to preserve the equality of the latter with specie.² The issue of this experiment is of consequence, and may throw light perhaps on our paper finance. The only infallible remedy whilst we can not command specie, for the pecuniary embarrassments we labour under, will after all be found, to be a punctual collection of the taxes required by Congress.

I hope you will not forget to call the attention of the Assembly as early as the preparations for defence will admit to the means of

ratifying the confederation, nor to remind it of the conditions which prudence requires should be annexed to any territorial cession that may be agreed on. I do not believe there is any serious design in Congress *<to listen to the claims>* to gratify the avidity of land mongers, but the best security for their virtue in this respect will be to keep it out of their power. They have been much infested since you left us with memorials from these people; who appear to be equally alarmed & perplexed. Mr. G. Morgan as Agent for the Indiana claimants after memorializing Congress on the subject has honored the Virginia Delegates with a separate attention.³ He very modestly proposes to them a reference of the Controversy between the Company & Virginia to arbitration in the mode pointed out in the Confederation for adjusting disputes between State & State. We have given him for answer that as the State we represent had finally determined the question, we could not with any propriety attend to his proposition, observing at the same time that if we were less precluded, we could not reconcile with the sovereignty & honor of the State an appeal from its own Jurisdiction to a foreign tribunal, in a controversy with private individuals.

The last account we had of the embarkation at N. York was that the Ships had fallen down to the Hook, that the number of troops as well as their destination was unknown, That Philips was to command them. The Cork fleet is I fear at last certainly arrived. The 2d Division of French fleet has not yet made its appearance. It is made a question at present whether the squadron taken for it, as mentioned in my last was not a British fleet. Mr. Adams in a letter of the 23 of Augst. from Amsterdam received yesterday speaks of General Provosts being sent out from England with a few frigates (and it is to be supposed some land forces as he is a land officer though Mr. Adams does not expressly say as much) for Cape fear to facilitate the Operations of the Enemy in N. Carolina. A New York paper of the 17th announces the death of your worthy friend General Woodford.⁴ I suppose it has reached you through some other channel before this.

I have the books of Accts. with the papers connected with them ready to go forward to the Auditors under the care of Col. Febiger who will in a day or two send off a number of Waggons for the Southward. I shall soon write you on some private matters which ought not to be entrusted to a conveyance by post.⁵

I have engaged to take Pleasant's house for you on the terms given in to you with this difference, that one quarter of the rent is to be paid on the first of January and remainder as it becomes due, and you are to pay for the whole year if you leave it in Novr. The first of these conditions I was authorised to make, the last I thought it better to submit to than leave you unaccomodated or on a footing of uncertainty. You will be at liberty [to] keep it a second year on

the same terms if you please. [I] hope you will not leave it at the time you proposed to limit the bargain to and at any rate you can only lose two months rent a little more than 4 half Joes, a sum not worth regarding in a matter of such consequence to your private convenience & perhaps to the public service. He engages to let you have the furniture you saw in the house and *says* he will spare you any other Articles which he may not need himself but I believe it would be prudent not [to] rely much on this resource.

I am Yrs. Sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:190-92.

¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 168-70.

² See William Churchill Houston to William Livingston, this date.

³ See Virginia Delegates to George Morgan, November 20, 1780.

⁴ Gen. William Woodford, who had been taken prisoner at Charleston and transported to New York, had died on November 13, 1780. *DAB*.

⁵ That is, Col. Christian Febiger, commander of the 2d Virginia Regt., who was in Philadelphia gathering and forwarding arms and supplies for the southern department. *DAB*.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Novr. 21, 1780

Your favor of 13th came safe yesterday.¹ The past week has brought forth very little of consequence, except the disagreeable and I fear certain information of the arrival of the Corke fleet. Our last account of the embarkation at N. york was that the Ships had fallen down to the Hook, that the number of troops was quite unknown, as well as their destination, except in general that it was Southwardly. It is still said that Philips is to command this detachment. If the projected junction between Leslie & Corn[w]allis had not been so opportunely frustrated by the gallant volunteers at King's Mountain it is probable that Philips would have reinforced the former, as the great force in his rear would otherwise have rendered every advance hazardous. At present it seems more likely that the declining state of their Southern affairs will call their attention to that quarter. They can it is well known regain at any time their present footing in Virginia if it should be thought expedient to abandon it, or to collect in their forces to a defensible point, but every retrograde step they take towards Charlestown, proves fatal to their general plan. Mr. J. Adams in a letter of the 23d of Augst. from Amsterdam received yesterday, says that Genl. Prevost had sailed from England with a few frigates for Cape fear in order to facilitate the operations of their Arms in N. Carolina, and that the Ministry were determined to make the Southern States, the scene of a very active Winter Campaign. No intimation is given by Mr. Adams of the number of troops under

Genl Prevost. The 2d division of the French fleet mentioned in my last to have been off Bermuda, has not yet made its appearance. It is now rather supposed to have been a British one. The death of Genl Woodford is announced in a N. York paper of the 17th. I have not seen the paper, but am told no particulars are mentioned. I suppose it will reach his friends before this will be recd through some other channel. Adieu,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:193-94.

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 171.

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsey, Philadelphia, Nov. 22, 1780.

I have received by yesterday's Post, your letters of the of October, and the of November,¹ and observe the contents, but have not time at present to make any comments on them. I can only tell you that I am in good health and spirits. Did you receive a letter from me, in which I mentioned the treason of A——. If you did, all my letters to you, till the 24th of October, have safely reached you.² I will write you by Mr. Penny, who will set off for Boston in a few days. Remember me to my friends. Adieu my dear, believe me to be most sincerely and affectionately, Yours, S.A.

MS not found; reprinted from the *New York Royal Gazette*, December 27, 1780. One of several delegate letters intercepted by the British and published in James Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, for which see John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

¹ That is, Elizabeth's letters of October 25 and November 8, which Adams acknowledged again in his next letter to her of November 24, 1780.

² No letter dated October 24 from Adams to Elizabeth has been found, but Adams had mentioned Benedict Arnold's "treason" in his October 10 letter to Elizabeth.

Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson

Sr. Philadelphia Novr 22d 1780

Mr. Walker, who sets off to Virginia tomorrow, affords us this opportunity of Enclosing your Excellency a Copy of a letter Presented to us the 16th Inst. together with a Copy of our Answer, concerning the affair of the Indiana Compy.¹

It may not be improper to Inform Yr. Excellency and, (through yr. Excy.) the Legislature who we suppose may be now Siting—that every art has been and tis probable may be used, by that Company to extend their influence and Support their pretensions—and we are Sorry to say that we have Suspensions founded upon more

than mere Conjecture, that the land Jobb[er]s, of this Compy., the Vandalia, and the Illinois Companies, have too great an influence in procrastinating that desireable and necessary event of compleating the Confederation, which we hope the Wisdom, firmness, candor and Moderation of our Legislature now in Session will remove every obstacle to.

We Could wish also and we think it a duty we owe to our Constituents to call their attention to a revision of our former instructions relative to the Navigation of the Missisipi—that, Should any overtures from Spain be offerd which are advantageous to the United States, and which might contribute not only to releive our present necessities, but promise us peace and a firm establishment of our Independance, it might not be considered as an object that would counterbalance the distant prospect of a free Navigation of that River, with Stipulated ports—which may perhaps under another form or at some more convenient opportunity be obtained from that Nation, in behalf of our Citizens Settled on its Banks and Waters. Having Shewn the above to my Colleague Mr. Madison—he has thought it unnecessary to Join in that Part of it relating to our Instructions on the Subject of the Navigation of the Missisipi.² I am Sorry to Say that notwithstanding the high Idea I entertain of that Gentlemans good Sense, Judgment and Candor; I feel myself irresistably impelld by a Sense of my duty, to State a Matter & to communicate it through the Proper Channel which *may* eventually effect so greatly the Prosperity and even existence of the United States at large—and feeling myself willing to receive the Censure of my Constituents if I have done wrong, or their applause if I have done Right in Suggesting to them so important a matter I am under the necessity (as to that matter) of standing alone in my opinion; which I wd. not wish, should in the Minutest degree, be interpreted, as obtruding or dictating a measure however necessary I as an individual Representative of the State, may conceive a relaxation of our instructions on that head to be, nor do I conceive that any Member either of the Executive or Legislature of our State, who is acquainted with my wish to promote the Public good, and to conform to the Strict tenor of their instructions, can attribute my suggestion to any wish to swerve from them in my Vote to Congress, having pledged myself both in Principle and in promise Steadily to adhere to them on all occasions. I have the Honor to be, Yr. Excellys Most obedt. & very H. Svt. Theok. Bland³

RC (Vi: Executive Papers).

¹ For John Walker's presence in Philadelphia following the expiration of his credentials, see Walker to George Weedon, October 24, note. For the delegates' exchange with George Morgan "concerning . . . the Indiana Compy," see Virginia Delegates to Morgan, November 20, 1780.

² It is obvious from his use of "us," "our," and "we" in the first part of this

letter that Bland intended it to be a joint communication with James Madison. The two clearly disagreed, however, over the Virginia assembly's instructions concerning the navigation of the Mississippi River which had been laid before Congress in August. See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, August 22, 1780, note 4. Bland had, however, adopted the position taken a few days earlier by the Georgia delegation, for which see the Georgia Delegates Proposed Resolutions, November 18. For Madison's views on his disagreement with Bland, see Madison to Joseph Jones, November 25, 1780.

³ Bland also wrote a purely personal letter the following day to his brother-in-law, St. George Tucker, in which he mentioned that "I dine with Monsr. de la Luzerne tomorrow, and must therefore make use of every leisure moment to Volatilize my Imagination, fixd as it has been so long a time with the weighty affairs of the State." Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

Treasury Inquiry Committee Minutes

Thursday Novr. 23rd, 1780

Present Mr. McKean, Mr. Bee, Mr. Ward, Mr Sharpe & Mr. Matlack.

The Commissioners of the Chambers of accots. laid before the Committee their defence in writing and the same was read.¹

At two o'clock T Matlack retired.²

MS (DNA: PCC, item 62). In the hand of Timothy Matlack. A continuation of the committee minutes of November 20, 1780.

¹ "The Commissioners General Defence," which responds seriatim to each of the five charges directed at them by Ezekiel Forman and John Gibson, is in PCC, item 62, fols. 343-50. It is endorsed: "Received & read in Committee Novr. 23d. 1780."

² This day not only brought these hearings to a close, but also marked the end of Timothy Matlack's congressional career, as he was not included on the new slate of delegates to Congress elected by the Pennsylvania Assembly on November 23. See *JCC*, 18:1087. But his work on the committee probably did not end when he "retired" from the committee chamber "At two o'clock" this day, since the draft committee report on this investigation is in Matlack's hand. PCC, item 62, fols. 464-65.

The point would be of little significance were it not for the fact that the report actually submitted to Congress the following day is in the hand of John Walker, who had had no formal role in the committee's proceedings since November 6, when his congressional term had ended. His involvement in the submission of the committee's report is nevertheless obvious, and doubtless can be attributed to the committee's sensitivity to charges by Forman and Gibson that they could not get an impartial hearing from McKean and Matlack. As Walker had been explicitly exempted from the commissioners' accusations, it seems clear that his assistance was requested as a diplomatic gesture, for the committee's report was clearly drafted by Matlack, and the final work differs from his draft in a few minor particulars only. See *JCC*, 18:1091-92; and PCC, item 19, 3:179-82, item 62, fols. 464-65. However, to judge from the committee's noncontroversial major recommendation—that "The Treasury should be under the direction of a single officer, accountable to Congress"—the precaution would seem to have been unnecessary. Still, Forman and Gibson were not mollified, and continued to press their case against the commissioners of accounts, even after the latter were formally acquitted in January

1781 and Congress began to formulate plans for executive departments, ultimately placing the treasury under the direction of a superintendent of finance. For documents bearing on this final chapter of Forman's and Gibson's fruitless maneuvers, see PCC, item 62, fols. 521-56, 621-28, 631-38.

Although this treasury investigation had occupied Congress many months and ended inconclusively, it does provide insight into the difficulties of congressional oversight of the administrative offices and suggests significant erosion of congressional authority, morale, and competence. Another minor episode related to the inquiry which occurred this final day of hearings points to a similar conclusion. According to the journals, Jared Ingersoll interrupted this morning's congressional proceedings by observing that William Geddes, one of the commissioners of accounts under investigation, had been elected paymaster general of the army the preceding day without any acknowledgment "that a complaint had been exhibited against the chambers of accounts," whereupon Congress immediately resolved that Geddes' election "be set aside." *JCC*, 18:1067, 1079, 1085. Whether any members of the committee had been in attendance when Geddes was nominated or elected is not known, but in any event the episode must have provided an embarrassing moment and reflects poorly on the quality of congressional deliberations at this time.

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philade Nove 24 1780.

Yesterday I wrote to Mr Wells,¹ and in haste because I was informd that Dr Craigie was then instantly setting off for Boston. As he has waited another Day, I have the Opportunity of acknowledging the Receipt of your Letters of the 25th of October & the 8th of Novr which were brought to me by the Post. You seem, my Dear, to express more Concern than I think you ought, at certain Events that have of late taken Place in the Common Wealth of Massachusetts.² Do you not consider that in a free Republick, the People have an uncontroulable right of chusing whom they please, to take their Parts in the Administration of publick Affairs? No Man has a Claim on his Country, upon the Score of his having renderd publick Service. It is the Duty of every one to use his utmost Exertions in promoting the Cause of Liberty & Virtue; and having so done, if his Country thinks proper to call others to the arduous Task, he ought chearfully to acquiesce, and he may Console himself with the Contemplation of an Honest Man in private Life. You know how ardently I have wishd for the Sweets of Retirement. I am like to have my Wish. You are witness that I have not raisd a fortune in the Service of my Country. I glory in being what the World calls a poor Man. If my Mind has ever been tincturd with Envy, the Rich & the Great have not been its objects. If I have been vain, Popularity, tho' I had as much of it as any Man ought to have, is not the Phantome I have pursued. He who gains the Approbation of the Virtuous Citizens, I will own may feel himself happy; but he is in Reality much more so, *who knows he deserves it*. Such a Man, if he cannot retreat with Splendor, he may with Dignity. I will trust in that all gracious Being,

who in his own good Way, has provided us with Food and Raiment; and having spent the greatest Part of my Life in publick Cares, like the weary Traveller, fatigud with the Journey of the Day, I can rest with you in a Cottage. If I live till the Spring, I will take my final Leave of Congress and return to Boston. I have Reasons to be fixed in this Determination which I will then explain to you. I grow more domestick as I increase in years.

My worthy Friend Mr. Arthur Lee, who just now favord me with a Visit, sends Respects to you and the Family.

I have forgot in my late Letters to tell you, that six Weeks ago, General Ward & my self changd our Lodgings, and are at the House of Mrs. Miller. She is a well bred Woman, and my Situation is agreeable. Colo Palfrey who is with us is appointed Consul, and will soon go to France, when Mr Lovel will take the vacant Chamber.

Adieu my dear. Your affectionate,

SA.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ Adams' letter of "Yesterday" to Thomas Wells, Elizabeth's brother, is actually dated November 22. Wells was engaged to Hannah Adams, Samuel's daughter by his first marriage, and Adams used this opportunity to offer parental advice on the joys and hazards of matrimony. Although "the Marriage State was designed to complete the Sum of human Happiness in this life," Samuel observed, "It some times proves otherwise. But this is owing to the Parties themselves, who either rush into it without due Consideration, or fail in point of Discretion in their Conduct towards each other afterwards. It requires Judgment on both Sides, to conduct with exact Propriety; for though it is acknowledgd, that the Superiority is & ought to be in the Man, yet as the Mannagement of a Family in many Instances necessarily devolves on the Woman, it is difficult always to determine the Line between the Authority of the one & the Subordination of the other. Perhaps the Advice of the good Bishop of St Asaph on another Occasion, might be adopted on this, and that is, not to govern too much." Adams, *Writings* (Cushing), 4:223-25.

² That is, the election of John Hancock as governor of Massachusetts.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia November 25. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 24th Instant & another of this Day.¹

By the former, the Director of the Hospitals is ordered to repair to Head Quarters & put himself under the Orders of the Commander in Chief.

By the latter, all the Artificers in Pennsylvania are to be removed to Carlisle and in future only an issuing Store & an Elaboratory kept in Philadelphia; and you are desired to detach a field Officer of Artillery to take Command and superintend the Business at Carlisle under the Order of the Board of War.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest Respect & Esteem, Your
 Excellency's most obedient & humble servant,
 Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1090-91, 1093.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Philada Novr. 25th. 1780

I informed you some time ago that the instructions to Mr. Jay had passed Congress in a form which was entirely to my mind. I since informed you that a Committee was preparing a letter to him explanatory of the principles & objects of the instructions.¹ This letter also passed in a form equally satisfactory. I did not suppose that any thing further would be done on the subject, at least till further intelligence should arrive from Mr Jay. It now appears that I was mistaken. The Delegates from Georgia & South Carolina, apprehensive that a *Uti possidetis* may be obtruded on the belligerent powers by the armed neutrality in Europe and hoping that the accession of Spain to the Alliance will give greater concert & success to the military operations that may be pursued for the recovery of these States, and likewise add weight to the means that may be used for obviating a *Uti possidetis*, have moved for a reconsideration of the Instructions in order to empower Mr. Jay in case of necessity to yield to the claims of Spain on condition of her guarantieng our independence and affording us a handsome subsidy. The expediency of such a motion is further urged from the dangerous negotiations now on foot by British Emissaries for detaching Spain from the war. Wednesday last was assigned for the consideration of this motion and it has continued the order of the day ever since without being taken up.² What the fate of it will be I do not predict but whatever its own fate may [*be*] it must do mischief in its operation. It will not probably be concealed that such a motion has been made & supported, and the weight which our demands would derive from unanimity & decision must be lost. I flatter myself however that Congress will see the impropriety of sacrificing the acknowledged limits and claims of any State without the express concurrence of such State Obstacles enough will be thrown in the way of peace, if [*it*] is to be bid for at the expence of particular members of the Union. The Eastern States must on the first suggestion take the alarm for their fisheries. If they will not support other States in their rights they cannot expect to be supported themselves when theirs come into question.

In this important business, which so deeply affects the claims &

interests of Virginia & which I know she has so much at heart, I have not the satisfaction to harmonise in Sentiment with my Colleague. He has embraced an opinion that we have no just claim to the subject in controversy between US & Spain, and that it is the interest of Virginia not to adhere to it. Under this impression he drew up a letter to the Executive to be communicated to the Legislature, stating in general the difficulty Congress might be under, & calling their attention to a revision of their instructions to their Delegates on the subject.³ I was obliged to object to such a step, and in order to prevent it observed that the instructions were given by the Legislature of Virga. on mature consideration of the case, & on a supposition that Spain would make the demands she has done, that no other event has occurred to change the mind of our Constituents but the Armed neutrality in Europe & the successes of the Enemy to the Southward which are as well known to them as to ourselves, that we might every moment expect a third delegate here,⁴ who would either adjust or decide the difference in opinion between us, and that whatever went from the Delegation would then go in its proper form & have its proper effect, that if the instructions from Virga. were to be revised and their ultimatum reduced, it could not be concealed in so populous an Assembly, and every thing which our Minister should be authorised to yield would be insisted on, that Mr. Jays last dispatches encouraged us to expect that Spain would not be inflexible if we were so, that we might every day expect to have more satisfactory information from him. That finally if it should be thought expedient to listen to the pretensions of Spain, it would be best before we took any decisive step in the matter to take the Counsel of those who best know the interests & have the greatest influence on the opinions of our Constituents, that as you were both a member of Congress & of the Legislature & were now with the latter, you would be an unexceptionable medium for effecting this, and that I would write to you for the purpose, by the first safe conveyance.

These objections had not the weight with my Colleague which they had with me. He adhered to his first determination & has I believe sent the letter above mentioned by Mr. Walker who will I suppose soon forward it to the Governour. You will readily conceive the embarrassments this affair must have cost me. All I have to ask of you is that if my refusing to concur with my Colleague in recommending to the legislature a revision of their instructions should be misconstrued by any, you will be so good as to place it in its true light, and if you agree with me as to the danger of giving express power to concede, or the inexpediency of conceding at all, that you will consult with Gentlemen of the above description and acquaint me with the result.

I need not observe to you that the alarms with respect to the inflexibility of Spain in her demands, the progress of British intrigues

at Madrid and the danger of a *Uti possidetis*, may with no small probability be regarded as artifices for securing her objects on the Mississippi. Mr. Adams in a late letter from Amsterdam, a copy of which has been enclosed to the Governor supposes that the pretended success of the British emissaries at Madrid is nothing but a ministerial finesse to facilitate the loans and keep up the spirits of the people.⁵

This will be conveyed by Col. Grayson,⁶ who has promised to deliver it himself, or if any thing unforeseen should prevent his going to Richmond, to put it into such hands as will equally ensure its safe delivery.

I am Dr Sr. yrs. Sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:202-4.

¹ See Madison to Jones, October 10, 1780. For Madison's draft of the letter "explanatory of the principles & objects of the instructions," see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:127-35.

² See the Georgia Delegates' Proposed Resolutions, November 18, 1780.

³ See Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson, November 22, 1780.

⁴ Five delegates from Virginia had been elected for the term from November 1780 to 1781, for which see *JCC*, 17:792. Since Madison knew that James Henry had resigned and that Jones did not expect to return until after the Virginia assembly adjourned, he undoubtedly anticipated the arrival of Meriwether Smith. See Madison to Jones, November 14, 1780.

⁵ William Carmichael had informed Congress of "the progress of British intrigues at Madrid" in a letter of July 17, which was read in Congress on October 16, 1780. See *JCC*, 18:931; PCC, item 88, fols. 68-71; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:865-66. John Adams' letter of August 23 "from Amsterdam" is in PCC, item 84, 2:245-46; and in Wharton, 4:41-42.

⁶ That is, Col. William Grayson (1736?-90), former aide-de-camp to Washington and a current commissioner of the Board of War, who had been granted leave on November 20 to visit his family in Virginia. He later became a delegate to Congress. *JCC*, 18:1072; and *DAB*.

Artemas Ward to William Gordon

Sir

[November 25-30? 1780]¹

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the seventh of June last,² which I confess ought to have been done long before this time. I wrote you an answer in Season but find in looking over my papers I never sent it;³ therefore Imbrace this opportunity. When I received your letter I conversed with my Collegues on the subject thereof and we were unanimous in Opinion that it was not advisable to mention the matter in Congress whilst our Publick affairs were in such a Situation as they were then in. And it appears to me that it will not do at this time and I think if I was to converse with you I could satisfy you of the inexpediency of ever mentioning it in Congress at lest untill there was a great change in men and measures.

You will please to make my best compliments agreeable to your Lady and believe me to be your Sincere friend and humble Servant.

FC (MHi: Ward Papers). In the hand of Artemas Ward, and endorsed by him: "Doctr. Gordons June 7. 80, answered in Novr by Mr. Penney."

¹ This date has been derived from Ward's endorsement indicating that the letter was sent "in Novr by Mr. Penney," and from a comment by Samuel Adams on November 22 that he expected Timothy Penny to "set off for Boston in a few days." Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams, November 22, 1780.

² Gordon had written to Ward to propose that Congress undertake an investigation of the dispute in which he had become embroiled with Alexander Hamilton over allegations that Hamilton had advised an uprising against Congress. More precisely, a rumor had circulated in early 1779 that Hamilton had declared "that it was high time for the people to rise, join Genl. Washington and turn Congress out of Doors," and Hamilton's friends had traced the origin of the rumor, through Francis Dana, to Gordon. Hamilton thereupon had called on Gordon to "disclose the authority on which your information to Mr. Dana was founded," and failing to obtain satisfaction issued a challenge to a duel. Gordon, a minister, had of course declined the invitation, and brought the matter to the attention of Washington and to the Massachusetts delegates in Congress. Washington advised Gordon that if he wished "to exhibit any charge against Colo Hamilton cognizable by a military tribunal," he had only to signify his intent and declare when his witnesses would be ready to proceed. Ward, meanwhile, found no sentiment among his colleagues for bringing the case before Congress. For the many documents related to the controversy, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 2:90-92, 108-9, 127-28, 140-43, 149-50, 153-56, 162, 168-69, 184-85, 187-88, 222, 224, 313-17; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 18:322-23. For Ward's reluctance either to press the matter in Congress or to advise Gordon on a course of action, see the following note.

³ Ward's "answer in Season," concerning the "dispute between you and Colo. Hamilton" discussed in the preceding note, also survives among the Ward Papers at MHi. It too is undated, and reads as follows:

"Dear Doctor, Your favour of the Seventh Ult came duly to hand. I have had some conversation with my Collegues relative to the matter in dispute between you and Colo. Hamilton. We were unanimously of the opinion that considering the present Situation of our Publick affairs it was not proper to move that matter in Congress, or even to mention it. The Situation of the Army being critical & publick business being pressing, the moveing that matter would have a tendency to Injure the Publick Service which we were fully satisfied you would not even wish to take place. Therefore we thought it best (all things being taken into consideration) to pass it over, not doubting that this line of conduct would meet your approbation.

"I arrived in this City on the thirteenth of June last, have been as well as usual, 'till within a few days, the heat having been very Intense has opperated much on me, but however hope to be able to endure 'till the weather changes.

"I have nothing of News to write you, which you will not learn from the papers or otherways."

John Sullivan to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir

Schulskill Falls 26th 1780

I am Honored with your Favor of the 19th Inst.¹ Am Sorry you have received no Letters Lately from me [...] perswaded This Arose from your mentioning [...] were about to Set out for New Hampshire

Several [...] Since after which I Directed two Letters to you at [New] Hampshire one of which I apprehend is Lodged in New York. Rivington has not Published it though am almost Confident it went by that Post.² The Reason [is] I Suppose That he found nothing in Favor of that [...] Through the whole of it. I mentioned in the fo[...] Those the Journals of Congress Left by you & requested to know how they were to be forwarded, as They are weighty in Every Sense of the word. My being Compelled to move out of the City for my Health has prevented my writing you as often as I otherwise Should have done. We have no news here but what is Contained in the Inclosed Gazette. Congress move on but Slowly in rectifying the Errors which Seem to Surround us. There Seems however a Disposition for attempting a reformation. As I write from This Place it is impossible to Inclose you a Journal of Congress by this opportunity. I wish you a good Journey to New Hampshire & a happy Sight of your Family & Friends. You may depend on hearing from me by Every opportunity. I have the Honor to be with the most [...] Sentiments of Esteem, Dr Sir your most obedt. Servant.

Jno. Sullivan

RC (NhHi: Peabody Papers).

¹ Not found.

² Only Sullivan's October 8 letter to Peabody has been found. Although several of his intercepted letters were later published, none of his correspondence with Peabody was printed in James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*.

John Sullivan to John Stark

Dear Sir

Phladelphia November 26th 1780

I am favored with your Letter of the 13 Instant & am Sorry for the Decline of your Health.

I am happy to hear that the Late allowances made for the Army¹ are So pleasing & I am happy in assuring you that the Tide has Turned & now Sets Strongly in their Favor. I wish it may Continue.

The allowance of half pay is undoubtedly Extended to General as well as other officers but no Provision is yet made for those whose want of Health Compells them to retire.²

My advice to you is to Send a Request to Congress to retire for recovery of your Health which I will Take Care Shall answer Every Purpose. In it You will please to mention that whenever your Health will permit you will Chearfully return to the Field.³ I am in haste
Dear Sir Your assured Friend & most obedt Servant

Jno Sullivan

RC (NhHi: Stark Papers).

¹ See the following entry, note 2.

² Congress explicitly declared on November 28 that general officers were entitled to the same half pay benefits for life that were recently extended to continental officers who served to the end of the war, but no mention was made of officers who retired for "want of health." See *JCC*, 18:1100; and Sullivan to Stark, November 28, 1780.

³ Stark continued on active duty in the Continental Army until the war's end.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia Novemr 26th 1780

I am honored with your Excellency's Favor of the 20th Instant¹— and feel myself under the greatest obligation for your obliging Condescension in Consenting to a Continuation of my Letters.

Sensible of your Situation & Course of Business I feared to write Lest your Politeness Should Divert your attention from important matters & Lead you to answer Even where an Answer appeared unnecessary. But I now take the Liberty of assuring you that I Shall not Expect Frequent or Lengthy answers. When the Nature of my Letter requires & your Liesure will permit I Shall promise myself an answer & not otherwise.

I Shall take the Liberty of Informing your Excellency from time to time of Those Points which Turn up in Congress & are interesting to the Publick in General or the Army in Particular & Shall Continue This without Expecting regular or Frequent answers.

I am happy that the Late Regulations are Pleasing to your Excellency;² & with you Lament that They were not Sooner adopted: But I can with great Truth assure you that they are not now the offspring of Choice but necessity which perhaps has been Lately Painted in more Striking Colors & has been more realized than formerly.

I am Sensible of the injurious Consequences of Sending out requisitions at so Late a Period³ But I flatter myself That The States will yield a Chearful & Speedy Compliance as I have Seen An Act from Connecticut and Answers from other States which promise much toward a Speedy Supply.

I will Endeavor to have it mentioned in Colo Palfreys Instructions to obtain materials in preference to ready made Cloathes for the reasons you mention. Colo. Palfrey is appointed Consul & Commercial agent.⁴

The means you have been pleased to point out are Fortunately Adopted. Congress have in the most Decent & at the Same time in the most pressing Terms Solicited a Loan & I have Long Since without the knowledge of Congress Solicited the French Minister and Mr Marbois to favor the application which they have already Done by writing to the French Court warmly in favor of it.⁵

I am fully Sensible of the Evils arising in the Cloathing Department,

a report is now on the Table for regulating it; which I hope will pass this week.⁶ The mode you mention for future Provisions I hope will be Adopted. We have had Cloathing Sufficient for the Army at Cape Francois Eighteen months & a Sufficiency on the Shores of France Since April Last; & *we have had a number of Frigates Employed in useless adventures*. This Clearly proves the Justice of your observation respecting The attention of Congress being Taken up in Trivial affairs while great Nations Concerns have been Neglected. Several attempts have been made toward a reformation, but to no purpose. You might almost as Soon Teach the Streams to run back to their Sources as perswade Congress out of Their Ancient Tract. I have the honor to be with all possible respect yr. Excellys most obedt Servt.

Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Washington's November 20 letter to Sullivan is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:371-74.

² Washington had singled out for praise the "determination of Congress to raise an Army for the War, and the honorable establishment on which the Officers are placed." For the new provisions for officers, who at Washington's recommendation were "to be allowed half pay for life" rather than for seven years, see *JCC*, 18:958-60; and Abraham Clark to William Livingston, October 22, 1780, note 3.

³ Washington had "lamented that the call upon the States for Specific Supplies should come at this late hour." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:371. For the circumstances leading to the adoption on November 4 of new procedures in requisitioning "Specific Supplies" from the states, see John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, October 30, 1780, note 2.

⁴ This subject was not mentioned in the instructions adopted on December 9 for the new consul to France, Washington's late paymaster general, William Palfrey. *JCC*, 18:1134-36.

⁵ After explaining the severity of the clothing crisis facing Continental troops, Washington had expressed his belief that only through obtaining a foreign loan could the war be continued through another campaign, an idea the committee on ways and means had also recommended to Congress on November 17. Accordingly a letter to the King of France soliciting a loan of 25 million livres was adopted on November 22, and steps were immediately taken to appoint a special envoy to France to facilitate the transaction. Whether Sullivan's private solicitation of a French loan "without the knowledge of Congress" had an impact on subsequent French decisions to advance public funds to the United States is not known, but certainly the friendships he cultivated with La Luzerne, the French minister, and Barbé-Marbois, the French chargé d'affaires, exceeded the normal bounds of even a fierce partisan of the French alliance. Indeed, La Luzerne's dispatches to the comte de Vergennes indicate that Sullivan was paid handsomely for his special attachment to the French cause in the United States and provide details on some of the arrangements the French minister made to secure his support. For example, Sullivan received a substantial personal "loan" before the end of 1780 and as early as December La Luzerne proposed paying him an annual retainer of five or six thousand livres in order "d'être informé avec certitude de ce qui se passeroit dans les délibérations" of Congress. La Luzerne also came to fear that Sullivan's pecuniary needs might shake his loyalties to American independence—a conclusion reinforced by Sullivan's later flirtations with "reconciliation" proposals relayed to Sullivan in May 1781 by a former New Hampshire friend, Stephen Holland, then a British loyalist officer, through his brother Daniel Sullivan, then a British prisoner in New York.

La Luzerne continued to pay Sullivan semi-annually into 1784, when La Luzerne returned to France, undoubtedly because of Sullivan's services during 1780-81 in advocating French views on instructions to John Jay and John Adams, and in supporting the election of Robert R. Livingston as secretary for foreign affairs.

Sullivan's confidential relationship with the French minister can be traced in La Luzerne's reports to Vergennes, particularly those of December 16, 1780, May 13, June 11 and August 11, 1781. Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 14:111-13, 16:265-74, 17:125-39, 18:82-84. The issues of Sullivan's relationship with the French minister and of his loyalty to the United States are discussed in William E. O'Donnell, *The Chevalier De La Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, 1779-1784* (Bruges: Desclée De Brower, 1938), pp. 63-65, 110, 133, 138-39, 170-71; Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution. John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 165-79; and Kenneth Scott, "Major General Sullivan and Colonel Stephen Holland," *New England Quarterly*, 18 (September 1945): 303-24.

⁶ The "report" for reforming the "Clothing Department" had been considered on November 4, but regulations for that department did not come before Congress again until January 2, 1781. See *JCC*, 18:1018-21, 19:11-13. See also Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, pp. 279-81.

Samuel Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Philade Nove 27 1780

Let me intreat you, my dear Sir, not to think me unmindful of the several Favors I have receivd from you since I arrivd in this City. I hate Protestations among Friends, and the making Apologies is so formal a Business, that I know not in what Manner to begin it. Yet it seems necessary that I should say something in Excuse for my not having written to you. Shall I tell you of my trembling Hand, & how unfit an Instrument it is to quide a Pen? I do assure you that writing is on that Account become painful to me. I am perswaded you never doubted the Reality of my Friendship for you, and I solemnly affirm it has not abated a single Iota. Let this suffice on the Score of Apology and permit me to hope that I shall receive your Letters frequently, while I remain here, which however will be only till the next Spring. I shall then take my final [le]ave of Congress, & seek that Retirement from publick Cares, which my Country seems to point out for me, [&] to which my own Inclination leads me.

I perceive it has been in your Option, to take a [se]at in either House of the General Assembly, or [re]turn to Congress.¹ I cannot say in which of these [de]partments you will have it in your Power to render [the] most substantial Service to the Publick. We feel [the] Want of you here; and yet I think you have wisely [ch]osen a Seat for the present in the House of Representatives. Many Virtuous Men there may want that Information which you are able to give. Possibly you may have [m]uch of the old Ground to go over again. More in my opinion, is necessary to be done, than conquering our British Enemies in order to establish the Liberties of our Country on a solid

Basis. Human Nature, I am affraid, is too much debas'd to relish those Republican Principles, in which the new Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts appears to be founded. And may it not be added, that the former Government, I mean the last Charter, being calculated rather to make *servile Men* than *free Citizens*, the Minds of many of our Countrymen have been inurd to a cringing obsequiousness, too deeply wrought into Habit to be easily eradicated? Mankind is prone enough to political Idolatry. Such a temper is widely different from that reverence which every virtuous Citizen will show to the upright Magistrate. If my Fears on this Head are ill grounded, I hope I shall be excusd. They proceed from a cordial Affection for that Country to the Service of which I have devoted the greatest Part of my Life. May Heaven inspire the present Rulers with Wisdom & sound Understanding. In all Probability they will stamp the Character of the People. It is natural for sensible Observers to form an Estimate of the People from the opinion they have of those whom they set up for their Legislators & Magistrates. And besides, if we look into the History of Governors, we shall find that their Principles & Manners have always had a mighty Influence on the People. Should Levity & Foppery ever become the ruling Taste of the Great, the Body of the People would be in Danger of catching the Distemper, and the ridiculous Maxims of the one would become fashionable among the other. I pray God we may never be addicted to Vanity & the Folly of Parade! Pomp & Show serve very well to promote the Purposes of European & Asiatick Grandeur, in Countries where the Mystery of Iniquity is carried to the highest Pitch, & Millions are tame enough to believe they are born for no other Purpose than to be subservient to the capricious Will of a single Great Man or a few! It requires Council & sound Judgment to render our Country secure in a flourishing Condition. If Men of Wisdom & Knowledge, of Moderation & Temperance, of Patience, Fortitude & Perseverance, of Sobriety & true Republican Simplicity of Manners, of Zeal for the Honor of the Supreme Being & the Welfare of the Common Wealth—If Men possessed of these & other excellent Qualities are chosen to fill the Seats of Government we may expect that our Affairs will rest on a solid & permanent Foundation.

I thank you my dear Sir, for mentioning my Family so affectionately in one of your Letters. Oblige them with your Visits as often as you can. Remember me to Colo Orne, who, I have Reason to think is among my Friends. Adieu and believe me to be most sincerely, yours,

S A

FC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Gerry had been named to the new slate of Massachusetts delegates elected on September 22, but he did not return to Congress until 1783. In the 1780 state elections he was also selected as both a representative from Marblehead and a senator

from Essex County, but chose to serve as a representative in the lower house of the General Court. *DAB*.

Committee of Congress to Nathanael Greene

Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 27th. 1780

Inclosed is an extract of a letter of the 23d of August last lately received from Mr John Adams. As the intelligence relates particularly to your department, we thought it necessary to be forwarded to you. This is all the foreign intelligence, worth transmitting you.¹ As to domestic, we recollect none.

No effectual means have as yet been taken for supplying the southern army with cloathing. The Committee to whom your letter (before you left Philadelphia) was refered have made no report yet.² Your letter of the 19th inst. is refered to another committee,³ the result, will give you the earliest information of.

We are sir, with sincere Esteem & regard, yr. most Obedt. servt.
By Order of the Committee, Jno. Mathews, Chairman

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). Written and signed by John Mathews.

¹ Adams' letter of August 23 included information that the British cabinet had ordered the war in North Carolina and Virginia to be vigorously prosecuted. The letter was referred on November 20 to a committee chaired by Mathews which recommended the following day that Washington take personal command of the southern army, transfer the Pennsylvania Line and artillery to the south, and coordinate his plans with the French army in America. See *JCC*, 18:1072, 1078. Congress ignored the committee's suggestions, which apparently were not included with this letter from the committee on the southern department.

² Greene, who was in Philadelphia from October 27 to November 3, wrote six letters to Congress during that period, but only those of October 27 and November 1 relating to clothing and supplies for the southern army were referred to committee. See *JCC*, 18:982, 992, 999, 1004-5; and *PCC*; item 155, 1:447-70. It appears from the journals that neither committee ever issued a report.

³ Congress actually received two letters of November 19 from Greene this day, for which see the following entry, note 1.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir,

Philadelphia November 27. 1780

I have this Day received your two Letters of the 19th Instant, and laid them before Congress.¹

We have just received authentic Intelligence that the British Parliament is dissolved & a new one called. Time must discover what Influence this may have upon the Measures of the British Court.²

I am Sir, with Sentiments of Esteem & regard, your most obedient
Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1095; and PCC, item 147, 4:761-68.

² This information had been reported in a September 12 letter to President Huntington from the American agent at The Hague, Charles William Frederic Dumas, which was read in Congress this day. See *JCC*, 18:1095; PCC, item 93, 1:468-70; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:55-56.

Samuel Huntington to John Hancock

Sir, Philada November 27. 1780

I have been favoured with your Excellency's obliging Letter of the 9th Instant.¹

Have now the Honor to transmit you the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 24th Instant, together with a Copy of Colonel Tupper's Letter to which the Act refers.²

By this Act it is desired, that the Executive of Massachusetts Bay will examine into the Nature of the Claim for the Pay of fifty five Stand of Arms mentioned in Coll. Tupper's Letter, and if equitable, to take Order for the Payment of the same at a reasonable Price, on Account of the United States.

I am Sir &c, &c, &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ There is no mention of this letter in the journals and it is not in PCC.

² Col. Benjamin Tupper had explained his claim for small arms taken from his regiment in 1775 in a letter of November 6 to Massachusetts delegate Artemas Ward, which had been referred to the Board of War. PCC, item 78, 22:445-48. The enclosed resolve referring the determination of Tupper's claim to the state of Massachusetts was adopted in response to the board's recommendation. See *JCC*, 18:1049, 1090; and PCC, item 147, 4:695-98.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philada Novr [27]¹ 1780

I have this Day received your Excellency's Despatches of the 13th and 19th Instant, and laid them before Congress.²

We have just received authentic Intelligence that the British Parliament is dissolved and a new one called.

Deputies from the Dutch are gone to Petersburg to attend the Convention of the neutral Powers respecting the armed Neutrality.³

I have the Honor to be &c

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ This date has been established from the references to Jefferson's letters found in Huntington's first paragraph, and from a comparison of this letter with Huntington's to Nathanael Greene, this date.

² See *JCC*, 18:1095; *PCC*, item 71, 1:521, 527-30; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:115-16, 128.

³ For the origin of this report, see Huntington to Nathanael Greene, this date, note 2.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Novr. 27th. [1780]

The enclosed¹ is from no *new* Admirer. But it will not be less wellcome on that Score to a Female devoid of Coquetry. It came under Cover to the hon. Mr. Bee from Commodore Gillon, who has been so kind as to aid Mr. A—— by interpreting, in Holland.¹ Mr. A—— is authorized to negociate the money matters that were entrusted to Mr. Laurens and had actually received his Powers by the happy Arrival of the hon. Mr. Searle who sailed from hence in the *Jay* on some Affairs for the State of Pensylvania.

Mr. A was well Sepr. 25. I wish I may be able to say Something to him of the same kind about you before Col. Palfrey sails; it may serve as a Douceur. He writes not to me. He is as captious as P——² I will not say who, because the eastern Post has failed Today, and *possibly* there may be in the Office at Fish Kill a “Thank you for forwarding the Bills of Exchange” and an “I wish you happy” with a P at the Bottom of it.

I have not yet seen the Carolina Mr. Brown to prove to him of what worth is a good Word from you. It shall wellcome to me even the “Countenance” of a Saracen.

I hear nothing yet of Capt. P. Jones. I have 3 Commissions respecting Goods to come by him. They are from 3 much esteemed Friends. I will not say of which of the Commissions I am most proud, for I wish to avoid even the *Appearance* of being a Flatterer in these Days of Slander when even Portia has “been left” to miscall *my* Honesty.

Now, Daughter of Eve, for a few Dashes in the News-way. Russia, Sweeden & Denmark are jointly doing Right to their mutual Commerces. Holland is all Tameness, pretending to expect that the northern confederating Powers shall guarantee her east india Interests as a preliminary to her joining the Confederation. England releases Captures made upon the 3 first mentioned Nations, but condemns the Hollanders. Minheer I should think will not much longer hold out under such evident Indignity.

The british Force has suddenly left Portsmouth in Virginia without destroying their Works or taking the collected negroes with them. There is a Report that they relanded higher up the Bay and have cooped in our Friends on the Neck to the amount of 5000. I suspect

this to be the Fabric of a Speculator. There is more than a single Account that French Ships were off Charlestown Bar.

I forgot to tell you that Mr. A is turned a french Surgeon and is *anatomizing* Govr. Hutchinson. I will give you a Sketch of the Skeliton if I can find Time by next post day.³

A Foreigner who has travailed much and knows several Languages told me last Evening that he knew of Nothing that pleased him so much for the Occasion as the Quaker's Farewell. JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:21-22.

¹ Lovell enclosed a John Adams to Abigail letter of September 25, for which see *ibid.*, 3:424-25, 4:51.

² That is, Portia—Abigail Adams.

³ Lovell was referring to Adams' "anatomizing" of former Massachusetts governor Thomas Hutchinson in a June 27, 1780, letter to President Huntington, which Abigail allowed to be published anonymously in the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), January 4, 1781. It is in PCC, item 84, 2:145-51; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:794-98.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 28th Novemr 1780

I last wrote to your Excellency by General Scott.¹ We have since received dispatches from Holland² and have the satisfaction to find that Mr Adams has received his powers to execute the Trust reposed in Mr Lawrence now a Prisoner of war in England. The Claims of Ireland are still unsatisfied and they have passed an Act to prevent, by a severe duty, the Importation of unrefined Sugar from England; insisting that it shall be brought directly from the Islands into their ports; and claiming in every other Respect a perfect Equality with what they call their Sister Kingdom. The Courtiers in that parliament were averse to this Measure, but the Patriot Councilor Yelverton told them that his Argument should be concise. If they woud not agree to it, *he woud put himself at the head of the Associators*. This is a mode of reasoning which proves irresistible. By the way is it not the highest Insolence that while the Claims of Ireland are submitted to from [. . .] and preparations to enforce them by Arms; Americans are persecuted as *Rebels* for exercising the same Right? Holland continues to be rent into Faction. The Statholder, under british Influence, restrains *some* of the provinces from acting with vigour: While the Republican party in *all* seem resolved to support our Cause and are earnest for Close Alliance with Us. In England the Crown has acquired additional strength by the misconduct of the People headed by Lord George Gordon. It is said the late Elections have proved unfavourable to the Patriots, and that several of the most distinguished have lost their Seats in Parliament. But it is a general

Opinion that the Convention of the Neutral powers will have a much greater Effect upon the British Cabinet than the Eloquence of Angells. Lord Shelbourn in their House of Peers declared that it was to be taken for granted that the united States would be admitted to that Convention as an Independant people. Indeed All Accounts agree that the great Powers of Europe are altogether advocates for our Freedom, and the ministerial writers in late publications whine and complain that All mankind are Ingrates, and that they are left without an Ally to contend against France Spain & America; they might add Ireland to the Catalogue: for the Liberation of that Kingdom will eventually press them to the Quick, and tend to the Destruction of her Commerce as much as anyother Cause. In the mean time they have manifested a servility in offering Assistance to the Russian fleet, that Armed merely to humble their maritime power, which cannot fail to render them contemptible. With the same low Condescension they have endeavour[ed] to sooth and cajole the Courts of France and Spain and seem prepared to sacrifice every Sentiment of Glory, & every Prospect of national Advantage if America can be deserted and left to their Vengeance. These Courts however seem resolved to pursue the War, and France, in every Event, to maintain her Alliance. Besides the Ties of Honour, their future Safety, and a desire to recover the disgraces of the last War; both these Nations are become responsible for their Conduct to the Northern Powers: Nor can any thing Justify them to themselves or to Europe. While these States by vigorously persevering to establish their Freedom call down the Admiration and Respect of Mankind.

From Intelligence out of our Capitol, it appears that the Enemy expressed great Chargin and disappointment on examining the new Arrangement for the Campaign which they intercepted. They had hoped, it seems, that we were to much broken to attempt a formidable Opposition. If the Views of Congress are seconded by the states, and the Army & Supplies which we have requested punctually produced: it is the general Opinion that the Enemy will relinquish the American War and think seriously of preserving their remaining Dominions. One decisive Effort will be of more Avail than languid & precarious operations for years. But these Observations need not be made to your Excellency who has long been impressed with the Necessity of vigorous Measures to expell the Enemy.

The late Hurricane in the West Indies has produced such Horrible Devastations; that nothing equal to it has happened perhaps Since the Deluge. Only partial Accounts have yet come to hand: but the Tempest continuing many days with unabated Violence; it may be concluded that its Effects have been dreadful in the Islands both Windward & Leeward. It must prove a fatal Blow to Britain: but our Ally has a great Share in the Calamity. The Loss of Shipping and Lives must be prodigious.

I cannot but say, excepting in the Case of Vermont, that I never enjoyed so much Satisfaction in the proceedings of Congress as at this Time. There is a decision and spirit in their measures which had become indispensably necessary. They have made All the Preparations for the next Campaign with the utmost Unanimity and to the entire Satisfaction of the Commander in Chief.

I continue alone to represent the State. It is a Confidence which I endeavoured to deserve by unremitted Application; and by devoting my whole Time to the publick Business. Habit, and a great Share of Health, make it tolerable; and a Hope that I am serviceable to the Country reconciles me to continue so long in a Station on some Accounts undesirable. The Want of a decent Support from the State is among the Number of discouragements which give me disquiet: there are others which must occur to your Excellency of a Nature much more general and consequential.

Be pleased to present my most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Clinton and Col. Benson.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect; and Affection,
Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most Obedient & very humble Servant,
Jas Duane

Tr (DLC: George and James Clinton Papers).

¹ See Duane to Clinton, November 14, 1780.

² These dispatches consisted of ten letters from John Adams and Charles W. F. Dumas that were read in Congress on November 27. *JCC*, 18:1095. Those from Adams, dated June 12 (two), 16, 17 (two), 29, and September 24 and 25, 1780, are in PCC, item 84, 2:118-52, 161-64, 265-72; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:779-84, 787-98, 823-24, 4:66-69 (except for one of the letters of June 17, although both are in the Adams letterbooks, MHi). Dumas' letters, both dated September 12, are in PCC, item 93, 1:464-70, one of which is in Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:55-56.

John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Dear sir

Phil. November 28th 1780

I was in full Expectation of receiving a line from you by the last post but was disappointed. Mr. Hall¹ in his last has given Some Account of the proceedings in the House of Delegates. He writes me that the Confiscation Bill had passed their House by a very great Majority. Should the measure be adopted it might be made to Serve a most valuable purpose, that of drawing the Bills emitted under the resolve of the 18th March into Circulation and establishing its Credit. Let part of the Confiscated property as much as may be necessary, be laid off in Small Lots, (Lands in 100 Acres) and Valued in hard money, by persons on Oath. Those Lots to be made over to any person who Shall first offer to pay the Valuation either in hard money

or in Bills of the new Emission. By this means every one would have it in his power to realize his money, in property of the full Value of hard money to obtain the new money to Answer this purpose every one would be induced to Exchange the old Bills for the new at 40 for one, which would in a short time, it is probable bring all the new money into Circulation and establish its Credit, the fund being ready And equal in Value to Gold and silver.

The president of Congress has promised to send by this post, a Copy of a late Law passed in Connecticut, respecting a Cession of some part of the back Lands.² We have had nothing from Virginia or any other state on that Subject. The Eastern states are making the most Vigorous Exertions, And it is said there is not the least doubt of their Compleating their number of men by the first of February, and their Quota of Supplies of provisions and money will be furnished. I hope every State Will See the necessity of the like Exertions. Nothing is so likely to give us peace as a formidable Well Appointed Army, Well Supported and a proper Arrangement of our Finances. The loss of men our State has Sustained, to the southward, Occasions a greater deficiency in our Quota of Troops than We shall I am afraid be able to make up. We shall I suppose after the Addition of the new raised regiment want at least 1300 men, but Should We fall Short (all things Considered) We Shall not be justly lyable to blame, but if it is possible, our full Quota I hope Will be made up. Provisions we have plenty of, so that We Shall be able to Comply with what is required of us in that respect. I am much pleased to See your name in the Delegation to Congress. I hope it will be agreeable to you to Attend, and Wish you and Mr Johnson Coud immediately Come up. The Major I Suppose Cant Attend till the session is at an End. Mr. Platers time is out And my being here Alone will be to no purpose. The state will be unrepresented.³

No news from the Northward for a long time nor any of Consequence from Europe. Wish the Account from the southward of the Enemys having left Virginia may be true. I write in great haste. My Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Senate And Am With usual respect and Esteem, Dear sir, Your most hble servt,

John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Carroll Papers).

¹ That is, John Hall (1729-97) of the "Vineyard," Anne Arundel Co., Md., who served almost continuously in the lower house of the Maryland assembly from 1762 to 1795. *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 1:386-88.

² Although the Connecticut legislature had passed a resolution in October offering to cede its ungranted territory contested by Pennsylvania to the United States, there is no indication that Samuel Huntington sent "a Copy of the late Law" to the states at this time. For the Connecticut resolution, which was not formally submitted to Congress until January 31, 1781, when it and similar acts from New York and Virginia were referred to a committee of seven, see *JCC*, 19:99-100; and Julian

P. Boyd and Robert J. Taylor, eds., *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, 11 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962-71), 7:63-66.

³ The Maryland delegation elected in November 1780 consisted of Hanson, Carroll, Thomas Johnson, and "The Major," Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. Neither Carroll nor Johnson chose to attend, resigning on January 3 and 16, 1781, respectively. A special election, which was held in January and certified February 3, added Daniel Carroll and Richard Potts to the delegation. Since George Plater's time was "out" December 5, the state was unrepresented until Hanson was joined by Daniel Carroll in February, as Maryland required the presence of two delegates to cast its vote in Congress. Jenifer and Potts did not arrive until late in the spring. See *JCC*, 17:509, 19:138, 20:498, 629; and *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 1:198, 405, 2:486, 496.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir

Philadelphia Nov. 28th 1780

I wrote you by Capt Carberry who promised to deliver the letter himself and was the reason of my not writing to you by the last post—have nothing now worth Communicating, no news from the northward for a long time, nor anything from Europe of any Consequence. Your Carriage is finished and the man is impatient for his money. The Merchants here have had A meeting, And have reduced the Exchange to 75 which is Submitted to And every one takes the money at that Exchange. How long it will now Continue is uncertain. I therefore think it would be prudent to Send up the money as Soon as you Can. I Congratulate you on your reelection—And am much pleased it was Unanimous, hope your next will be in the Same manner being on all Occasions With the greatest esteem And respect.

Your Excellencys most Obedient Servt, John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

William Churchill Houston to William Livingston

Sir,

Philada. 28 November 1780

By our Advices Yesterday from the Southward¹ we find that the Enemy continue to retreat in South Carolina and that they are in great Distress for Supplies and much debilitated by Sickness. Our Troops will probably be still more straitened than they, because they have to follow on a Route which the Enemy have gleaned. Vast Expenses are before us, and our Resources slowly produced. It has often occurred to me how uncomfortable is the situation of Congress, without Power, and without Means, and yet berated for all Defects in the publick Operations and looked to for what every Body knows

it is impossible they should have. Every little Trapstick of a Quarter master or Commissary or Forage-picker, who has spent the publick Money himself and either has bought Nothing to feed the Army or Transport, or has paid Nothing for what he has bought, gets in a Passion and swears at Congress all over the Country that they do not furnish Money and will not pay their Debts. He owes Nobody; Congress owes; though neither they, nor any of their Members have ever seen or heard of him. It is a curious Situation when every little peddling Scoundrel or broken Shopkeeper can make Congress a Debtour to all the Amount he can prostitute the publick Credit for. I long to see the States in earnest to have none but honest, respectable Officers of their own, and that none should be appointed in the Continental Staff, because Congress can never know them, except in the highest Branches of the Departments; and I wish how soon the States may feel the Length and Breadth of their Resources because there is the only Fork. Congress ought to have more Power or the States more Vigour and Attention.

The Advices from Virginia are that the Enemy have embarked their Forces from Portsmouth,² but had not sailed the 19th inst. A *report* comes from Baltimore that when our Troops marched down Portsmouth, and a Number of Citizens went in through Curiosity, the Enemy stood up Nansemond River and landed to occupy the Isthmus so as to insulate them and cut off all Retreat. It is mentioned that near 5000 are thus *taken in*. The Enemy said to be about 3000. If the *Ancient Dominion* cannot refuse these, what are they worth? However the whole is private Intelligence; nothing official; and few believe any Thing of it.

Many Circumstances make it probable that there is a French or Spanish Fleet or a Fleet combined of both, on the Southern Coast; but am afraid they have suffered in the Hurricane which has made such Havock in the West-Indies. If they have escaped this, they may be of effectual Service to us.

I have received the Nomination and Election of Delegates.³ Find that my Name is continued which I little expected. Several of the Gentlemen who have not been carried, could have attended much better. However as there are five, I cannot think of refusing. If I have any Reputation, it stands me in Hand to preserve it, and not shrink from Duty, for I have Nothing else left. If my Credit goes, I may safely say, I have literally Nothing.

I hope to see your Excellency in a few Days, when I shall wish the Liberty of giving you a better Detail of Intelligence—both at Home and abroad.

I have the Honour to be, your Excellency's very humble, and most obedit Servant,

WC Houston

¹ These "Advices" were two November 19 letters from Gen. Nathanael Greene, which were read in Congress the previous day. *JCC*, 18:1095.

² The "Advices from Virginia" were enclosed in a November 19 Thomas Jefferson letter that was read in Congress on November 27, for which see *JCC*, 18:1095; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:128-29.

³ For Houston's concerns over New Jersey's representation in Congress and the election of a new slate of delegates for the state on November 24, see Houston to John Stevens, September 21, 1780.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dr. Sir

Philada. Novr. 28th. 1780

Yrs. of the 18th came yesterday.¹ I am glad to find the legislature persist in their resolution to recruit their line of the army for the war, though without deciding on the expediency of the mode under their consideration. Would it not be as well to liberate and make soldiers at once of the blacks themselves as to make them instruments for enlisting white Soldiers? It wd. certainly be more consonant to the principles of liberty which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty, and with white officers, & a majority of White Soldrs., no imaginable danger could be feared from themselves, as there certainly could be none from the effect of the example on those who should remain in bondage: experiance having shewn that a freedman immediately loses all attachment & sympathy with his former fellow slaves.

I informed you in my last that I had engaged Pleasants' house for you. Pemberton would come to no agreement on the subject. I have received the £2000 your share of the draught on Meade & Compy. and the residue of the draught has all been paid. I will endeavor to send you the Journals by the first opportunity. They are too heavy to go by post. I wrote to you too [two] days ago by Col. Grayson on the subject of the Mis—pi. Mr. Walker set out a few days ago, accompanied by Mr. Kinlock, who is soon to be in a very near relation to him. The Books of Accts. are on the way. We have enclosed to the Govr. a copy of an Act of the Legislature of Connecticut ceding some of their territorial claim to the United States, which he will no doubt communicate to the Assembly.² They reserve the jurisdiction to themselves, and clog the cession with some other conditions which greatly depreciate it, and are the more extraordinary as their title to the land is so controvertible a one.

The evacuation of Portsmouth was received with much satisfaction, but a story from Baltimore that it was a manoeuvre & ended in the Enemy's running up Nansemond and entrapping our army below although exceedingly improbable has thrown us into an uneasy suspence. By accounts from the W. Indies there has been in the Windwd. Islands one of the most violent & desolating hurricates ever

known. The British Islands have been laid almost entirely waste, and most of their shipping with their crews lost. Such an event with the interception of the destined supply of provision by the Combined fleets in Europe, cannot fail to bring on great distress if not a general famine. The French islands have also suffered severely.

The Association of the Merchants for fixing the depreciation seems likely to prove a salutary measure. It reduced it from 90 & 100 to 75 at once, which is its present current rate; although it is observed that many of the retailers elude the force of it by raising the price in hard money.

I am Dr Sir Yr. Affecty

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:209-10.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-84.

² The letter to Thomas Jefferson enclosing "a copy of an Act" by the Connecticut legislature has not been found. For the Connecticut resolution, see John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, this date, note 2.

Isaac Motte to Thomas Bee

Dear Sir,

Treasury 28 Novr. 1780

I find in the Report on Mr. Bryan's Letter, the sum of fourteen hundred Dollars is mention'd to have been advanced by him for the Continental Troops in March 1778. It appears upon examining the Certificates that 800 of the 1400 were paid in, the 9th March 1777, the other 600 were pd. 2d March 1778, which will make a great difference & to the prejudice of the old Gentleman, therefore must request you wou'd get it rectified (if possible) this morning, & let me know what is done, as soon as you can—it appears to be a mistake of Colo. Walton's—it may with ease be soon altered.¹

I am, Dear Sir, Yr. very hble Serv,

Isaac Motte

RC (DNA: PCC, item 59).

¹ Jonathan Bryan had recently been released from confinement on Long Island, where he had been held since his capture in January 1779 in the aftermath of the fall of Savannah, and Congress had just voted to reimburse him for money he had advanced for the Continental troops in Georgia in March 1778, "according to the value of the money at that time." *JCC*, 18:1094. What Motte had just discovered was that if Bryan was actually reimbursed the equivalent of \$1,400 as of March 1778, he would suffer a loss equal to the depreciation of 800 Continental dollars from March 1777 to March 1778. Apparently there was no objection to rectifying the wording of the original resolution as Motte suggested, and a revised resolution to correct the oversight in George Walton's original motion was immediately adopted this day. *JCC*, 18:1099.

The November 25 resolution authorizing Bryan's reimbursement had been sent to him with a brief letter from Samuel Huntington of the same date. PCC, item 15, fol. 167. For Bryan's November 12 letter to the South Carolina and Georgia delegates, written just after his release by the British and setting forth his claim

and desperate circumstances, see *JCC*, 18:1053, 1092; and PCC, item 78, 4:41-44. See also these *Letters*, 13:218-19; and Alan Galloway, "Jonathan Bryan's Plantation Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 45 (April 1988): 253-79.

John Sullivan to John Stark

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Novemr. 28th 1780

Since I wrote you I obtained the two Inclosed Resolutions. The first gives to the Line of Each State the Journals of Congress,¹ the 2d must remove all Doubts respecting half pay for General officers.²

I am at a Loss what to do respecting Such of the General officers as may by ill health or other Misfortune be rendered unfit for service & compelled to retire. In Europe General officers are never reduced to half pay: when age, infirmity or other misfortune renders them unfit for Service they have Leave to retire but their pay continues. If they recover so far as to be able to take the Field or Command in Garrison they are again called forth or placed at the Head of Some Board or are made Governors of Some Island, Colony or Garrisons. I wish you to Consult the General officers Near you, take their opinion and Inform me what they would wish to have Done in the Case & I beg You & them to keep the whole a Secret.

I am with much Esteem Dear Sir Your most obedt Servant,
John Sullivan

RC (NhHi: Stark Papers).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1099.

² For this resolve, see Sullivan to Stark, November 26, 1780, note 2.

James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philad'a, 29th Novem'r 1780.

I had the Honour of writing to your Excellency yesterday. Col. Blaine being detained gives me the opportunity of adding that the Resolutions of our Legislature respecting their Quota of Troops to be provided for, remain still under Commitment.¹ It is really difficult to establish an equal Rule of Justice in that Respect. I have thought of laying down this principle: that the *Person who had gained a legal Settlement in any State at the period of his Inlistment should be transferred to that State*. With respect to the Artificers: *that they should all be provided for by Congress*; not only on account of the Inequality of their pay; but because the Burthen woud otherwise fall most heavily on the states which had large Capitols.

How these Rules especially the first woud operate or whether they

would give Satisfaction ought well to be considered and I wish for your Excellency's Sentiments as soon as possible.

Our Vermont business remains quiet; but is not forgotten. I foresee there must be a Rehearing: as there is a considerable Change in the House not for the worse. Nor will the late Conduct of these distracted People—if it is true that they have made a truce with the Enemy—gain them Favour. I shall do my duty at every Event.

I enclose your Excellency the papers of the day, and have the Honour to be, with every Sentiment of Respect and personal attention, Dear Sir, your Excellency's Affectionate And most Obedient Servant,
Jas. Duane.

RC (N: Clinton Papers). Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:447. RC damaged by fire; missing words supplied from Tr.

¹ See Duane to Clinton, November 14, 1780, note 3.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia November 29. 1780

Your Excellency will receive enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 28th Instant and one of this Day.¹

By one of the 28th, it is ordered, that the Commander in Chief and the other Officers in the several Departments therein mentioned, be furnished with the Journals of Congress for the Use of the Army; which will be accordingly forwarded as far as they are printed.²

The other of the same Date is explanatory of the late Resolutions of Congress respecting the half Pay of the General Officers.

By the last the Officers who are entitled to keep Horses and shall have them wounded & disabled in Action, are to receive Pay for them, provided the Horses so wounded and disabled are delivered to the Department of the Quarter Master General.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & humble servant, Sam. Huntington President

P.S. Your letter of the 20th hath been duly received.⁴

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1099–1100, 1105–6. Huntington also sent these same three resolves under cover of a similar letter to Gen. Nathanael Greene this day. Greene Papers, MiU-C.

² Huntington also sent copies of this resolve to Inspector General Baron Steuben and Adjutant General Alexander Scammell on December 6. PCC, item 15, fol. 176.

³ This resolve was adopted in response to a letter of November 21 from Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering, which had been referred to the Board of War. See *JCC*, 18:1095, 1105–6; and PCC, item 192, fols. 45–48. A copy of the resolve was also sent to Pickering with a brief cover letter from Huntington this date. PCC, item 15, fols. 169–70.

⁴ Washington's letter on measures he had taken concerning the exchange of prisoners had been read in Congress on November 24. See *JCC*, 18:1089; *PCC*, item 152, 9:373-76; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 10:376-78.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia November [2]9th 1780¹

I was this morning Honored with your Excellency's favor of the 25th Instant;² I shall be happy to See the Chavalier De Chaltelieux and to pay him every mark of respect & attention in my Power.

The Confidence your Excellency is pleased to place in me is exceeding flattering and I can with great Truth assure you That no person Desires more to Comply with your wishes, relieve you from the anxiety you Suffer; (from Difficulties which as Commander of the Army you never ought to Experience), or to render your Troops happy in their Situation than myself.

The appointment of General Smallwood was in the old State way.³ I did not oppose it for Political Reasons but I took that opportunity of Delivering my Sentiments against those irregular and unmilitary promotions and upon various occasions Since and am happy to find that There is now a Large majority of the House of my Sentiments so that I am Convinced There will be no more of those irregular appointments. Of Course General Clinton & General Knox will not be Superceeded. The Latter if Driven to resign would be an irreperable Loss to the Army.

I have conferred with a number of the most Confidential & most powerful members and have Secured their Interest—so far as to assure me that the Event which your Excellency apprehended can never take Place.

As I have been fortunate Enough to Disswade a majority of the members from pursuing the old mode I expect Soon to be called upon to point out a new one Liable to no objections and here I confess I shall be at a Loss owing perhaps to my want of Capacity, or possibly to the Confusions of having one Large Army Composed of Thirteen Small ones & wish your Excellency would be so oblidging as to give me your Sentiments upon it and what you would wish to be the Rule of Promotion. To Rise Regimentally to the Rank of Captain and afterward in the Line of the State to a Colonel (which I take to be the Rule) admits of no great Difficulty, but the Rule has been Extended to Brigadiers & even to Major Generals. Now Let us Suppose that Major Generals are to be Created from the Eldest Brigadiers & the former Rule is to Stand good for promotions of Colonels to Brigrs, is not this a perpetual Bar to promotions of Colonels who belong to States which Supply but one or two Regiments? Colonels of Such States may of Course be compelled

to Serve under a Brigadier who a few years before Served under them on Detachments &ca as Captains. I See but one way to remedy this Evil which is to Rise from Colonels in the Line of the Army. Perhaps there may be Consequences attending this which I am not able to Discover. I therefore wish to know your Excellencys Sentiments upon it.

Your Excellencys Letter referred to was read in Congress & is Referred to General Ward, General Cornell & myself.⁴ We Shall Report upon it without Delay & I hope agreeable to Justice & Equity which I know is the Extent of your wishes upon this & Every other matter.

I have the honor to be with the most Lively Sentiments of Esteem & respect, Dear General your most obedt Servt,

Jno. Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Although Sullivan dated this letter the "9th," he almost certainly began it on November 29, after receiving Washington's November 25 letter to him (acknowledged in the first paragraph), and completed it on November 30, after Washington's November 26 letter (discussed in the final paragraph) was read in Congress.

² Washington's November 25 letter, presented by "the Chevr. De Chattleaux," is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:397-98.

³ William Smallwood had been promoted on September 15 to "major general for the Maryland line." *JCC*, 18:828. Washington had expressed fears to Sullivan that promotions on "the principle of a state proportion" might prove "injurious" to Gens. James Clinton and Henry Knox. See also Washington's December 17 response, which is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:488-91.

⁴ Washington's "Letter referred to" was his November 26 letter to President Huntington concerning the reform of the "Inspectorate department," a subject discussed in his November 25 letter to Sullivan. It was referred to committee on November 30, and on December 4 Congress adopted the committee recommendations on a new scale of compensation for inspectors in the Continental army. *JCC*, 18:1108, 1118.

James Duane to Joseph Reed

Sir Philadelphia 30th. November 1780

I am obliged to your Excellency for your good opinion. I shall never be in danger of forfeiting it by mal-treating a civil officer.¹

Some of the Delegates of Virginia and New York hired the House in which we live; and it is altogether appropriated to the Accommodation of Mr Maddison, Mr Mott, Mr Sharp and myself. This morning I was hastily called home from my Duty in Congress. The house was enterd and beset by a deputy Sheriff and his Bailifs. Finding that they had no criminal process to execute, I forewarned them, at their peril, not to enter my Apartment or touch any of my Effects. I explaind our publick Characters, Priveledges and exclusive Right

to occupy that House; and immediately repaired to my Duty in Congress. The Officer tho' at Liberty, after the Caution, I had given him, to use his own Discretion, thought fit to follow and renew the Conversation; the purport of which, on my part, was no more than to recommend him to take Advice before he proceeded further: for he appeared to me to be ignorant of his Duty. Nothing then can be more untrue than that I offered him the Slightest Injury by word or Action. From a Complaint so destitute of Foundations, is it not to be suspected that this Attempt to execute a Process against Effects, of which neither the Officer nor any with him, appeared to have the least Knowledge, was calculated for the mischievous purpose of enciting disturbance and giving Affront?

Permit me, Sir, to add, that in my Opinion the Reasons for protecting, in all Nations, the Persons, Houses & Effects of foreign Ambassadors apply with at least equal Force to the Members who constitute the general Government of the united States. Shall their Apartments be intruded into, their papers be exposed, and their Effects seized in a civil Case too with which they have no Connection? Shall they be stripped of every Accommodation, and disqualified from pursuing the great Duties of their Mission? Shall there be no Redress but thro' a tedious Course of Law in which, at the Expence of their Independance, and of the Sovereignty represented in their persons, they must submit to be Suitors? It is easy to see that a Government thus constituted must be incompetent to the great Purposes of publick Safety.

I have the Honour to be, with great Respect, Sir, Your Excellency's most Obedient humble Servant,

Jas. Duane

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ James Duane had become embroiled in a legal dispute with a Pennsylvania deputy sheriff, when the sheriff attempted to search Duane's residence for goods belonging to a debtor. Pennsylvania president Joseph Reed had written to Duane on November 30 after receiving a complaint from the deputy sheriff that "he has been molested in the service of an Execution on the Effects of one Bulkeley, by a delegate in Congress who upon enquiry he finds to be Mr. Duane." Reed protested that the "Sheriff must have misunderstood the interference, as We cannot suppose Mr. Duane would think himself authorised to forbid an Officer of this state proceeding to execute process on the effects of another person." Duane Papers, NHi.

Despite Duane's claims of congressional immunity in this letter, the Pennsylvania authorities remained determined to execute the seizure order. Duane later capitulated in the face of renewed efforts by Reed and the sheriff, for which see Duane to Reed, December 16, 1780. For the background to this case, see James Madison to Joseph Jones, October 10, 1780, note 5.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Novr. 30th, 1780

I have this morning recd. the inclosed¹ from the *hand* of Mr. Ross who seems desirous that Mr A—— should know of his Punctuality in the Delivery. I suppose the Gentleman is a little Sore from party-scratches on the other Side of the Water. Mr. A's Letter to Congress is dated 26th of June² relating altogether to the Resolves of March 18 on Finance, which he has defended in a very *masterly* and *independent* manner against the Sentiments of the Ct. de Vergennes who did not rightly comprehend the Scheme and who, probably had been stimulated by *designing* merchants.³ Mr. Adams is much satisfied with the Resolves respecting his "*careful & frugal*" Expenditure of the little public Money he has been entrusted with. Jones sailed with the Vessel now arrived. I do not open the inclosed as I have done one for Mr. Gerry supposing it might relate to *Goods which he expects*. If Jones does bring any Thing for you perhaps I may not be under any Temptation of opening any of your Letters by him. I shall not do it without most apparent Necessity for rightly executing your past Commands. I close this as I mean to perform my late promise to you thro' Doctr. Cooper being really worn out with writing of late. I shall thus æconomize in showing the Picture of Hutchinson.

Your affectionate h Servt.

J L

RC (MHi: Adams papers).

¹ Not identified.² John Adams' June 26, 1780, letter to President Huntington was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 18:1197. It is in *PCC*, item 84, 2:153-56; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:818-19.³ Adams' "*masterly*" defense of Congress' March 18 fiscal resolves was made in a June 22, 1780, letter to the comte de Vergennes, which is in Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:809-16.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Novr. 30th. 1780

I recd. the inclosed¹ this Morning from the *hand* of Mr. Ross who seems desirous that Mr. A should know his Punctuality in that Regard so far as it was possible from your Absence.

Mr. A—— has in a masterly way of Argument and in an independent Stile defended the Resolves of March 18 against the Sentiments of the Count de Vergennes which he had delivered to Mr. A—— pro[m]pted as I suppose by artful disappointed merchants.

I opened your Letter from a Supposition that Mr. Carmichael



Louis XVI, King of France

might have communicated to Mr. A some Request for his Aid respecting your little Invoice. The Ariel is momentarily expected. There is not a Line from Mr. Dana public or private that I know of. We have recd. but a single one since he went and Mr. A never mentions his name in all his 86 Letters, but in one early concerning money matters. I do see his hand writing in one *Copy* now arrived, dated June 26th² so that he was then in Health as you may tell his charming Wife in Case she has no better Information.

I am too pressed with Business to write much to you—Palfrey will go in 10 days. There has been much Manoeuvre you know, for a *Resident* instead of Secretary to Doct. F——, and since you left us, for an *Envoy extraordinary*. The Cat is out. Only Hamilton stood in Nomination for *Secy. to Doct F.*; *Pinckney* being a Prisoner. Under a motion for a *Secy. to the Commission*,³ Mr. Henry has been nominated, and no less a Personage than the former Mover of all the droll Efforts—Mr. Mathews. Mr. J A laments that young Laurens refused. He presses for a Consul; prays that no Frigate may ever again be under either Minister or Consul *there* but have orders from our Navy Boards, to be strictly obeyed.

Our Distress for money is extreme. We can pay neither our civil officers, nor our Army nor our Loan Interest nor send a Brigade of Waggon out of this City when they are 3 days loaded, much less purchase Salt provisions which are daily at Sale under our Noses by the Marshal of the Admiralty, and which are essential for any Embarkation of Troops at critical Moments.

The merchantile Plan of fixing the old Paper at 75 when it was 100 and upwards turns out to be a sterling Philadelphianism; for the majority of them went home to their Stores and put 25 per Cent on the hard money prices while the Dutchmen stick to the old Paper Depreciation or the Exchange.

Adieu my Friend,

J. L.

RC (MHi: Gerry-Knight Collection).

¹ Not identified.

² That is, John Adams' June 26 letter to Congress is in the hand of Francis Dana, for which see the preceding entry, note 2.

³ At this point Lovell inserted an asterisk, to which he keyed the following observation in the margin: "The Subject is now open for a large Discussion by the order for chusing a Secy. being postponed that the present State of our Commissn. at Versailles may be considered. We have only 2 letters from the Doctr—March 4 & May 31, this year."

The context of Lovell's observation was the congressional decision on November 22 to appeal to the king of France for a loan of 25 million livres, at which time John Henry was nominated "for the office of secretary to the <minister plenipotentiary of the United States> Embassy at the Court of Versailles." The substitution of "Embassy" for "minister plenipotentiary of the United States" in Secretary Thomson's journal involved more than verbal quibbling, of course, for at stake was the status of both the new appointee and the minister to France, Benjamin Franklin. The idea of soliciting a loan from France was an attractive one, but the

proposal to entrust the undertaking to a special agent rather than to Franklin was controversial. Friends of Franklin attempted to block any efforts that could be interpreted as a want of confidence in the minister, but several delegates had long distrusted the old doctor and others worried that he was no longer equal to the demands of his post. Lovell, who had long chafed at Franklin's failures to correspond regularly with Congress and was a vigorous partisan of Franklin's two most vocal critics, Arthur Lee and John Adams, was delighted at the moves on foot at this time to undercut Franklin's position in the character of both a newly appointed consul to France, William Palfrey, and a "secretary to the embassy of the Court of Versailles," to which position John Henry was nominated on November 22 and John Mathews on November 29. *JCC*, 18:1080, 1106.

Lovell's references to Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Pinckney merely underscore the persistence of interest in appointing a secretary to assist Franklin, since Hamilton had been placed in nomination for the position in December 1779, and Pinckney in April 1780. *JCC*, 15:1391, 16:377. When the idea was revived at this time, it was of course in the context of the urgency of securing a loan from France, and the mission of the new appointee was reconceived accordingly. The actual resolution for making such an appointment—"for the special purpose of soliciting *(in conjunction with our Minister Plenipotentiary at the court)* the *(supplies)* aids requested by Congress," was finally made on December 8, and John Laurens was unanimously elected to the position on December 11. See *JCC*, 18:1130, 1138, 1141; and Samuel Huntington to John Laurens, December 14, 1780. See also Thomas McKean to John Adams, December 18; and Oliver Wolcott to Jonathan Trumbull, December 18, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to John Lawrence

Dr Sir

Philadelphia Decemr 1st. 1780

Your letter of the 10th Ultmo hath been duly receivd and laid before Congress and by them referd to the Board of Treasury who have not yet made thier Report.¹

As I find myself under a necessity to remaining in Congress much longer than I expected, for it was my wish & full expectation to have returned home in Octor last, I am under the necessity of requesting that One hundred pounds in hard money may be Sent me, and must, desire your kind Assistance to obtain an order from the Committee of pay table or from whom else it may be necessary to procure the order; for that purpose, & Send me the money by Brown, or the first Safe oportunity.²

Be assured Sir I Should not make this request if I could with decency or Comfort Subsist without the money, let the money be Charged to my account, I hope this request may be granted as I have never yet receivd for my Services a Sum equal to pay my necessary expences while attending in Congress.

I must also request you to forward the Several letters herewith enclosd by the first opportunity, the next post after they come to hand will answer the purpose if no Safe conveyance Should offer Soonner. By the last Intillegence receivd from the Southward it is Supposed that Cornwallis himself was got to Charlestown very Sick & that the

remains of his little army under Lord Rawdon were retreating to the Same place & our forces in pursuit of them were not in a Situation to promise certain expectation of Cutting off their retreat.

I have the Honour to be, with Esteem & Respect, your humble
 Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Jonathan Trumbull Papers).

¹ Although receipt of Lawrence's letter is not recorded in the journals, the Board of Treasury's December 4 report on it is in PCC, item 136, 4:740-41. For Congress' acceptance of Lawrence's request to resign as commissioner of the Continental Loan Office in Connecticut, the subject of the report, see Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, December 15, 1780.

² Lawrence was also the treasurer of Connecticut, in which capacity Huntington was addressing him here.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir Philadelphia Decemr 3rd 1780

Since I Last wrote you nothing has turned up worth your notice except General Leslie's having evacuated Virginia and was Seen going off by Water;¹ I am apprehensive he is gone to Join Lord Cornwallis at Carolina.

Congress are employed in making new arrangements and rectifying Errors.² Party Spirit is kept Down with some Difficulty. Vermont affair Sleeps at Present; I apprehend it will revive in a Short Time.

The merchants of Philadelphia have given The most Striking Proofs of their Patriotism; when the Exchange took a Sudden Rise from 75 to 125 They were called upon by the assembly & Entered into an association to fix the Exchange at 75 & published it in the Gazette. This Satisfied the assembly and Congress for a Season. They went Home, Doubled the Specie prices of their Articles and receive 75 paper Dollars for one Silver one & of Course receive near Double the value for their Articles which they would have done had Congress and the assembly been Silent upon the Subject.³ I hope this kind of Patriotism will not extend itself to New Hampshire.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Esteem Dr Sr Your most obedient Servant,
 Jno Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers).

¹ News of the British withdrawal from Virginia arrived in a letter from Thomas Jefferson of November 26, which was read in Congress on December 4. See *JCC*, 18:1120; and Samuel Huntington to Washington, December 4, 1780, note 1.

² Sullivan was himself deeply involved in "rectifying Errors" in the Continental financial system at this time, for which see Sullivan's Committee Notes, November 7-23, 1780.

³ See William Churchill Houston to William Livingston, November 21; and James Madison to Joseph Jones, November 28, 1780.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Philadelphia Decr. 4. 1780

When I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency last,¹ I expected before this to have been on my way home, I impatiently wait Genl Varnums arrival.² The money & bills of Exchange would have been sent forward this day had it not been for a blunder of the Inspectors of the press, which was not discovered until more than half the bills were struck, which must all be laid aside—the press set anew & all the work done over again, by which means it will not be ready to go forward till Monday next. However strange it may appear that the money & bills of exchange are not yet sent forward, I can assure you, it cannot Justly be charged to my inattention to public business, & particularly what concerns the State. This I believe will be allowed by the greatest Enemies I have in this place.

Calumny & detraction runs high in this Torified City, but I hope much good will come out of this Modern Nazareth as the General Assembly of the State are now sitting & have been for several weeks past, & appear to be determined to adopt vigorous measures, by filling their Continental line of the Army—furnishing the supplies recommended by Congress—together with many other good things among which is a spirited resolution for putting the new bills into Circulation. In a word, they appear to be disposed to do whatever is incumbent on them, for the public good.

The Enemy left Virginia last Week, & it is supposed, they are gone farther southward—perhaps to reinforce Cornwallis, as it appears by some late accounts from that Quarter, that the Militia, make themselves more familiar in the neighbourhood of his Lordship than he would wish.

I beg your Excellency will excuse me for not being more particular as I can assure you, it is not for want of inclination, but merely upon principles of prudence, as I know not whose hands the letter will fall into, and as I expect soon to have the honor of an interview with you, when I flatter myself no man will be more happy than I shall in giving you every necessary information in my power, and I hope it will be so far satisfactory as to convince you that I have not been inattentive to the duties of the appointment, with which I was honored.

I have the Honour to be, your Excellencys most obedit Hum Servt,
Ezek Cornell

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Cornell to Greene, November 21, 1780.

² James Varnum took his seat in Congress on December 19. *JCC*, 18:1165.

Samuel Huntington to Arthur Lee

Sir, Philada December 4. 1780

I do myself the Pleasure to transmit you the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the first Instant, by which you will be informed, that they approve of your retaining the Picture of his most Christian Majesty which was presented to you from that Monarch

That there is no Charge against you before Congress properly supported, and you may be assured, your recall was not intended to fix any kind of Censure on your Character or Conduct abroad.

The same Allowance is to be made to your Secretary as was made to Mr Stockton, Secretary to your Brother the Honble Wm. Lee. The other Articles in your Account, with the Vouchers, are referred to the Board of Treasury for Liquidation.¹

I am Sir, with Sentiments of Esteem & respect, your most obedient & most humble Servant, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1114-15. The issue of Samuel Stockton's allowance had been settled on October 14, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 926-27.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada December 4. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30th Ulto, recommending to the several States immediately to inform the Commissary General (Coll. Ephraim Blaine) or the Deputy Commissary, that is, when he acts to the Southward, of the Names of the principal Agent or Commissioner in the respective States for supplying the Army, and to oblige them to give Information from Time to Time to the Commissary General, or his Deputy with the southern Army, as the Case may be, of their Prospects of complying with the requisitions made to them or the respective States.¹

The live Stock to be furnished by the several States is to be delivered to such Store keepers within each State, at such Times and in such Quantities as the Commissary General or Deputy Commissary shall direct, under the regulations of Congress of the 15th of July last.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant.

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1109-11. President Huntington also sent a copy of these resolves

to Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering this day, for which see PCC, item 15, fol. 171.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia December 4. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 30th Ulto respecting the Department of the Commissary General.

I am informed by Letter from Govr Jefferson that the British have all reimbarcked and left, the Chesapeake.¹

By Dunlaps Paper enclosed you will be informed of the Success of the Corps under Genl Sumpter against Majr Wemyss.²

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the 28th Ulto.³

I have the Honor to be, with Sentiments of the highest respect & Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Apparently a letter of November 26 from Thomas Jefferson to Huntington that has not survived but had been read in Congress this date. See *JCC*, 18:1120. The editor of Jefferson's papers surmised that Jefferson had merely sent Huntington an extract of his November 26 letter to Washington, but it seems unlikely that Huntington would have penned this comment to Washington in such a case. Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:161n. That Huntington later acknowledged a letter from Jefferson "of the 25 of November," but never one of November 26 is puzzling but probably of no significance. See Huntington to the States, January 9, 1781, note.

² Huntington must have written this paragraph in anticipation of the appearance of an issue of John Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, for no account of Gen. Thomas Sumter's recent "Success" against Maj. James Wemyss in South Carolina appeared in the *Packet* until December 6.

³ Only one letter from Washington of November 28 has been found. PCC, item 152, 9:381-84; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:418-20.

John Sullivan to John Langdon

Dear Sir Philadelphia Decembr 4th 1780

I am this day honored with your favor of the 13 Ulto.¹ Acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 10th of October. I have since wrote you² respecting The Trunk of Mr Smiths Son concerning which he Seems very Indifferent. The Board of Admiralty have not given any answer, when they do Shall write you immediately.³

I think the old money will agreable to your wishes be drawn out of circulation and the new money take its Tour.

I rejoice at the appointment of yr Brother and hope he will come forward.

Gates has been unfortunate. Green has gone to take the Command from him. Arnold has proved himself what I ever knew him.

I Inclose you the paper which contains all the news.

I beg you to present my most respectful to Mrs Langdon; and that you will believe me to be with the most perfect Esteem, Dear Sir, your most obedient Servt.

Jno. Sullivan

P.S. The French Ambassador wants a few Large Sheets of the American Glass. I wish you will be kind Enough to forward a few of them for which I will See you reimbursed.

J S

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

¹ John Langdon's November 13 letter to Sullivan is in Sullivan, *Papers* (Hammond), 3:199-200.

² Not found.

³ Sullivan was responding to a query from Langdon about funds for the 74-gun ship of the line *America* under construction under Langdon's supervision at Portsmouth, N.H. He also wrote to Langdon again on this subject, apparently just five days later, as follows:

"I have often Conversed with the Board of Admiralty who after Devising Every Method for Supplying Money for finishing the 74 and being Disappointed in all have recommended to Congress the Sale of the Ship as the only way left to Save the Expence already Incurred. This may possibly Save our money but not our Credit. What will be done in Consequence of their Recommendations I cannot Say.

"I think we read in John Bunyan or Some of the good old Books 'That no man Buildeth an House but he first Sitteth Down & counteth the Cost.' Quere whether this rule Extends to the Building of Ships. Doubtless if you were to Consult a Lawyer upon this Point he would to Display his knowledge in the oriental Languages answer you in these words 'ubi eadem ratio ibi idem Jus,' but I have an Aversion to this kind of reasoning because it carries a reflection against that Honorable Body of which I am a Member. I would rather recommend Consulting a Casuist who may perhaps find Some Salve for it." This letter, which is in the private collection of Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., is dated only "Philadelphia 9th 1780."

The *America*, which was destined to remain on the stocks nearly two more years, was ultimately given to the French government just as it was nearing completion. *JCC*, 23:543.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir

Phladelphia Decr 5h 1780

I am honored with yours of the 1st Instant by the post. We have no news here, but a late Expedition of Major Talmadge Against Fort St George on Long Island, the Success of which you have An Account of in the papers.¹

I am much obliged to your Excellency for the Attention you pay to the supplying us with money—and hope you will have it in your power to Send me Eight or ten thousand Dollars by the next post.

I have not by me to pay One Weeks Board, you will be pleased to inclose my part by its Self. Mr Henry left Philadelphia Monday was a week,² And is by this time I suppose Arrived at Annapolis. Mr. Plater talks of Setting out this Week on his return home but I suppose he writes you by this post. Your Carriage is Compleatly finished. And the sooner you Send for it the better. My Compliments to Mrs Lee And Am with much respect, Dear sir Your Excellencys most hble Servt,

John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

¹ For Congress' commendation of Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge for his capture of the garrison at Fort St. George on November 23, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, December 9, 1780, note 2.

² That is, Monday November 27.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Decr. 5 1780.

Your favor of Nov. 16th with a Gazette reached me yesterday. You suffered so much in your mind & Body when here that I will not send you any of the ill pictures which with various Signatures come daily on to our Table. I hope you will find much Satisfaction in the short Letter from Genl. Gates. Wemyss was a very valuable officer to the Enemy.

You may amuse yourself also as one of the medical Class by reading the Epistle of Rush to Shippen in which you will find the Writer has *relieved* himself a little upon me.¹ Shenstone's Benevolence made him *wish* that he could *afford* to have his Pockets picked frequently. I feel a portion of his Spirit operating upon me at this Time; When I see poor Rush swelled near unto Bursting. I cannot doubt but that he finds some Relief by throwing about his Slaver and Froth, therefore when it falls upon my Cloaths I slight the Injury because he finds so much Ease in his terrible Case.

I have said to some of you my Friends last Week that Mr. Adams had in a masterly & Independent stile defended the Resolves of March 18 against the opinions of Count de Vergennes.²

He showed that the *true value* of our Paper was its *current Rate*. That the *public Faith* which is said to be broken is a *mutual* Contract between the public and the Individuals who compose it, that either may break it, the Public by not paying the promisory Note when it has had an equivalent or the Individual by not giving that Equivalent when he takes the Note. That Government will wrong the Public by paying off Notes, current at 40 for 1, by 40 hard for 40 paper as much as if they paid 40 hard for 1 paper when the Emission was current at par.

He says no Distinction can be made between Frenchmen & other

Foreigners or between any Foreigner and native Citizens. That all Foreigners become temporary Citizens. That they made such Profits as to be able to lose 3 Ships in 5, and this he proves by the prices of purchases and Sales. That they run no more Risk of Sea & Enemy than the Natives did in Trade.

That France is as much benefitted by trading with us as we are by trading with her. That the merchants of England had much more due to them when Mass. called in a Currency at 7 ½ and that the King ever partial to his own Subjects in England against those in America would not have confirmed the Law of Mass: if both he & his Council had not thought it just in Regard to the British as well as wise in the Americans. That France will doubtless form the same Judgment upon the present measures when she is as fully informed. That he (Mr. A.) cannot attempt to persuade Congress to alter a Resolve the Wisdom and Justice of which has the fullest Approbation of his own Judgment and his most cordial Wishes for its Success; That as a plain and candid answer to a Question, he must say he thinks *such Proceedings* the *only* Way to gain & preserve Credit abroad because they discover Wisdom Justice & also Vigor in the American Governments.

I have injured his long Letter by these Extracts, but I give you and other friends *some* Satisfaction.

Yr. affectionate

J.L.

MS not found; reprinted from "Letters of James Lovell," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 13 (July 1876): 220-22.

¹ A reference to a letter from Dr. Benjamin Rush to William Shippen, Jr., printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on December 2, one of a series that appeared during the autumn airing charges brought by Dr. John Morgan against Shippen for his conduct as director general of Continental hospitals, for which see Timothy Matlack et al. to John Dunlap, November 17, 1780.

The passage Lovell undoubtedly had in mind reads:

"The honourable Mr. Lovell is entitled to your warmest gratitude for the zeal with which he screened you from justice. When I told him that you had transported the wine which you claimed as your own, in public waggons, I well remember that he said, that 'this was practiced by all the staff officers of the army'; and added that 'men who handled public money, from the beginning of the world to the present day, were constantly envied.'"

² See Lovell's letters to Abigail Adams and to Elbridge Gerry, November 30, 1780.

James Lovell to James Warren

Dear Sir

Decr. 5.1780

In your Letter of Sepr. 28 you make the most just Remarks upon the manner in which our naval affairs have been *fostered* here; I think it not becoming my Situation to say *starved*.

Some days ago the Salaries given Sepr. 13 & 23 were made to have retrospect to Nov 2d. 1778, but, yesterday, to Sepr. 1 1777.¹

By Letters from Spain recd. yesterday I find that our Friend Jos. Gardoqui will be here to succeed Don Miralles.² Spain is slow towards Alliance, well disposed as to money for our Use, but, be assured, she wants it herself *there*, She may help us nearer home. She was upon a Scheme of getting some in France which Necker found out & stopped by his Influence.³

I shall not be able to hint these Things to Mr. Gerry. In short, I believe I shall soon be obliged to omit taking Pen in hand except on Committees; I shall otherwise neither serve the public nor my friends with Propriety.

Your Friend & humb Servt.

J L

[P.S.] Some Constitutions of Bodies politic may be supposed to be so good in themselves that, like some human Frames, they may not want a skilful Physician to watch them. They may only now & then stand in need of an half bred Apothecary and his assistant, with their Ivory Tube.

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers).

¹ These "Salaries" (actually "given" on September 13 and 25 not 23), were those of "officers on the civil list," which included Warren as a commissioner of the Eastern Navy Board. See *JCC*, 18:822-23, 854, 1055-56, 1119.

² That Don Diego Gardoqui would be the new Spanish agent in the United States was reported by William Carmichael in an August 22, 1780, letter to the Committee for Foreign Affairs. Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:38-41. Congress also received simultaneously letters from Carmichael of September 6 and 9, and from John Jay of September 16, 1780. See *ibid.*, pp. 51-54, 59; and *JCC*, 18:1120.

³ Lovell wrote in the margin beside this paragraph: "No printing."

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir.

Philada. Decr. 5th. 1780

I had yours of the 25th Ult. by yesterdays post.¹ I congratulate you on the deliverance of our Country from the distresses of actual invasion. If any unusual forbearance has been shewn by the British Commanders, it has proceeded rather I presume from a possibility that they may some time or other in the course of the war repossess what they have now abandoned than from a real disposition to spare. The proceedings of the Enemy to the Southward prove that no general change of system has taken place in their military policy.

We had letters yesterday from Mr. Jay & Mr. Carmichael as late as the 4 & 9th of September.² Mr. Jay informs us that it is absolutely necessary to cease drawing bills on him; that 150,000 d'rs. to be repd. in three years with some aid in Cloathing &c is all that the Court will advan[ce] for us. The general tenor of the letters is that our affairs there make little progress, that the Court is rather backward, that the navigation of the Mississippi is likely to prove a very serious

difficulty, that Spain has herself been endeavoring to borrow a large sum in France on which she meant to issue a paper currency, that the terms & means used by her displeased Mr. Necker who in consequence threw such discouragements on it, as in turn were not very pleasing to the Spanish Minister, that Mr. Cumberland is still at Madrid labouring in concert with other Secret Emissaries of Britain to give unfavorable impressions of our Affairs, that he is permitted to keep up a correspondence by his Couriers with London,³ that if negociations for peace should be instituted this winter, as Spain has not yet taken a decided part with regard to America England will probably chuse to make Madrid rather than Versailles the seat of it. However unfavorable many of these particulars may appear, it is the concurrent representation of the above Ministers that our disappointment of pecuniary succour at Madrid is to be imputed to the want of ability and not of inclination to supply us, that the steadiness of his Catholic Majesty is entirely confided in by the French Ambassador, and that the mysterious conduct of Mr. Cumberland and of the Court of Spain towards him, seems to excite no uneasiness in the Ambassador. The letters add that on the pressing remonstrances of France & Spain Portugal had agreed to shut her ports against English prizes, but that she persisted in her refusal to accede to the armed neutrality.

The receipt of the foregoing intelligence has awakened the attention of the Georgia Delegates to their motion of which I informed you particularly by Col. Grayson.⁴ It has laid even since it was made undisturbed on the table. This morning is assigned for the consideration of it, and I expect it will without fail be taken up. I do not believe Congress will adopt it without the express concurrence of all the States immediately interested. Both my principles & my instructions will determine me to oppose it. Virga. & the United States in general are too deeply interested in the subject of controversy to give it up as long as there is a possibility of retaining it. And I have ever considered the mysterious & reserved behaviour of Spain, particularly her backwardness in the article of money as intended to alarm us into concessions rather than as the effect of a real indifference to our fate or to an alliance with us. I am very anxious notwithstanding to have an answer to my letter by Grayson.

We had a letter yesterday also from Mr. Adams who was at Amsterdam;⁵ and Several others from him a few days before.⁶ Searl who carried despatches relating to the object of Mr. Laurens' Mission had fortunately arrived; though Mr. Adams gives no very sanguine idea of a successful result. The news of the fate of the Quebec & Jamaica fleets, arrived in London pretty nearly about the same time and had a very material effect both on stocks & on ensurance.

Information from the W. Indies gives a tragical picture of the effects of the tempest. Martinique has suffered very considerably in their

Shipping and Seamen. The English have certainly lost the Ajax a ship of the line & 2 frigates stationed off St. Lucie to intercept the Martinique trade with almost the whole of their crews, and there is great reason to suppose that several others which are missing have shared the like fate. St. Lucie is entirely defaced. In Barbadoes scarce a house remains entire, and 1500 lives at least are lost. One of the largest Towns in Jamaica has been totally swept away and the island otherwise greatly damaged. The Spaniards too on Cuba have not escaped, and there is a *report* that their fleet on its way to Pensacola has been so disabled & dispersed, that the expedition is for the present frustrated. This morning's paper which I this moment looked into has I perceive [a more par]ticular acct. of the disaster in W. Indies than I had befo[re read but] the St. Lucie paper says nothing of the loss of the Ajax &. but only that they were driven to Sea. I am less confident as to the fact, though it might be intentionally omitted or not known there.

It is not without reluctance that I trust this to the conveyance by post. If I had less experienced his punctuality in our correspondance or knew of a better opportunity, I should act otherwise. As it is I consider the importance of your knowing the particulars from Spain as a ballance for the risk.

We have in Town at present several gentlemen of distinction from the French army, among them the Chev: de Chatteleux the 2d in comman[d] a man of sense, politeness & letters. the Viscompt de Noailles brother in law to the Marquis de la fayette, and Baron de Montesquieu grand son to the great Montesquieu. I hope I shall soon hear of your taking up the back lands & the confederation. I have not time to consult Dunlap.

Adieu.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:223-25.

¹ This letter was actually dated November 24. See *ibid.*, pp. 197-200.

² See the preceding entry, note 2.

³ Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), a playwright and minor official on the Board of Trade, had joined Irish cleric Thomas Hussey in Madrid in June 1780 to negotiate with the conde de Floridablanca over Spain's willingness to make a separate peace with Great Britain in exchange for Gibraltar and other concessions, a price that George III found too high. For a convenient summary of Cumberland's mission, see Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 51-64. See also Samuel F. Bemis, *The Hussey-Cumberland Mission and American Independence: An Essay in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931).

⁴ See Madison to Jones, November 25, 1780.

⁵ Although Madison refers to the arrival of only one letter from John Adams, Secretary Thomson recorded in the journals and in his despatch book that letters from Adams dated August 24 and September 4 were received and read on December 4. Only that of September 4, containing news of the capture of "the Quebec and Jamaica fleets," is in PCC. See *JCC*, 18:1116; PCC, item 84, 2:249-50, item 185, 2:75; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:45.

⁶ See James Duane to George Clinton, November 28, note 2; and James Lovell to Abigail Adams, November 30, 1780, note 2.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dr Sr.

Philada. Decr. 5th. 1780

I have your favor of the 27th ulto.¹ and congratulate you on the deliverance of our Country from the distresses of actual invasion. The spirit it has shewn on this occasion will I hope in some degree protect it from a second visit.

Congress yesterday received letters from Mr. Jay & Mr. Carmichael as late as the 4 & 9th of Sepr. The general tenor of them is that we are not to rely on much aid in the article of cash from Spain, her finances & credit being scarcely adequate to her own necessities, and that the B. emissaries are indefatigable in misrepresenting our affairs in that kingdom and in endeavouring to detach it from the war. The character however of the Catholic king for steadiness and probity, and the entire confidence of our allies in him, forbid any distrust on our part. Portugal on the pressing remonstrances of France & Spain has at length agreed to shut her ports agst. English prizes but still refuses to accede to the armed neutrality. Mr. Adams writes that the fate of the Quebec and Jamaica fleets arrived at London nearly about the same time and had a very serious effect on all ranks as well as on stocks and ensurance.

Our information from the W. Indies gives a melancholy picture of the effects of the late tempest. Martinique has suffered very considerably both in shipping & people. Not less than 600 houses have been destroyed in St. Vincents. The Spaniards in Cuba also have not escaped, and it is *reported* that their fleet on its way from the Havanna to Pensacola has been so disabled & dispersed as to defeat the expedition for the present. On the other side our Enemies have suffered severely. The Ajax a ship of the line and two frigates stationed off St. Lucei to intercept the Martinique trade are certainly lost with the greatest part if not the whole of their crews; and there is great reason to believe, that several other capital ships that have not been since heard of have shared the like fate. The Island of St. Lucie is totally defaced. In Barbadoes also scarce a house remains entire and 1500 persons at least have perished. One of the largest towns in Jamaica has been totally swept away and the island otherwise much damaged. The consequences of this calamity must afford a striking proof to G. Britain of her folly in shutting our ports against her W. India commerce and transferring the advantage of our friendship to her Enemies.

I am Dr. Sir yrs. sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Council

Gentlemen

[December 5, 1780]¹

Your Letter of the 22d last relative to the Cattle at the Head of Elk did not come to our Hands 'till the 2d inst. & yesterday we laid it before the Congress—they have refered it to the Board of War with Directions to take immediate Order.² We have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Gentlemen, Yr most obt. & very Hble Servts.

Geo. Plater

John Hanson

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Plater and signed by Plater and Hanson.

¹ The Council's "letter of the 22d last" had been laid before Congress "yesterday," December 4, 1780. See *JCC*, 18:1116.

² The Council's letter brings into relief one of several factors that contributed to the breakdown of the state supply system. In this instance the Council had responded to Congress' urgent appeal of September 21 for 500 head of cattle by ordering the Maryland commissaries to procure whatever cattle were available and to drive them to the Head of Elk, the Continental receiving depot in Maryland designated by the commander-in-chief. There, however, Continental agents "refused to receive and forward the Cattle to the Army alledging it to be no part of the Business of their respective Departments." Having no money, Maryland officials were then compelled to sell some of the cattle "to Buy provision to support and keep the rest alive." The Council complained bitterly of the "Evils" of a system under which the states complied with congressional requests only to have "our Designs frustrated . . . by the Neglect of those whose peculiar Province it is to convey Supplies to the Camp." It is not known what action the Board of War may have taken. See *Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Council*, September 22, 1780; *PCC*, item 70, fols. 445-48; and *Md. Archives*, 45:221.

George Plater to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Decr. 5th 1780

The enclosed was this Day put into my Hand which I have now the Honor to forward to your Excellency.¹

My Time being this Day expired which by the Constitution I cou'd sit in Congress, I am preparing to get away & hope soon to have the Pleasure of seeing you in Annapolis. I wish some of the new appointed Members wou'd come forward to keep up a Representation.² Mrs. Plater offers her Compliments to your Lady & I am with the highest Respect, Dear Sir, Yr most obt Servt.

Geo. Plater

RC (MdHi: Revolution Collection).

¹ Not found.

² For the state of the Maryland delegation at this time, see John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, November 28, 1780, note 3.

Plater also wrote to Lee on December 7 introducing two French officers, the comte de Custine-Sarreck and the marquis de Laval. Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, MdHi.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia. December 6. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copies of two Acts of Congress, of the 30th of November last & the 4th Instant, The former containing an Arrangement for the Department of the Commissary General of Purchases.¹

By the latter you will observe, that the Officers of the Line of the Army are prohibited from making any Contract or Bargain, or giving any Orders for the Purchase of any Articles for the Use of the Troops in the Department of the Clothier General, Quarter Master General, or Commissary General of Purchases, except in Cases of Necessity as mentioned in the resolve, of which the Commanding Officer of a separate Army, or of a Detachment will be able to judge, as the Case may be.²

This resolution is in Consequence of repeated contrary Practices reported by the Board of War, which have created Difficulties.

You will also be informed by the enclosed Resolutions of the Augmentation of Pay allowed to the Officers in the Inspectors Department—That the Corps of Mare Chaussee are continued upon their former Establishment, And that Mr Simeon de Witt is appointed Geographer to the Army.³

I am sir, with the highest respect & Esteem, your most obedient & most humble servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to the States, December 4, 1780.

² *JCC*, 18:1117. Huntington also sent copies of this resolve this date to Commissary General Ephraim Blaine, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering, and Clothier General James Wilkinson. *PCC*, item 15, fol. 175.

³ For these three December 4 resolves, see *JCC*, 18:1118.

Samuel Huntington to Richard Varick

Sir, Philada December 6. 1780

By the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 28th of September last you will be informed, that they are sensible of your good Conduct & Services in the several Employments you have held during the present War; but that the Circumstances of the Army

will not admit of a Compliance with the request contained in your Memorial.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Varick (1753–1831), former deputy mustermaster of the northern department and aide to Gen. Benedict Arnold, had been seeking the restoration of his rank as lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army since the abolition of the muster department in January 1780. He had set forth his case in an August 25 petition that was referred to the Board of War on September 14, but Congress, adopting the board's recommendation, rejected his appeal on September 28. He had not been notified of this decision, however, undoubtedly because of the coincidence that news of General Arnold's treason had just reached Congress on September 27, casting a cloud of suspicion over Varick and others of Arnold's official family. Varick had since been cleared of complicity in Arnold's plot by an official inquiry, and had thereupon renewed his previous plea in a November 25 letter to Huntington which was read in Congress on December 5. His anxieties over his military future were not relieved until May 1781 when General Washington appointed him "recording Secretary at Head Quarters" and set him to organizing and transcribing his official correspondence. See *JCC*, 18:824, 871, 1120; *PCC*, item 41, 10:317–24, item 78, 23:181–84; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 22:112–15; and these *Letters*, 6:597–98.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia December 6. 1780

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, Copy of several resolves of Congress of the 4th Instant, in which you will observe the Officers are prohibited from making any Contract or Bargain, or giving Orders for the Purchase of Articles for the Use of the Troops; in the Department of Cloathier General, Quarter Master General, or Commissary General of Purchases, except in Cases of Necessity, as mentioned in the Resolve of which your Excellency or any Commanding Officer of a Detachment will be able to judge, as the Case may happen. This Resolution is in Consequence of repeated contrary Practices, which have occasioned Difficulties, as reported by the Board of War.¹

You will also please to observe the Augmentation of the Pay allowed to the Officers in the Inspectors Department

That the Corps of Mare Chaussee are continued upon their former Establishment

And that Mr Simeon De Witt is appointed Geographer to the Army in the room of Robert Erskine deceased.²

I am Sir, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Nathanael Greene, this date, note 2.

² These three resolves are in *JCC*, 18:1118. Huntington also sent a copy of the third of these with a brief covering letter to Simeon DeWitt of December 13. *PCC*, item 15, fol. 180.

³ Huntington also wrote letters this day to Dr. David Jackson notifying him that Congress had accepted his resignation "agreeable to your request," and to Pres. Joseph Reed informing him that Richard Bache and Thomas Smith had been appointed "to endorse the Bills that shall be emitted by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania pursuant to the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last." See *PCC*, item 15, fols. 176-77; and *JCC*, 18:1119-21.

James Duane to George Washington

My dear General. Confidential Philadelphia 9th December 1780.

I shou'd not so long have restrained the Expressions of a Heart flowing with the most affectionate and respectful Attachment if Care had not been taken to communicate our Intelligence officially. In the mean time I have never found it so necessary to devote my Attention to the publick business. Amidst pressing distresses it will give your Excellency pleasure to be assured that Congress have deliberated with unanimity, and decided with firmness; and that every thing within their power is nearly accomplished for vigorous Efforts in the Course of the next year. If the States will draw forth their Resources: If our Ally will seriously cooperate by assuming a naval Superiority in the American Sea: If we are seasonably furnished with the Cloathing, Arms and Ammunition which we have reason to expect; and obtain the Aid of money which we have once more attempted to borrow: If these Circumstances in any tolerable degree Combine, your Excellency will at last see a prospect, under the divine blessing of finishing the war with Glory. But it is obvious that we have many difficulties to encounter!

Government instead of possessing the Confidence and the Dignity necessary to enforce it's Councils, is surrounded by clamorous Creditors and insidious Speculators, and what is worse the Intemperance of our Friends conspires with the malice of our Enemies to render it odious. Congress may err: they are not exempt from State and personal prejudices; they are liable to be deceived; but nothing is more certain than that in the common Cause their Intentions are pure, their Zeal, their Cares, their pains, unbounded; and the Time will come, when if their measures are not admired they will be approved. Indeed, Sir, an honest and disinterested Patriot requires uncommon Fortitude to render himself responsible in an hour of such intollerable Licenciousness: those who place their Happiness in Reputation retire from a Theatre where, while they are torturd by publick distresses, they are in danger of disgrace! The Intreagues of Speculators are more and more alarming. Our paper

money lately suffered a Convulsion, without any apparent Cause, which threatned its total dissolution. Not contented with the infinite Evils which they have entailed on their Country; they have practiced their Arts on the Cabinet of France; and with such Success that one of our ministers received a formal Intimation that the Chevalier de la Luzerne woud be instructed to remonstrate against the act of the 18h of March as a violation of publick faith,¹ and an Injury to the trading part of that nation which ought to be repaired. Mr. Adams has acquired Applause by a Memorial to Count de Vergennes on this Subject full of Good Sence and dignity. The Necessity and the Justice of that memorable System are vindicated by Reasons and Facts which force Conviction. The Capital Figure which the french factors made in drawing on the Depreciation and their avarice in striving to exact Specie for the nominal Sums of the Bills; when it is notorious that they raised the price of their Commodities in proportion to the current Exchange are exposed; and it is demonstrated that instead of suffering they greatly profited by that national Calamity. Nor is the proper Inference neglected that a Government capable, in a free Country, of executing a Plan so disgusting to the self interested, must possess unlimited Confidence, and be established on the firmest Basis. I am perswaded that this Seasonable Representation will remove every prejudice, and prevent the Effects of an Attempt big with Ruin!

Another great difficulty which embarrasses us is the absolute Dependance which we are compelled to place on the Exertions of the States *individually*. A failure in *one* may draw upon us insupportable distress. If the Supplies of provisions shoud be punctually furnished the transportation alone is an Expende of such magnitude that I never think of it but with anxiety, especially when we consider how deeply pecuniary Taxes are anticipated by Certificates in the hands of the Farmers. There is a remedy but whether we have a sufficient degree of publick Spirit to apply it can only be known by Experiment. Why shoud not the opulent contribute, the whole or a large proportion of their plate? Why shoud not the Farmer break in upon his Capital if his annual produce is incompetent. Nothing is clearer than that this woud be the truest OEconomy as a foundation woud be laid to terminate the war by a great and decisive effort. These are Resourses in the power of every Legislature, and I shall think them inexcuseable if, seeing the necessity to be so urgent, they shrink from the Burthen. A Duty on Imports, Exports and prizes will be strongly recommended by Congress, and if approved by the States, it must produce a considerable Revenue.²

We have made an Estimate of the national Expende for a year from next January. Except the Quarter master's branch it is tolerably accurate. I shoud be happy if our means to defray it were certain and adequate: but this is not to be relied on, unless we are effectually

roused by a Sense of our common danger, and the necessity of concluding with Glory and Expedition a war of devastation. Every liberal hand must be opened; every patriotic heart must be animated, every publick and private effort must be exerted to strengthen and support our Army, to give weight to our national Councils, and secure them obedience at home and reputation abroad. Without the first the Courage, Perseverance and military Accomplishments of our General must be frustrated: without the last it would be madness to hope for Credit, Alliance or Respect from foreign Powers.

After a studied Contempt of the Power of our Enemy which has marked the progress of our Contest, too great a dependance on foreign Succour claims the Rank in our political Errors. I speak of the publick opinion, exempting Congress as I ought from a share in this folly. Charmed with a Revolution so friendly to the Rights of human nature, and so humbling to the Insolence of Brittain, the People were too apt to imagine that the Coffers of Europe would be emptied into our Lap without reserve. But to say nothing of the Dutch experience has shewn that the Spaniards on whom we principally relied, are not to be moved by disinterested Considerations. That Cabinet does not imitate the French in Liberality. They view the Contiguity of those States to the Source of their Treasures, and their rising greatness, with a sufficient degree of Jealousy. They are cautious of our Alliance unless they can acquire solid advantages. They are courted by England and tempted by offers which tho' they cannot accept without sacrificing their Honour, their family compact, and the Esteem of the Northern powers; they yet seem to countenance as a mean to lead us to concessions of which we cannot think without Reluctance. On no other principle are Cumberland's residence at Madrid, or the dilatoriness which has accompanied the Treaty to be reconciled. With respect to a Loan, if their Inclination was ever so prompt, it appears to me either that their Funds are not productive; or that their OEconomy is even worse than our own. They might however interpose their Responsibility as they have already done for the bills which we have drawn, and for the Cloathing which they have supplied, and it would afford us essential Relief. Those Hints will open another Field of Embarrassment, the Extent of which your Excellency will fully perceive.

I shall only add to the Catalogue that we have advice that Sir Henry Clinton has written to his Court for a strong Reinforcement, or leave to retire from his command; that he has received an Approbation of his Conduct in flattering Terms, and a promise of Support, and that orders are accordingly issued for raising a Regiment of Cavalry and nine of Infantry.

But while we are called upon to examine our own Circumstances with Candour least we should be deceived by a false Estimate, our Enemies, it is evident, do not repose on a bed of Roses. They continue

to be disturbed by the Spirit of Independance which pervades Ireland. The Commons of that Kingdom lately hesitated to agree to a duty, amounting to a prohibition, on raw Sugars from England. Yelverton their patriot declared that the Irish Trade should in all respects be upon a perfect equality with the British. He rejected the Idea of a disparity between the Sister Kingdoms with Contempt; and threatned the Courtiers that if they persisted in their opposition he would put himself at the Head of the Associators and establish the Freedom of Commerce by Arms. This is an Argument which carries conviction. Strange that in Ireland it should be consistent with Loyalty and in America be branded with the Appellation of Rebellion, and under that absurd Idea serve to colour over every Species of Inhumanity and Vengeance!³

In the West Indies from the late destructive Hurricane, and on the Ocean by a train of capital losses, the Enemy have suffered most severely and in the tenderest point, their Trade, the Source of their Wealth and Credit! Their internal dissensions, which instead of being extinguished are only smothered by the Vigour which the temerity of Gordon threw into the scale of their Government, is a malady which hangs heavy upon their Administration. The Convention of the neutral maritime powers which has aimed a fatal blow at the Sovereignty of the british flag and the imminent danger of their being involved in a war with Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Holland if they persist in a Claim so odious, and of drawing down the Resentment of their own subjects and universal Contempt if they extinguish it: The late Insult offered them by Portugal in shutting their ports against their Ships of War and Prizes: The Impracticability of their raising more Troops in Germany: The favourable Light in which our Independance is viewed throughout Europe; and the evident Satisfaction it gives even the princes on whom they most relied to see the british Dominion, Commerce and naval Strength circumscribed: Their disappointment in not being able by the most disgraceful Sacrifices to detach Spain from the War: Their failure in Ways and means the present year: the immensity of their national debt and current Expenditures: All those Circumstances combined with the necessity of renewing their Preparations to oppose the belligerent powers at the very moment they looked for submission from America are more than sufficient to form a Contrast between us and our Enemies by no means to our disadvantage; Nor does it seem presumptuous to think that if we endeavour to deserve the Blessing; Peace, Liberty and Independance must before long crown our Wishes.

I have drawn this Letter to an immoderate Length: ascribe it to a desire of possessing you of my own View of our publick Affairs as far as I am at Liberty.

I will only add that the Visit of the French Noblemen has given

pleasure. The Chevelier Chateliux particularly recommends himself by his agreeable manners and literary Accomplishments.⁴ Be pleased to pay my most respectful Compliments to Mrs Washington. I was greatly mortified at her passing thro' this Town without my Knowledge as I wished to have done myself the Honour of attending her to Trenton.

I have the honour to be with every Sentiment of Friendship, Respect and personal Attachment, My dear General, Your most affectionate & most Obedient Servant,
Jas. Duane

[P.S.] Your Excellency has remarked that the Communications with which you honor me on the Arrangement of the Army Hospitals &c have had their effect.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ That is, John Adams, whose vigorous defense of the March 18 resolves devaluing the Continental dollar had earned him the admiration of Congress. For a discussion of Adams' response to Vergennes within the context of Franco-American diplomatic intrigues, see James H. Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), pp. 60-69. See also James Lovell to Abigail Adams, November 30, and to Samuel Holten, December 5, 1780.

² For Congress' adoption of this proposal, see Samuel Huntington to the States, February 8, 1781.

³ Duane's observations were stimulated by reports recently received by Congress from John Adams, for which see Duane to George Clinton, November 28, 1780, note 2.

⁴ The chevalier de Chastellux had been recommended to Congress by Washington in a November 27 letter to President Huntington. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:403. For the other "French noblemen" visiting Philadelphia, see Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker, December 11, 1780, note.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia December 9. 1780

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Extract of a Letter from Europe.¹ What Reinforcement Great Britain may be able to send to America is with us uncertain.

The partial Successes against Lord Cornwallis and the rising Spirit of the Militia in that Quarter it is to be hoped will much disconcert the British in their intended Operations. Above all, should we be able to form a respectable Army of regular Troops to the Southward their Hopes must end in Disappointment.

Should the Intelligence from Holland & Portugal prove true respecting the armed Neutrality, it cannot fail to have a powerful Influence in our Favour.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & Regard, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,
Sam Huntington²

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The enclosed extract was from an October 17 letter of Jonathan Williams to the Committee for Foreign Affairs (PCC, item 90, fols. 611-14), which was read in Congress on Monday December 11. *JCC*, 18:1141.

² This day Huntington also wrote a second letter to Washington, enclosing Congress' resolution of December 6 commending Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge, manager of Washington's secret service operations, for his successful raid against Fort St. George at Mastic, Long Island, on November 21-23. *JCC*, 18:1116, 1122; and Washington Papers, DLC.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Decmr. 10th. 1780

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that the b[e]arer of this carries the blank bills of Exchange and One Hundred & Thirty Thousand dollars to be emitted pursuant to the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last, to be delivered to the keeper of the Continental loan office in the state of Rhode Island. I will not comment on the difficultys that hath attended this business.¹

Inclosed is a resolution of Congress appointing the Hone. Jonathan Arnold and Joseph Clark Esqr. or Either of them to be signers of the said New Bills on the part of the United States.² I hope it will be agreeable.

Colo. Palfrey late Paymaster Genl. to the Army sails on Tuesday next for France, to take upon himself his Consulship in that Kingdom agreeable to his appointment.³

Congress hath for a considerable time past been principally imployed in foreign affairs which are Called *secret*.⁴

It appears by a Cork paper of the 6th of Octr. last that the Hone Henry Lawrens was Committed to the Tower of London on suspicion of High Treason by the High Constable in Consequence of a Warrant Signed by Lords North, Stormont & Germaine.

The want of Money for publick use and the distress ariseing from that source is beyound the power of my pen to discribe And the prospect of releif appears small. Notwithstanding the Loan offices are kept open and Certificates given for a Silver dollar with Interest untill paid, upon the receipt of Forty Continental dollars, yet so low is publick credit that not one farthing is receivd, in any of the Middle States.

From which I think there is little prospect that our state can receive any relief on account of any former advancements of money for the use of the United States. You will please to pardon me for once more mentioning the Necessity there is of sending to your Delegates in Congress the Exact amount of the Moneys advanced to Colo. Bowen D Q M Genl. As it doth not appear to me there is the least probability of obtaining that sum any other way then from the four tenths of

the New Bills now to be Issued by a Warrant from Congress on Mr. Clarke for that sum if this should fail I know not what funds you can have recourse to for payment. When I see you I shall be able to explain this matter more fully.

I have not received a word of Intelligence from any person in the state since your of the 31st of Octor.⁵ and Mr. Clarks of the 1st of Novr. General Varnum is not yet arived neither have I receivd any Intelligence that he is on his way but suppose he cannot be far distant.

Since writing the above I am informed by the President he hath inclosed to you the appointment I mentioned in this letter and one to Each of the Genln. appointed⁶ which inclosures I now deliver with my Own hands to the Escort with this, he is now waiting.

I have the Honour to be, your Excellencys most obedt and most Hum Servant,
Ezek Cornell

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ For the most recent of the "difficultys" that delayed the new bills for Rhode Island, see Cornell to Greene, December 4, 1780.

² See note 6.

³ Although William Palfrey had been appointed consul to France on November 4, his instructions were not adopted until December 9. *JCC*, 18:1018, 1134-37.

⁴ Cornell is probably referring to the rancorous struggle over appointing a "minister" or "envoy extraordinary" to France.

⁵ Governor Greene replied on January 5 that he had also written on November 1 and 22. Staples, *Rhode Island*, p. 323.

⁶ See Samuel Huntington to Joseph Clarke and Jonathan Arnold, December 11, 1780.

John Sullivan to the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois

Sir

[December 10, 1780]¹

I have the Honor to Inclose You Such answers to Your Queries as my time & materials would permit.²

My constant Embarrassment with Publick Business & your own Candor will Furnish an apology for the Inelegance of Stile & Incorrectness of Expressions. I was the Less attentive in this respect as I was convinced That I could afford you no assistance in furnishing a Dress for Such of the Facts as you may think proper to Lay before the Publick. The purity and Elegance of Your own Stile will afford a Covering Composed of a Richness of Language which I Should in vain have attempted.

I have the Honor &c,

J S

RC (MHi: Miscellaneous Bound Collection). In the hand of John Sullivan.

¹ Although this letter is undated, Sullivan probably wrote it soon after completing the lengthy "answers to Your Queries" enclosed with it, which he dated "Decmr. 10th. 1780."

² Sullivan's enclosure, a lengthy description of the history, geography, political system, and economic prospects of New Hampshire, is also in the Miscellaneous Bound Collection at MHi. It has been printed in Sullivan, *Papers* (Hammond), 3:229-39, from a slightly variant text held by the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Similar queries sent by Marbois to Thomas Jefferson on February 5 resulted in the latter's famous *Notes on the State of Virginia*, for which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 5:58-59, 6:141-42.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dear Tucker

Philadephia Decr. 11th 1780

Even the neglect of my Friends—the disparity between the Leisure they enjoy and that which I have and the Business of public events to fill up a page shall not prevent my continuing to give them some tokens of my remembrance of them—be it long—or be it short. and at this moment I do not know how long this will be. Well the Philistines have been upon you and you are rid of them. I congratulate you. Does there now need any Rhetoric to convince our Countrymen that the best thing they can do is to oppose their Enemy at a distance from them—and at the same time to make use of the respite they have to arrange and Organize their Militia, to repell them when attacked at home? Cannot this Maxim be inculcated into all ranks of Men that weakness is a temptation for strength to exercise itself upon—shall we ever be found unguarded, and will no experience teach us to be armed, ie to have a Competent number of men in the field during the War—Sat Verbum.

The Confederacy of the neutral Maritime Powers is at length Compleat. Portugal has at last acceded to it. Catharine of Russia has astonishd all Europe with this stroke of Policy—by which she has put a Bridle on the ungoverned ambition of Britian to be the lord of the Ocean, and checked the hasty Strides of her Rival Power to Lord it over that Element. Heaven itself whose dicisions are always unerring seems to have acceded to this League, by Cutting at so critical a Juncture the Sinews of these two nations in the storm it has pourd forth on their W.I. Islands. These great events may possibly all turn to the advantage of this rising republic, let us not be supine, and unprepared to avail ourselves of them, let peace whenever it comes find us firmly confederated, and with a powerfull force in the field—let all lesser considerations of triffling temporary advantages give way to the great public Good. You Mentiond in yours to me some time ago an account of Mr. Banisters against Mr. Randolphs Estate. If I can find it among my Papers I will send it with an order for payment—if not—it can easily be made out again & proved, and My Father can give the Order—which Mr. Osborne will execute or enable you to do it. We have here at Present three or four or five noblemen of the first distinction from the french Army in Rhode

Island—Viz the Marquis de la Fayette, the Viscompte de Noailles, the Count de Deux Ponts, the Count de Damas, & the Baron de Montesquieu, Gr.-Son to the famous writer of the Spirit of Laws, besides a Majr. Genl. Chattelux a Man of Science in the Belles Lettres, & of great Military Consideration¹—*the Court of America begins to shine*. Tell Fanny that unless she writes to one of us soon I will disclaim her—tell her *talking* of writing will no longer do—tis a stale trick. Tell her however I love her as well as ever & that the latter part of this letter being in her way is principally for her. Give my love to the Boys & Mr. Hearne & now for bed it being past eleven o Clock. God Bless you all. Do not let the post come empty handed as he has been accustomed of late to do.

Yrs. affecty,

Theok. Bland

[P.S.] Madame will give you the Tittle Tattle of the Place in her next which is on the Stockes but not finished.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ In addition to Lafayette and the well known chevalier de Chastellux, these French noblemen consisted of Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles (Lafayette's brother-in-law); Guillaume, comte de Deux-Ponts; Joseph-François-Louis-Charles-Cesar, comte de Damas (aide-de-camp to Rochambeau); and Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (aide-de-camp to Chastellux).

John Hanson to Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Dear sir

Philadelphia Decr. 11th 1780

Your favour by the last post, I am much obliged to you for. I am very Sorry to be informed, that the principal object of the meeting of the General Assembly has not yet been taken into Consideration, I mean that of procuring Men and Supplies for the Army; yet from the good Opinion I entertain of the present leading Members of each House, I flatter my self every thing of importance Will be Attended to, before you rise. The Trustees having protested our Bills Will be favourable to the Veiws of those Who are for Confiscation.

Immediately on the receipt of your letter, Which was late this afternoon, I went to Mr. Morris's to make the enquiry you desired me, but Mr. Morris was too Ill to be Spoke With, Which prevents my giving you the information you Want, at present.

Advices from Spain and France of the 25th September, and 15th October say,¹ that Genl Clinton had requested to be recalled, unless a reinforcement of 10,000 men, was immediately Sent him—that a vessel had Sailed from England, With despatches Containing assurances, that the King entirely Approved of His Conduct—that he Should be Aided With all the Supplies in their power, And that orders were given for raising Nine Regiments of foot, And one of

Horse, to be Sent out Early in the spring. That nine Sail of the line and a number of Transports, With 4000 Troops, would Sail from Brest in a day or two, destined to reinforce Admiral Ternay. The King of Spain is much pleased With the Resolution of Congress, permitting the Exportation of flour for the use of His fleets and Armies, in the West Indies, and desired that his thanks might be Conveyed to Congress, for Such a proof of their friendly disposition, And the Minister gave the strongest Assurances, that his majesty Would never Consent to a pacification With England which did not include the Interest of America. Measures for Sending Commissioners from G B to treat with Congress, is under Consideration of the privy Council, And it is thought would be adopted. Mr. Cumbaland Still remains at Madrid—the Abbe Hussey, his Coadjutor has received A Pastport to go to Lisbon, and from thence to London, And return With the Ultimatum of that Court. (Is it not Something Mysterious that a Secretary to Lord George Germain one of the King of G B Ministers Should be permitted to reside at the Court of His most Christian Majesty in time of war?). England hath not yet Compleated her last years Loan. All the powers will find it difficult to procure money to Carry on the War. France hath allready begun to Tax, and it is probable must Continue to do so. The great Neutral powers of Europe Seem to regard the present War, as an Event favourable to the Augmentation of their Commerce, and Will probably do so untill one or other of the Contending parties, appear to have a decided Superiority. Portugal it is Said, Seems better disposed to the Allies than heretofore. The Combined fleet at Cadiz, Consists of 45 Sail of the line besides frigates &c—the Count DEstaing Commands the french part of the Fleet, and the Whole was ready to put to Sea. Mr. Laurence was taken on his passage to Holland and Conveyed to London, And is Committed to the Tower on a Charge of High Treason.

The Main Army is gone into Winter Quarters. My Compliments to Mr Carroll and the Ladies, And Am with the greatest regard Dr
 sir Your most hble Servt,
 John Hanson

[P.S.] It would give me great pleasure to see you here.

RC (MdHi: Carroll Papers).

¹ The advice from Spain was William Carmichael's letter of September 25 which was read in Congress on December 9, 1780. See *JCC*, 18:1132; *PCC*, item 88, fols. 91-98; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:69-72. The intelligence of "15th October" from France regarding Sir Henry Clinton's demand for 10,000 reinforcements has not been identified, but for an extract from an October 17 letter of an Arthur Lee correspondent containing the same information, which the committee on the southern department sent to Nathanael Greene, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:236n.1. See also Committee of Congress to Greene, December 12, 1780, note 1.

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear sir

Philadelphia Decr 11th 1780

I am favoured with your two letters by the last post. You desire me to pay the money inclosed to the Coachmaker, but none was inclosed. Public Bills are now Selling at 60 and 65, that is one Dollar in Bills for Sixty Continental. Private Bills Sell Something higher. I have not Consulted the Coachmaker whether Bills will Suit him—but if they do not, they may be turned into Cash. Shall have the Crest painted on your Carriage, Agreeable to the impression you inclosed. I have not Seen Any Horses for Sale That I think would Suit you. A pair of Elegant Horses would be Cheap indeed at £5000 and wish I could light of a pair for you, at that price or higher.

I am Sorry to hear, that the principal end of the assemblys being Called together, has not yet been under their Consideration, I mean the raising men And Supplies for the Army, Yet from the good Opinion I have of the present leading members, I flatter myself, that all matters of importance will be Attended to before they rise.

Advices from France and Spain of the 25th Sep., and 15th October, Say that General Clinton had requested to be recalled, unless a reinforcement of 10000 men was immediately Sent him—in Consequence of which, a vessel had Sailed from England with despatches, Containing assurances, that the King entirely Approved of his Conduct, and that he Should be Aided with Supplies to the utmost of their power, and that orders were given for the raising Nine Regiments of foot and one of Horse to be Sent out Early in the Spring. That nine Sail of the line and a number of Transports with 4000 Troops, would Sail from Brest in a day or two, to reinforce Admiral Ternay. The Sending Commissioners from G.B. to treat with Congress, is under Consideration of the Privy Council, and it was thought would be adopted. Mr. Cumberland Still remains at Madrid, but his Coadjutor the Abbe Hussey, has received a pastport to go to Lisbon, and from thence to London, And returns with the ultimatum of that Court. (Is it not Something Misterious, that a Secretary to Lord George Germain A minister of the Court of G.B. Should be permitted to reside at the Spanish Court in time of war?) The great Neutral Powers of Europe, seems to regard the present war, as an Event favourable to the Augmentation of their Commerce And will probably do so, untill one or other of the Contending parties, appear to have a decided supremacy. The Combined Fleet at Cadiz, Consists of 45 Sail of the line, besides frigates &c, the Count D Estaing Commands the French part of the fleet, and the whole was ready to put to Sea. Mr. Laurence on his passage to Holland is taken and Carried to London and is Committed to the Tower on a Charge of high Treason.

I hope you will have it in your power to send me 10000 Dollars by the next post, my Finances are lowe indeed.

With every Sentiment of Esteem, I am, Dear sir, Your Excellencys most hble Servant,
John Hanson

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Clarke and Jonathan Arnold

Sir, Philada December 11. 1780

By the enclosed resolve you will be informed that Congress have been pleased to appoint you and Mr Jonathan Arnold Commissioners on the Part of the United States, either of you to endorse the Bills that shall be emitted by the State of Rhode Island pursuant to the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last.¹

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "Mr. Joseph Clarke. The like to Mr Arnold."

¹ For this December 9 resolve, see *JCC*, 18:1138. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve with a brief letter to Rhode Island governor William Greene this day. PCC, item 15, fol. 179; and Letters to Governors, 16:7, R-Ar.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir Philadelphia Decemr 11th 1780

I am honored with your two favors of the 20th Ult. with the Inclosures.¹ They came to hand this morning. The one respecting Mr De La Tour was immediately referred to a Committee of which I am a member. We Shall immediately wait on the French Minister, Examine the Laws refered to, Settle the Point with him & immediately report to Congress. The Result Shall be Communicated to you without Loss of Time.²

I am Sorry that General Bayley Should Suffer himself to believe a Report which has no foundation in Truth:³ I never opposed a Decision of the Vermont Dispute. I opposed the mode urged by the New York Delegates which was for Congress to give Judgement without the Intervention of Commissioners. I urged that this was against the Confederation & That the Judgment would be invalid but I urged the appointing Commissioners to Decide the Claim. I was Ever of opinion that the time Chosen was very improper and feared those Consequences which by Allens procedure Seem but too likely to follow. I knew that it was not a Time for America to

Court New Enemies or add to the Number of the Disaffected. I did mention this in Congress and however Strong my Particular Attachments may be I must Ever keep the good of the whole in view as the primary object & I Sincerely wish the Gentlemen from New York had been Influenced by the Same motive. Should those People Join the Enemy They would prove very Dangerous Foes and I am Sorry that the impatience of New York furnished them with a pretext but whatever may be [*the*] Event the Moderate Conduct of New Hampshire must Secure that State from Reflections. I will as Soon as possible bring Congress into Some Decisive Measures for if the present Suspicions are well founded vigorous & Decisive Exertions only can atone for The precipitate & imprudent Steps which Congress have been Driven into by the Delegates of New York.

General Baileys reasoning is Truly ridiculous. He thinks that a People who could Join the Enemy upon a mere Suspicion that Congress might give Judgement against them would at once Loose both the power & Inclination by its being reduced to a Certainty & Judgment proclaimed against them. This kind of reasoning is too Triffling to merit a Serious Answer. I am Sensible of the Disadvantages you mention which have Long been felt by our State and am happy that under all those Disadvantages New Hampshire has preferred the publick good to Every other Consideration. This as well as the whole of her Political Conduct must do her the highest Honor.

I Lament Exceedingly the Deranged State of our Finances & the Distresses of the People & have the pleasure to assure you that Measures are now adopted, which I am Convinced will afford the necessary relief but as order cannot succeed Confusion in a moment, Patience and perseverance Must Still be kept in Action. An Envoy Extraordinary is appointed to proceed to France for Supplies of money, Cloathing &ca back[ed] by the French Ambassador & all the French Gentlemens Interest & I doubt not of its being obtained.⁴ We have another Plan of Finance nearly Compleated which in my opinion will give great & Speedy relief & I trust the whole will be Soon Communicated to you officially & I Trust will receive your approbation. My Time or Paper will not permit me to give you a proper Idea of it in this Letter.⁵ I Expect Hourly Cloathing to arrive Sufficient for the whole Army which will relieve you from Some of your present Embarrassments.

The present is a time for the Tryal of Publick virtue & am happy in thinking with [you] that the Patriotic Sons of New Hampshire [will] not be behind hand with any; nay that they will according to Custom be the most forward in their Exertions for the Publick good.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem & regard,
Dear Sir your most obedt. Servt, Jno Sullivan

⁵ See Sullivan's Committee Notes, November 7-23, 1780.

The inclosed extracts appear to us sufficiently interesting to induce us to forward them to you.¹ The reiterated information we have lately received from different quarters leave little room to doubt, that the

Southern States, will be the grand theatre of war this ensuing winter and spring.

The Waggon with stores for the army under your command, with two Companies of Artificers, are now on their way to join you.

Nothing has been as yet done to supply your troops with cloathing. Capt. Jones had sailed with the cloathing, but being dismasted a few days after he got to Sea, was obliged to put back to be refitted. By a letter received yesterday from Mr. Williams at Nantz; he informs us, that the Vessels will be ready to sail again in a few days.² They will have on board, made and materials sufficient for making, 20,000 suits of cloaths, with some hats, stockings, shirts, Overalls, Shoes, & Stocks and barrels & locks, for 20,000 muskets, & 100 Tons of Saltpetre.

The article of intelligence contained in the inclosed extracts respecting Portugal, seems to be pritty well [sustained?] by subsequent advices.

We have received no late intelligence of the enemies movements at New York. They appear to be quiet at present.

We are sir, with much respect & Esteem, Yr. most Obedt. Servts.
By Order of the Committee,³ Jno. Mathews Chairman

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). Written and signed by John Mathews.

¹ The "inclosed extracts" were from a December 7 note from Arthur Lee to Congress and its enclosure, an October 17 letter to Lee from an unknown correspondent who reported that Britain was raising ten new regiments to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton, that North Carolina and Virginia would be the focus of the 1781 campaign, and that Portugal and the Netherlands had joined the League of Armed Neutrality. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:236n.1.

² See James Madison to Joseph Jones, this date, note 7.

³ James Madison and William Sharpe were also members of this committee.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia December 12. 1780

Yesterday I received your Excellency's Letter of the 27th Ultio, and the Dispatches to which it refers, & immediately communicated them to Congress.¹

I have the Honor to transmit you the enclosed Extract of a Letter from Europe, which contains some Intelligence.² We have nothing material from the Southward more than hath been inserted in the public Papers. William Palfrey Esquire is appointed a Consul to reside in France.

With the highest respect & Esteem, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient Servant, Sam Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For this letter concerning Connecticut measures for provisioning Continental troops, see *JCC*, 18:1142; and *PCC*, item 66, 2:119-22.

² See the preceding entry, note 1.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir

Philada. Decr. 12th. 1780

Agreeable to your favor of the 2d instt.¹ which came to hand yesterday I shall send this to Fredericksbg. I am sorry that either your own health or that of your lady should oblige you to leave the legislature before the principal business of the Session is finished. I shall be still more sorry if either of these causes should disappoint my hopes of your return to Philada. at the promised time.² I am the more anxious for your return because I suppose it will supersede the proposed measure of sending an envoy to Congress on the business you mention.³ If the facts are transmitted by the Speaker of the Assembly or the Executive, may they not be laid before Congress with as much efficacy by the established representatives of the State as by a special messenger? and will not the latter mode in some measure imply a distrust in the former one, and lower us in the eyes of Congress & the public? The application to the Ct. of France has been anticipated. Congress have even gone so far as to appoint an Envoy Extraordinary to Solicit the necessary aids. Col. Laurens was invested yesterday with that office.⁴ I leave the measure to your own reflection. How far it may be expedient to urge Spain to assist us before she is convinced of the reasonableness of our pretensions, ought to be well weighed before it be tried. The liberty we took in drawing on her for money excited no small astonishment, and probably gave an idea of our distress, which confirmed her hopes of concession on our part. Accts. rcd. since my last repeat her inflexibility with regd. to the object in question between us. It is indispensable that we should in some way or other know the *Ultimate* sense of our Constituents on this important matter.⁵

Mr. Laurens is certainly in captivity. An Irish paper tells us he was committed to the tower on the sixth of Octr. under a warrant from the three Secretaries of State.⁶ Portugal has acceded to the neutral league so far as to exclude the English from the privileges her armed vessels have heretofore enjoyed in her ports. The Ariel with P. Jones & the cloathing &c. on board was dismasted a day or two after she sail'd & obliged to put back into port.⁷ If G. Washington detaches no further aid to the Southwd. it will be owing to the reduction of his force by the expiration of enlistments. The Pennsylvania line is mostly engaged for the war and will soon form almost the whole of the army under his immediate command.

Mr. Sartine, it seems has been lately removed from the

administration of the naval department; in consequence of his disappointing the general hopes formed from the great means put into his hands. When it was mentioned to me by Mr. M——s.⁸ I took occasion to ask whether the deception with regard to the 2d division ought to be ultimately charged upon him, observing to him the use the Enemies of the Alliance had made of that circumstance. From the explanation that was given I believe the blame rests upon his head, and that his removal was the effect of it in a great measure; though it is possible he may like many others have been sacrificed to ideas of policy, and particularly in order to cancel the unfavorable impression which the disappointment left on America. A high character is given as might be expected of his successor the Marquis de Caster,⁹ particularly with respect to those qualities in which Mr. Sartine is charged with having been most deficient.

I am yrs. sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:238-39.

¹ Ibid., pp. 218-20.

² It is not known when Jones "promised" to resume his seat in Congress, but he did so on January 29, 1781, following the adjournment of the Virginia legislature. *JCC*, 19:94.

³ In his letter of December 2 Jones had apprised Madison of the resolutions laid that day before the House of Delegates instructing the Virginia delegates to propose in Congress that a complete representation of conditions in the southern department be made to the French and Spanish governments, and that the assembly "appoint some proper person to lay before Congress a clear state of the war in this quarter, the resources of this state in men, money, provisions, clothing, and other necessities, and to solicit the necessary aids either from our sister states or European allies, and to concert with Congress, the Minister of France, and General Washington, the proceedings necessary in the present conjuncture of affairs in the south." On December 22—following a tie ballot between Speaker Benjamin Harrison and Richard Henry Lee, and Lee's withdrawal from contention—Harrison was elected to undertake the mission. The Senate confirmed his election on the 27th. *Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia* [October 16, 1780-January 2, 1781] (Richmond: Printed by John Dixon and Thomas Nicolson? 1781), pp. 55, 104, 112. DLC(ESR). For a description of Harrison's election and Madison's disapproval of the mission, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:269-70; and Madison to Edmund Pendleton, January 16, 1781.

⁴ See James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, November 30, note 3; and Samuel Huntington to John Laurens, December 14, 1780.

⁵ Madison is referring, of course, to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, for which see Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, December 13, 1780.

⁶ Henry Laurens, who had been captured off Newfoundland on September 3, was imprisoned in the Tower of London from October 6, 1780, to December 31, 1781.

⁷ In a letter of October 17 from Nantes Jonathan Williams confirmed that John Paul Jones' ship *Ariel* had been "intirely dismasted" in a gale off the coast of France. Williams' letter, which also confirmed the capture and imprisonment of Henry Laurens, was read in Congress on December 11, 1780. See *JCC*, 18:1141; and PCC, item 78, 24:267-69.

⁸ Undoubtedly the marquis de Barbé-Marbois.

⁹ For the replacement of Sartine as the French minister of marine by the marquis

de Castries on October 14, see Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 199–203.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir,

Philada. Decemr. [12]¹ 1780

I had the pleasure of yours of the 2d² instant yesterday. We have not heard a word of the fleet which lately left Cheasapeake. There is little doubt that the whole of it has gone to the Southward.

Our intelligence from Europe confirms the accession of Portugal to the Neutral league; so far at least as to exclude the English from the privileges which their Vessels of War have hitherto enjoyed in her ports. The Ariel commanded by P. Jones which had on board the cloathing &c. which has been long expected from France was dismasted a few days after she sailed and obliged to return into port; an event which must prolong the sufferings which our army has been exposed to from the delay of this supply. Mr. Sartine, the Minister of the french Marine has been lately removed from the admi[ni]stration of that departmt. His successor is the Marquis de Caster, who is held out to us as a man of greater activity & from whom we may hope for more effectual co-operation.

An Irish paper informs us that Mr. Laurens was committed to the Tower on the 6th of Octr. by the three Secretaries of State on suspicion of high treason. As the Warrant with the names of the Secretaries subscribed (with some other particulars) is inserted, no hope remains of the fact being a forgery.

With very sincere regard, I am Dr. Sir Yr obt servt.

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:240–41.

¹ Since Madison's letter of this date to Joseph Jones contains the same information as this one, he undoubtedly wrote them the same day, especially given his habit of corresponding regularly on Tuesdays.

² Madison misdated Pendleton's letter of December 4, for which see *ibid.*, p. 222.

John Sullivan's Memorial

Philadelphia Decemr the 12th 1780.

To The Honorable The Congress of the United American States

The memorial of John Sullivan Late Major General in the Continental Army

Humbly Shews That repeated applications have been made to him by the officers and Soldiers of the Western Army for making up to them the Sum promised in Lieu of one half of the Rations which he was Compelled to withhold in order to Succeed in the Expedition.

The Inclosed Letter to him from the Commanding officers of the New Hampshire Regiments will Show The Expectations of the Troops under their Command. He therefore begs Congress will take the matter under Consideration and pass Such Resolutions thereon as may do Justice to the Troops which Composed that Army,¹
Jno Sullivan

MS (DNA: PCC, item 41). Written and signed by Sullivan. Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Read Feby. 8. 1781, Referred to the board of war."

¹ Sullivan's memorial and the enclosed September 20, 1780, letter to him from Cols. Joseph Cilley, Henry Dearborn, and George Reid were apparently not presented to Congress until February 8, 1781, at which time they were read and referred to the Board of War. See *JCC*, 19:131; and PCC, item 41, 9:155-56. There is no record in the journals or PCC of the board's recommendations or disposition of the case.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Philada. Decembr. [12,]¹ 1780

We have the honor to enclose your Excellency a Resolution of Congress of the 6th instant relating to the Convention troops,² also a copy of a letter from G. Anderson found among the dead letters in the post office and communicated to Congress by the Postmaster. If there should be occasion for the original of the letter it shall be transmitted on the first intimation.³

An Irish paper informs us that Henry Laurens Esquire was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October by a warrant from the Secretarys of State on suspicion of High Treason. All the despatches entrusted to the same conveyance unfortunately fell into the hands of the Enemy at the same time.

A letter from Mr. Jonathan Williams dated at Nantz, Octr. 17 confirms an account received several days ago, of the Ariel commanded by P. Jones, Esqr. & containing cloathing &c for the Army being dismasted & obliged to return into port. The effect of this delay will be severely felt by the troops who have already but too much reason to complain of the sufferings they have been exposed to from a want of these necessaries.

The same letter from Mr. Williams as well as some others received within a few days give us reason to believe that Portugal has at length yielded to the solicitations of the Neutral Powers & to the remonstrances of France & Spain so far as to accede to the general object of the former and to exclude the English from the privileges which their vessels of War heretofore enjoyed in their ports. We have received Payment of the Bill drawn by Mr. Benjn. Harrison.

We [are?] with perfect respect Yr. Excellys most obedt. & very
Hum Servts.

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland Jr.

RC (Vi). Written by Madison and signed by Madison and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:236-37.

¹ Because Madison's letter to Joseph Jones of this date contains much the same foreign intelligence, it is likely that this letter was written the same day.

² For this resolution ordering the Convention Troops not already transferred to Fort Frederick, Md., to remain in Charlottesville, Va., see *JCC*, 18:1123.

³ Not found, but for Jefferson's reply of January 15, 1781, concerning his interview with George Anderson, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:285-86.

John Mathews to Nathanael Greene

Dear sir.

Philadelphia Decr. 13th. 1780

I received your favor from Richmond some days ago, & Should have replied to it sooner, but had not time when the last opportunity offered.

I am in hopes this will reach you at Headquarters, where I have been long anxious for your arrival, that we might have your opinion of the true state of our affairs there. I can almost anticipate it, that is, that it will be gloomy enough. The British fleet leaving Portsmouth, convinces me their destination is now for Chs. Town, the consequence of which will be, Cornwallis will be so effectually reinforced, as to put it out of your power to do any thing important, however I shall defer any further remarks on this subject untill we hear from you after your arrival at the army.

The Committee of correspondence wrote to you yesterday,¹ since writing which letter, we have accounts—not officially—that Arnold at the head of his motley crew together with considerable detachments from the line of the British army, are now embarked & ready to sail. Their destination is not known. Arnold's having the command, induces some to think that it is only a plundering party, but in my opinion, it is too formidable for such an errand. I rather think, they are bound to join to the southern army . . . whole views seem to be bent that way.

There is a flying report this morning that the *British Commissioners* for establishing peace &c are arrived at N. York. I wish you all health, & happiness, success I shall at present say nothing about. And believe me to be my Dr. sir, with the most sincere esteem, Yr. most Obedt. Serv.

Jno. Mathews

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers).

¹ See Committee of Congress to Greene, December 12, 1780.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir Philadelphia December 13th. 1780

The complexion of the intelligence received of late from Spain, with the manner of thinking which begins to prevail in Congress with regard to the claims to the navigation of the Mississippi, makes it our duty to apply to our constituents for their precise full and ultimate sense on this point.¹ If Spain should make a relinquishment of the navigation of that river on the part of the United States an indispensable condition of an Alliance with them, and the State of Virginia should adhere to their former determination to insist on the right of navigation, their delegates ought to be so instructed not only for their own satisfaction, but that they may the more effectually obviate arguments drawn from a supposition that the change of circumstances which has taken place since the former instructions were given may have changed the opinion of Virginia with regard to the object of them. If on the other side any such change of opinion should have happened, and it is now the sense of the State that an Alliance with Spain ought to be purchased even at the price of such a cession if it cannot be obtained on better terms it is evidently necessary that we should be authorized to concur in it. It will also be expedient for the Legislature to instruct us in the most explicit terms whether any and what extent of territory on the East side of the Mississippi and within the limits of Virginia, is in any event to be yielded to Spain as the price of an Alliance with her. Lastly it is our earnest wish to know what steps it is the pleasure of our Constituents we should take in case we should be instructed in no event to concede the claims of Virginia either to territory or to the navigation of the abovementioned river and Congress should without their concurrence agree to such concession.

We have made use of the return of the Honble. Mr. Jones² to N. Carolina to transmit this to your Excellency, and we request that you will immediately communicate it to the General Assembly.

We have the honor to be with the most perfect respect & esteem Yr. Excellency's Most Obt. & humble servants,

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

RC (CSmH). Written by Madison and signed by Madison and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:241-42.

¹ For the Georgia delegates' proposal to alter the congressional ultimata on the free navigation of the Mississippi River and the Virginia delegates' December 8 motion in Congress to suspend revision until new instructions could be received from the state legislature, see Georgia Delegates' Proposed Resolutions, November 18, 1780, note.

² That is, Willie Jones whose last recorded vote in Congress was December 11, 1780. *JCC*, 18:1140.

Samuel Huntington to Richard Bache

Sir, Philada December 14. 1780

Enclosed you will receive the Copy of an Act of Congress containing several Particulars relating to the Post Office; among others you will observe you are to order the Post riders to travell through Connecticutt at a Distance from the Sea Shore, in such Manner as may render the Mail secure from Attempts of a like Nature with that which lately happened at Stratford.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c

S. H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). This letter to the postmaster general was addressed: "To Richard Beache Esquire."

¹ For the enclosed "Particulars relating to the Post Office," see *JCC*, 18:1142-43. The directive concerning the protection of post riders was adopted in response to the embarrassment experienced after riders for the eastern post had been captured twice in less than a month "on the lower road in Connecticut" at Stratford Landing, for which see *JCC*, 18:1004, Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, October 10; and John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

² This day Huntington also wrote to Drs. Moses Bloomfield and Moses Scott notifying them that their resignations from the hospital service of the middle department had been accepted. PCC, item 15, fol. 182; and *JCC*, 18:1149. For their December 6 protest against the recent reorganization of the medical department and "the ungenerous distinction between the medical Gentlemen and those of the Line" signified in the new arrangements, see PCC, item 78, 4:53-60.

Samuel Huntington to John Laurens

Sir, Philada December 14. 1780

I have the Pleasure to transmit you the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress by which you will be informed they have been pleased unanimously to elect you an Envoy Extraordinary, to repair to the Court of Versailles.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15)

¹ For Laurens' appointment as a special agent to solicit aid from France, see *JCC*, 18:1130, 1138, 1141, 1177-78, where he is designated a "minister" rather than an "Envoy Extraordinary." The latter designation reflects the original wording of Secretary Thomson's journal, but in all three passages pertaining to the debate on the subject, "envoy extraordinary" was lined out and "minister" substituted after adoption of a motion by James Duane on December 21 "to alter the stile and title of the minister." For the context of this appointment and discussion of the purpose of Laurens' mission, see James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, November 30, note 3. See also Thomas McKean to John Adams and Oliver Wolcott to Jonathan Trumbull, December 18, 1780.

For Laurens' reluctance to accept the post and his belief that Alexander Hamilton should be the envoy selected to go to France, see Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 3:252, 254, 257, 267.

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed

Sir,

Philada December 14. 1780

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, the Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 12th Instant, by which you will be informed of the Measures they have adopted for relieving & supplying the Garrison at Wyoming, and for removing every Subject of Jealousy & Discontent. And that to relieve the present urgent Distresses of the Garrison, it is requested that the State of Pennsylvania would order the Supplies which were stopped by Lieut. Hunter on their Progress to Wyoming to be immediately forwarded to that Garrison.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The commander of the Wyoming garrison, Col. Zebulon Butler of Connecticut, had complained to the Board of War on October 26 that his troops were in dire need of provisions, which until recently had been supplied by Pennsylvania. The board had thereupon written to the Pennsylvania Council concerning Butler's distress, and received a November 20 reply from President Reed explaining the state's reasons for stopping the flow of provisions to Wyoming, which Pennsylvania considered a Connecticut outpost in a disputed area in which officers of that state were attempting "to establish their Claim and extend their Settlement" in violation of resolutions of Congress of December 1775.

The Board of War had accordingly forwarded the letters of Butler and Reed to Congress, which referred them on November 23 to a committee consisting of George Clymer of Pennsylvania, Jesse Root of Connecticut, and George Plater of Maryland. Theodorick Bland of Virginia, who replaced Plater on the committee on December 6, was the author of the report and resolutions submitted and adopted on the 12th, which were designed to circumvent the "jealousy subsisting between the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania on account of a territorial claim" by making Wyoming a truly Continental outpost. *JCC*, 18:1090, 1126, 1147-48; and PCC, item 27, fols. 115-16, item 148, 1:219-28. See also Huntington to George Washington, December 16, and to Jonathan Trumbull, December 24, 1780.

Reconstruction of the congressional response to this case has been made more difficult by the fact that the Board of War's November 23 letter to Congress is twice referred to erroneously in the journals as one of the 28th (*JCC*, 18:1147), and that the passages from the congressional resolves of the 12th deleted by Gaillard Hunt in the printed journals appear only in Bland's draft report and not in Secretary Thomson's manuscript journals (cf. *JCC*, 18:1148, and PCC, item 1, 30:24, item 27, fol. 115). However, a number of the principal documents pertaining to this episode have been conveniently gathered in the *Susquehanna Co. Papers*, 7:66-78.

James Lovell to John Adams

My dear Sir

Private

14 Decr. 1780

In my Letter of the 9th¹ I mentioned the Receipt of yours to the Presidt. of June 26. I inclose a Resolve passed in Consequence of the Report of a Comtee. Lovell, Houston & a judicious amiable Col. Motte of Sth. Carolina.² On the morning of the date of the Resolve a Duplic. of that letter had been recd. covering two Papers more

than had been inclosed in the Original, one of which was of a nature to encrease the worth of the Resolve to you; because you ought to be thence induced to think that very suitable Retrospect will be made to the[m] {but rement que vous}³ if at any time hereafter we should see or hear of a {je crains Monsieur Adams}.⁴ He is but a superficial observer of Man & Things who does not know that *Truth* may shake hands with Falsehood when the Scrutiny is merely which of the two is the Cause of Offence.

In the Copies which Mr. Searle gave you respecting Mr. Laurens and his Powers you should notice {well the secretary} because on that ground you may advance rightly as to {J. Thaxter}.⁵ If you have any doubts on this head I will at any time and in full season remove them by Extracts from our home Constitutions.

I communicate to you by this Opportunity *part* of what you will preceive I requested an other some time ago to make known to you. If Bell and Josiah or either of them reached France or Spain safely with their papers to your knowledge you stand in no Necessity of forwarding.⁶

It is not for the most obvious reason *only* that I now send them. {Georgia & S.C.} if we properly see them in this meridian {are not} wisely resolutely on good Foresight like {Virg.} in opposition to the unreasonable {exclusive river claim of Madrid} countenanced in some degree perhaps by {Gaul as} I think it was clear in the Reign of {Gerard here}.

{J. Jay. will} as appears to me manage knowingly & firmly apprehensive at the same time of what I last suggested tho {Carm[ichael]} seems either from inclination or Blindness to lean the other way, which is I suppose one of the Causes of the Chagrin which has been very confidentially communicated to {G. Morris} and thence in like manner to me, arising from the Reflection of having forwarded himself the {choice of C.}⁷ to be {secre[tary]}. I was always a {Gerardite}.
JL

Mr. Laurens had my very particular request to tell exactly what ought in Justice & Propriety to be done in the Case of {Dumas. Is he} altogether an Instrument in the hands of {Dean & F & the French minister}⁸ in Holland. An Expectation is formed of something beneficial to {his wife & child} Pensionaries of {this union}!!!

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ Not found, but this was probably the letter that Lovell had sent "by Mr. Palfry," who was lost at sea. See Lovell to Adams, January 2, 1781.

² See Committee for Foreign Affairs to Adams, December 12, 1780.

³ That is, "the purpose of recalling you." Words printed in braces in this text were written by Lovell in cipher.

⁴ That is, "I fear Mr. Adams"—an allusion to a statement by the comte de Vergennes ("je crains Monsieur Lee") that had been used to discredit Arthur Lee as American commissioner in France in 1779. See these *Letters*, 12:410-11.

⁵ John Thaxter, private secretary to John Adams. Apparently Lovell is referring to the allowance of £300 for a secretary to Henry Laurens, as American commissioner to the United Provinces, whose duties Adams inherited by virtue of Laurens' capture by the British. *JCC*, 15:1235.

⁶ See Committee for Foreign Affairs to Thomas Bell and James Josiah, and to John Adams, October 28, 1780.

⁷ That is, William Carmichael.

⁸ That is, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Paul François de Vauguyon, French minister in Holland, who subsequently clashed repeatedly with Adams. See James H. Hutson, *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1980), pp. 87-95.

Artemas Ward to Unknown

Sir Philadelphia Decr. 14 1780

Your favour of the fourteenth Octor last was duly delivered,¹ & I am much obliged to you for the same, & am rejoiced to hear of your welfare, & that of your family.

You are pleased to mention with a note of admiration the merciful Interposition of Divine Providence, in the detection of Arnolds Traitious Conspiracy. It is really a very great mercy & I sincerely wish we may all be truly thankful therefor, not only in word, but in deed; & not only for that particular favour, but for the many undeserved interpositions of Divine Providence in our behalf, through the whole course of the present war. May we not truly say that, this war has been attended with as signal favours almost, as attended Gods anoint[ed] people? If we take an impartial retrospective view Thereof, shall we not have true reason to be astonished at the many remarkable deli[verances] which have been wrought out for us? I have observed from the beginning of the war to the present Period, that when we were weakest & the most exposed the greatest things have been accomplished, and when we have to the human eye appeared, to be in the best Situation, and the fairest prospect before us, the least has been done. And those men & things in which we have placed great confidence, have rendered us but little Service.

I readily concur with you in Opinion, that it is of importance that men in power and high places of trust should be watched. I am also of opinion it is of the highest importance that those who have a right to elect into office or places of trust, should be more careful to make choice of honest, sensible, religious men than they commonly are. They ought to avoid that man who will not shake his hands from holding of bribes, as they would their greatest adversary. And that man who makes a mock of all religion & ridicules every thing of a Serious nature is one in my opinion who ought to be carefully shuned & avoided. Towns and Counties making a bad choice of Representatives, will be a means of bad delegates in Congress being chosen, & bad delegates in Congress will also make bad appointments

of men to the offices that they have a right to fill with officers! From hence appears that each town or County has a share in every appointment, immediately from the highest to the lowest officer, &, that a bad choice of Representatives leads to a bad choice of a General officer. From this view of the matter also appears the importance of towns and Societys being well instructed in their duty in this respect.

FC (MHi: Ward Papers). In the hand of Artemas Ward.

¹ Not in the Ward Papers or otherwise identified.

Samuel Huntington to Job Sumner

Sir, Philada December 15. 1780
 You will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 14th Instant, expressing their Sentiments in Answer to your Memorial of the 17th Ultio respecting your rank in the Line of the State to which you belong.¹

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Capt. Job Sumner of the Third Massachusetts Regiment had originally appealed to Congress in August 1779 to settle his claim to seniority in the Massachusetts Line, and after waiting more than a year for relief he resubmitted his case to Congress in a memorial of November 17, 1780. On December 14 Congress adopted a Board of War recommendation that Sumner be informed that he had erroneously interpreted his seniority claim, because the date of his appointment by Gen. Philip Schuyler upon which he based his appeal governed only his rank "in the army at large," and "no alteration was intended to be made in the line of the State to which he belonged." See *JCC*, 18:1099, 1150; and John Jay to James Wilkinson, August 18, 1779, note 3.

Notwithstanding this response from Congress, Sumner immediately appealed to General Washington for relief from the "injury" that he believed he had experienced, although to no avail. See his letters to the general of December 23, 1780, and January 2, 1781, in the Washington Papers, DLC; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:36, 140-41, 282.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia December 15. 1780
 By the enclosed Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 14th Instant, your Excellency will be informed that John Laurence Esq hath resigned his Office as Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office in Connecticut; and it is recommended to the State to appoint a Commissioner to that Office in his room.¹

With every Sentiment of respect & Esteem, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant.

Sam. Huntington President

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This resolve was adopted in pursuance of a Board of Treasury recommendation in response to a November 10 request by Lawrence to resign, for which see *JCC*, 18:1150-51; and Huntington to John Lawrence, December 1, 1780. Huntington also sent a copy of the resolve to Lawrence this day with a brief cover letter that is in PCC, item 15, fol. 183.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia December 15. 1780

Enclosed you will receive the Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 14th Instant, refering the Petition of Coll. Loring & Papers therein mentioned which are also herewith enclosed, to your Excellency.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellencys most obedient & most humble servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Lt. Col. Jotham Loring of the 3d Massachusetts Regiment had been courtmartialed and dismissed from the service in August 1779 for fraud and disobedience to orders. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 16:89-90. After the lapse of more than a year, however, he appealed to Congress for a reconsideration of the case, which Congress debated and postponed on November 3, 1780, and then on December 14 decided simply to refer to the commander in chief. *JCC*, 18:1004, 1152. His petition has not been found among the Washington Papers or PCC, but for Washington's April 6, 1781, letter to Loring explaining why he could not order a rehearing, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:423-24.

James Duane to Joseph Reed

Sir, Philad., 16 Decem., 1780.

The Sherif some days since handed me a Letter as from your Excellency but unsigned.¹ It was nevertheless treated with all the Respect which was possible, and the Sherif was left at Liberty to examine every Apartment without Interruption. He was only told that the House was our possession, and that in the first Instance it must be presumed in Law that the goods belonged to the Occupants, that the bare assertion of the Defendant Bulkly could be no proof to the Contrary, that there were beside interfering claims, and that he ought to call a jury to ascertain the property, for his own justification and to avoid oppression; and that otherwise he must proceed at his peril. This Remonstrance having no Effect the House

was abandoned to his discretion, and he completed his Inventory according to Bulkly's direction.

On his principles we do not see what should restrain him from entering the House even of the Chief Magistrate and inventorying and selling his Effects, if Bulkly woud attend and affirm that he claims them as his own.

The Judgement is understood on all hands to be collusive. The Sherif himself seems to be of that opinion: but there is no Court of Chancery to detect the fraud: and this in a Case where the Remedy woud be certain, for Mr. Dickenson is a judgement Creditor of long standing, and from mere Charity has withheld his Execution. Mr. Howel is also a Creditor. Even independant of these Considerations if Bulkly coud strip the House of all he might possibly claim in right of marriage, it woud be of very little benefit to him, nor woud it incommode us: the Chief of the furniture belonging to Mr Jones an absent Delegate of Virginia, Mr Howel, Mrs Prid and another Relation of the family. These are represented to us as Facts, and we think ourselves bound to lay them before your Excellency from motives of Humanity as well as Justice; and because it woud, to say no more be unreasonable that we shoud suffer very great Inconveniencies which even the Rigour of Law does not require and a Court of Equity woud prevent.

On the whole we shall be perfectly satisfied if the Sherif conducts himself by the Opinion of the Attorney General who is a publick officer. The station in which we are placed and the Circumstances of the Case seem to point it out as proper. Delicacy alone forbids us to trouble your Excellency, or we shoud request the favour of your Direction.²

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect Sir, your Excellency's most obedient & very humble Servant,

Jas. Duane.

Reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 8:659. FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

¹ Pennsylvania president Joseph Reed's unsigned letter of December 1, 1780, was a defense of the sheriff's search and seizure proceedings at the boarding house of Duane and other delegates. Duane had claimed a congressional right to exemption from these legal proceedings in Duane to Reed, November 30, 1780. In his reply, Reed reported that state officials had "examined the articles of confederation to see how far we might extend the exemptions in their favour, without subjecting ourselves to reasonable Complaints of the Creditor, but was much surprized to find they reached no farther than to the person of the delegate. As this seemed to be a line drawn by themselves we find ourselves much more restricted than we wished." Duane Papers, NH.

Reed was citing that section of article five of the Articles of Confederation that provided that "the members of congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace."

² In his December 19 response to Duane, Reed suggested that if fraud were suspected the injured parties could obtain an "execution to stay the proceedings and direct an Issue to try the fact suggested which was the best substitute we had for a Court of Chancery." Duane Papers, NHi.

Samuel Huntington to Matthew Maus

Sir, Philada December 16. 1780

You will receive enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 9th Instant, directing the Purveyor & Apothecary to issue Medicines & refreshments to the Sick which may be from Time to Time under your Care, and you are to make return of such Sick in the Manner directed by the Hospital regulations.¹

You are also directed to report to the Commanding Officer of the Barracks such Officers as are appointed to act under you as Surgeon.²

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

1. This "Act" was adopted in response to an appeal for hospital stores from Dr. Maus, "surgeon of the invalid regiment" stationed at Philadelphia, which was referred to the Medical Committee on December 4. *JCC*, 18:1118. For the committee's report and recommendations concerning the issuance of medicines for the sick under Maus' care, see *JCC*, 18:1125-26, 1132-33.

Huntington had also sent copies of this "Act" on December 15 to the purveyor of the hospital department, Dr. Thomas Bond, Jr., to the apothecary, Dr. Andrew Craigie, and to the director general, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., for which see PCC, item 15, fols. 184-85.

² *JCC*, 18:132-33. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve this day to the commander of the invalid corps, Col. Lewis Nicola. PCC, item 15, fol. 185.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia December 16. 1780

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 12th Instant, directing that the Garrison at Wyoming be relieved (if you shall Judge that Post necessary) as soon as may be, by Troops from the Continental Army not belonging to the Line of Pennsylvania or Connecticut, or Citizens of either of the said States.¹

The present & future Garrison are to be supplied by the Commissary General from the Magazines of the Continent.²

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellencys
most obedt & most hbble Servant,

Sam. Huntington, Presdt

P.S. I have been honoured with your letters of the 8th & 13th instant.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand, with signature and postscript by Huntington.

¹ For the background and adoption of the enclosed resolve, see Huntington to Joseph Reed, December 14, 1780.

² Huntington also sent a copy of the enclosed "Act" to Commissary General Ephraim Blaine, instructing him to continue to supply the Wyoming garrison "by Purchase or out of the Quota of Provisions raised by any State for the Use of the Continent." PCC, item 15, fol. 186.

³ For these letters, which were read in Congress on Monday December 18, see JCC, 18:1156; PCC, item 152, 9:385-88, 397-400; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:443-44, 468-69.

John Witherspoon to William Livingston

Dr Sir

Philadelphia Dec. 16. 1780

I have written twice to Mr Houston since I came here,¹ but believe I have been unlucky in the Manner of Conveyance. The first was written a Week ago to go by a private Hand & I am uncertain whether it has gone yet. The other I am told went yesterday by Mr Chalmers of Trenton. Referring to it for what else it contains I shall send you again a Copy of a Resolution recommended by a convention that met at Hartford consisting of the New England States & N. York—resolved that the Commander in cheif of the Army of the united States be authorised & empowered to take such Measures as he may deem proper & the public Service may render necessary to *induce* the several States to a punctual Compliance with the Regulations which have been or may be made by Congress for Supplies for the Years 1780 & 1781.² Tho it is well known to you that few Persons have a higher opinion of or Confidence in Gen. Washington than my self or a greater Desire of having vigorous executive Powers put in the Hands of Persons at the Head of Affairs either in the military or civil Department yet that Resolution is of such a Nature that I should never give my Voice for it unless You my Constituents should specifically direct it *perhaps even not then* & indeed I have that Opinion of Gen. Washington that I do not think he would accept or act in Consequence of such Powers. What could induce that Convention to recommend such a Measure is a Mystery to me but I believe it will have few advocates.

Congress has unanimously resolved to send an Envoy to the Court of Petersburg [a] Measure they agreed to on two Accounts first because all their foreign Ministers recommended it and secondly

because it is very plain that the Court of Petersburg [will?] have very great Influence on the present War & probably at the Termination of [it prescri]be the Terms to France & England. The Person in all Probability will be Mr Dana because he is at present in Holland & may proceed there with little additional Expence.³ A Committee of three of which I am a Member (& who by a partial Report occasioned the above Measure) have further agreed to report on Monday that the Sense of the House be taken whether Dr Franklin shall be continued at Paris or not.⁴ I know no Secresy to which this Purpose is intitled & yet as the Report has not been made it may not be so proper to tell it generally in the Words above written which [thus is] referred to your Prudence. Great indeed has been the Negligence or Corruption of some Persons in France for it is certain that Clothing sufficient to have made the whole Army comfortable has been in L Orient & other Sea ports since March [or April] last & yet little of it has been sent over. To enquire into this Neglect is one of the objects of the above Committee.

Congress had resolved before I came to Town to send an Envoy extraordinary to the Court of France for the Special Purpose of Soliciting & forwarding the Supplies [a] Measure which appeared to me very unnecessary & expensive but if the old Gentleman should be recalled it may do well enough as that Envoy will supply the Place of a Minister Plenipotentiary till another is appointed. The [Person] chosen is Col. Laurence Mr President Laurens's Son. He seems to make [no] difficulty of accepting. If he should finally refuse I suppose [. . .] the [. . .] be chosen will be Col. Hamilton Gen. Washingtons Aid to whom I have no other objection but his Youth which also militates against the other.

There has been a Report circulated of the English being about sending new commissioners or offering new Terms. If there be any Thing certain in this, you will know it better than we can for it must have come from New York; but I suspect it has arisen from a Letter Congress has received from the secretary of the Embassy in Spain which says only that the Spanish Court has received Intelligence from London that the English Court had such a Thing in Contemplation & that it was to be determined on Such a Day in the privy Council. The authority is therefore very doubtful.⁵

The Distress of our Finances is the most important & alarming Circumstance in our Situation. A Committee has it under Consideration but whether their Measures will be radical & effectual it is impossible to say. My Opinion is that Relief must come from the particular States & they must do it by giving up Attachment to Paper Money & by Loans & Contracts being in the Credit of individuals to assist the Public. This is the Case in England for all their taxes would be too late, if Monied Men did not Step forth & advance in the meantime what was necessary. I am assured that one of the late

Delegates of Virginia [is gone?] Home⁶ with his own Eyes open & a full Purpose to endeavour to persuade [. . .] of that State in a great Measure to relinquish their absurd Claims & [. . .] Cessions of Land to the united States. If this should be the Case there will be an excellent Fund of Credit. I am sorry to say that a family there⁷ was always a Party strong enough to prevent foreign Loans so now the Prospect of obtaining them seems more dubious than ever.

This Morning or last night an Express arrived with a long Letter from Gov. Rutledge of So. Carolina to the Delegates of that State giving an Account of the position of the Forces on both sides & some little skirmishes. The English have a Post at Camden well fortified & a pretty considerable Garrison in it, another Post at 96, another at Augusta. Lord Cornwallis with the principal force supposed about 10,000 the east side of broad River within I think about 40 Miles of Charlestown. Our forces are in a good many different Bodies round them, Sumpter lower down than they & nearer Charlestown. There is an authentic Account by a Letter from Col. Marrian of his having surprised with 150 Men a Party of the English of 200 in which Encounter about 14 or 15 were killed, between 20 & 30 taken Prisoner & I believe 80 Horses with a considerable Quantity of Arms & Baggage. The Governor also says there was a Report which gained considerable Credit though no Official Accounts have come that Col. Tarlton had attacked Sumpter & was repulsed with great Loss though they did not know the number as they carried off their Dead, that Tarlton himself was mortally wounded & Sumpter our Commander wounded in the Arm but not dangerously & that Sumpter who is a very watchful Officer had learned they were coming against him in great Force & retired some further up the River. Gen. Green had not arrived but was daily looked for. A Colonel (not named) & some Justices had dismissed a great many of the Tories taken on Kings Mountain on their giving Bail for their Appearance at Court & put the Officers on Parole. The Officers broke their Parole & run off & many of the privates again joined the Enemy.

I should be glad to know what our Council & Assembly have done respecting the Supply of the Army & to see the Votes of the Assembly.

The Exchange of Money here is nominally 75 really 100 at least, for hard money itself cannot be bought at less than 100 if for that and the merchants have raised their Goods 25 per cent universally so that what is called the hard money Price at the Exchange is so much advanced as to answer the same purpose as raising the Exchange.

Your Excellency may shew this Letter as it is to the Vice President,⁸ Mr Houston & Dr Scudder. To others I would rather you should communicate what news may be in it in your own Words. I am your Excellencies most obedt., humble Servant,

Jno Witherspoon

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers). Tr (MH-H: Sparks Manuscripts). RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

¹ Not found.

² This resolution of the convention of northern states meeting in Hartford, Conn., was clearly modeled on one adopted by the New York legislature and at the assembly's direction proposed to the convention. See James Duane to George Clinton, November 14, 1780, note 5. The proceedings of the convention had been presented to Congress on December 12. *JCC*, 18:1141; *PCC*, item 33, fols. 391-416.

³ For the appointment of Francis Dana as American envoy to Russia, see Samuel Huntington to Dana, December 20, 1780. Witherspoon was a member of the committee appointed on December 11, with Theodorick Bland and James Duane, to study the desirability of sending an envoy to St. Petersburg, which had been recommended by Arthur Lee. See *JCC*, 18:1139, 1155.

⁴ There is no indication in the journals that a poll of the Congress took place, but Benjamin Franklin's activities were being scrutinized by Congress, and as a result John Laurens and William Palfrey were appointed special envoys to France. For similar doubts of Franklin's capabilities, see James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, November 30, 1780, note 3; John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, December 11, and Thomas McKean to John Adams, December 18, 1780.

⁵ This information was transmitted in a September 25 letter from William Carmichael, who had reported that Spanish officials had "received intelligence" that the Privy Council "would probably" adopt a plan "to send commissioners to treat with Congress." See *JCC*, 18:1132; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:70.

⁶ That is, Joseph Jones, for whose return to Virginia see James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, 1780, note 1.

⁷ That is, the Lee family.

⁸ John Stevens.

Samuel Adams to John Adams

My dear Sir

Philada Decr 17. 1780

I have written several Letters to you & Mr D since the 28th of June when I last arrivd in this City.¹ I think I committed one to the Care of our Friend Mr Laurens, who is unfortunately carried to England. Mr Palfrey, who is the Bearer of this, is appointed Consul in France; and besides his Consular Functions, he has it in Charge to forward such Cloathing, Arms &c as are or may be procured there for the Use of our Troops. Great Exertions have been made the year past, in which old Massachusetts has borne her full Share, to be in Readiness to cooperate with our Ally, in an Attempt to give our Invaders a decisive Blow. But the second Division of the french Squadron being blocked up in Brest, & a Reinforcement to the Enemy arriving from the West Indies, they have had the Superiority at Sea. This was not our only Misfortune; for had the whole naval Force arrivd which we expected, I am inclind to believe we should have faild for Want of a Sufficiency of Powder. By an unpardonable Neglect in some body, that essential Article was not sent, as it ought to have been, in Season. I have called it an unpardonable Neglect. It appears so to me. My Judgment, however, may be too severe.

I confess, I feel much chagrind, while I think that any thing has been omitted, which might have been done, to have finishd the War with a glorious Campaign. But Disappointments, tho vexatious, ought not to disconcert us. They do not. No Difficulties should discourage us in the Support of a Cause, so righteous in the Sight of Heaven as I believe ours to be, and so interesting to Mankind. Our Creator has given us Understanding, Strength of Body and a Country full of Provisions. We must make a good Use of them, hoping that His Blessing will crown our virtuous Struggle. He helps those who make proper Exertions to help themselves. Such Exertions are now making. The States are called upon for an Army of 35,000 Men; and from past Experience of the great Expence; as well as Inutility of temporary Drafts, they are resolvd to have a well appointed Army early in the Field & inlisted for the War. And effectual Measures are taken for the Purpose of providing Magazines in Season for its Subsistence. The People at large, as far as I can learn, are as determind as ever to support their Independence, & for that End to carry on the War with Vigor. If our Ally can furnish us with a decided naval Superiority, I think there will be the fairest Prospect of bringing this great Contest to a happy Conclusion the next year. Altho' the Enemy have gaind the Possession of Charlestown, they have not succeeded to their Wishes in that Quarter. They do not find the People so pliable as they flatterd themselves they should. Notwithstanding Cornwallis's boasting Letter to Lord George of "a compleat Victory obtaind the 16th Instant by His Majesties Troops under my Command, over the rebel southern Army," that brave Army checkd the Progress of the Troops under his Command on the 16th of August;² and the Militia have since, in several Instances, given him ample Proofs of a firm Attachment to the publick Cause, as well as Bravery and Alertness which he did not expect, and which I beleive have disconcerted their general Plan. The Hands of those People, if not already, will very soon be taught to war & their Fingers to fight.

Arnolds Conspiracy was to have wrought Wonders but gracious Heaven defeated it. We have so often seen in the Course of this Conflict, the remarkable Interpositions of divine Providence in our favor, as to convince me, that the Attempts of our Enemies to subdue us, will be but gnawing a File.

Your publick Letters have been well receivd. I have been favord with only two from you since you left Boston.³ One was deliverd to me by my worthy patriotick Friend Mr A Lee, & the other by the ViCount de Noailles, who lately spent a few Days in this City. He appears to be a most amiable young Nobleman; & I believe you have not said too much in the great Character you have given him. The very short time he stayd here & the Business I have been engagd in, prevented me the Honor, which I very much covett'd, of conversing with him frequently.

Congress have appointed Colo John Laurens Envoy extraordinary at the Court of Versailles, & Mr Dana will be regularly informd that he is to go to Russia.

Before I conclude I must let you know, that the Ship which was set up in Massachusetts while you was there, and which, it was proposd, should be named, the *Oceana*, has since been compleatly finishd and is now afloat. Her Materials are acknowledgd to be of the best kind, & well put together.⁴ It is said she will make a prime Sailor if not too taunt masted. Others say, that the Construction of her Hull is such as to require a lofty Sail. There are many Speculations about her. As I am not a Judge in the Matter, I am prudently silent & hear the opinions of those who are Commissioners. All agree that her owners have much at Stake, & that [it] will be a very great oversight in them if they should ever risque her with unskilfull or unprincipled Officers or Pilots.

My due Regards to Mr Dana, & be assured that I am very cordially
his & your Friend, S A.

FC (NN: Samuel Adams Papers).

¹ Only Samuel Adams' July 10, 1780, letter to John has been found, and none to Francis Dana.

² That is, during the battle of Camden, S.C.

³ Apparently John's letters of February 23 and March 18, which were sent respectively by Arthur Lee and the vicomte de Noailles. John's letterbook also contains letters to Samuel of February 28 and March 4, 1780, which were sent by other means. Adams Papers, MHi.

⁴ That is, the Massachusetts government established under its new constitution, which had been largely drafted by John Adams during his last stay in Massachusetts in 1779.

Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson

Sr.

Philadelph. Decr. 17th 1780

Yr. Excellency will I hope excuse the liberty I take to Introduce to you the Marquis de La Valle and the Count de Guistine¹ two Noblemen of distinction the latter a Brigadier in the Army of France and the former a Colonel—of the House of Montmorenci—they have been introduced to me by the Minister of France and the Marquis de la Fayette. I doubt not but that the Civilities they will meet with from the Principal Gentlemen of our state will under your Excellencys Influence be such as their High rank, and the Zealous part they have taken in our Cause Intitles them to, and will make favorable and lasting impressions to our advantage.

Those reasons Independant of the knowldge I have of Yr. Excellys. personal disposition to treat Merit with distinction and to extend the rights of Hospitality to its utmost limits will plead my excuse for giving

you this trouble, and for assuring you that I am with perfect respect,
Yr. Excys, most obedt. & obliged Humbe. St.

Theok. Bland

Tr (DLC: Burnett Collection).

¹ That is, Anne-Alexandre-Marie-Sulpice-Joseph de Montmorency, marquis de Laval (1747-1826), and Adam-Philippe, comte de Custine-Sarreck (1740-93). For the letters of introduction to Jefferson from the French minister, La Luzerne, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:215.

Samuel Huntington to John Adams

Sir, Philadelphia December 18. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, a Duplicate of my Letter of the 30th of July, with a List of the original Letters and Duplicates which I have had the Honor to receive from you since that Time.¹

The Pleasure & Satisfaction which I have received from the Perusal of those Letters, especially that of the 26th of June with the Despatches accompanying it, makes me lament the Want of Leisure to answer your Correspondence. But Necessity compells me to confide in the Committee of foreign Affairs to give you the needful and particular Intelligence from this Part of the World. It is expected a Secretary for foreign Affairs will soon be established, and constantly devoted to the Business proper for such Department; which will remedy many Disadvantages we at present labour under.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & Respect, sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Huntington's list of Adams' letters has not been found, but the journals indicate that letters of the following dates had been received by Congress since his letter to Adams of July 30. *JCC*, 17:685, 749, 798, 803, 18:817, 841, 853, 1072, 1095, 1107, 1116, 1149.

March 8, 10, 12, 14, 14, 20, 24, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30

April 3, 10, 29

May 8, 8, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28

June 1, 2, 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 12, 16, 17, 17, 26, 29

August 22, 23, 24

September 4, 24, 25.

Except for those of May 28 and August 24, these letters are in PCC, item 84; and most of them are in Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:539-824 *passim*, 4:36-38, 41-42, 45, 66-69.

Samuel Huntington to John Jay

Sir,

Philadelphia December 18. 1780

Since writing my Letter of the 6th of October last¹ (a Copy of which is enclosed) I have been honored with yours of July 10th & September 16th;² by the latter I am happy to find that we may expect soon to receive further & more particular Intelligence from you.

Congress, it is probable, will soon establish an Office for foreign Affairs, to be managed by an Officer stiled Secretary for foreign Affairs, who will be constantly devoted to the Business of that Department, which it is to be hoped will remedy many Disadvantages we have hitherto laboured under, and give our Ministers at foreign Courts more frequent, better & earlier Intelligence than they have hitherto received from us.

In the Course of the last Campaign the Enemy at New York have been pretty much confined under the Protection of their Ships and Fortifications. The Particulars of their Eruption into the Jerseys under Kniphausen, and the repulse they met with, you must have been informed of before this.

The Enemy from Canada have repeatedly attacked the western & northern Frontiers of New York, by the Way of the Mowhawk river and Lake Champlain, marking their route with their usual Devastation, but were soon compelled to retreat with Precipitation.

Since the unfortunate Action near Camden and retreat of General Gates, our People, principally Militia of the Southern States, have been frequently skirmishing successfully with the Enemy, and have driven in most of their out Posts. The brilliant Success of the Militia over Colonel Ferguson at Kings Mountain, you must have learnt from the Papers. The Enemy from the last Intelligence were in Possession of Camden and some other inland Posts in South Carolina. Should they not be reinforced soon, it is probable they must have recourse to their old Practice of retiring to the Sea Coast under the Protection of their Shipping. General Greene by Order of Congress hath taken Command of the southern Army, which will be reinforced so as to make a respectable Army in the Course of the Winter. We are waiting and wishing for a naval Force to command the American Seas; and with the Smiles of Providence might soon expect in that Case to expell the Enemy from the United States.

Necessity obliges me to confide in the Committee for foreign Affairs to give you the needful and more particular Intelligence.

Please to make my Compliments acceptable to your Lady & believe me to be with sincere Esteem & regard, sir, your most obedient & humble servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (NNC: Jay Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington. Endorsed by Jay: "Recd. 13 March 1781. ansd. 21 Apr. 1781."

¹ See Huntington to George Washington, October 6, 1780, note 1.

² *JCC*, 18:931, 1120. Copies of Jay's letters are in *PCC*, item 110, 1:182-84, 189-90; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:843-44, 4:59.

Thomas McKean to John Adams

Dear Sir, Philadelphia Decemr. 18th. 1780.

My letter of Novemr. 8th. 1779¹ by John Lowell Esquire in answer to your favor of the 20th Septemr preceding, did not, I fear, get to hand previous to your departure from Boston. However I hope you have received it.

Congress have a few days ago appointed Colo. Palfrey, late Paymaster General to be Consul for the United States in France, with considerable powers over their commercial business in particular to forward all supplies for the army; which have been hitherto unaccountably delayed and neglected. Young Colo. Laurens is also just appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Versailles, with a view to solicit a loan of about a million Sterling, and additional naval aids, from our great & good Ally His Most Christian Majesty. I wish them success, tho' I fear we have not fallen upon the most likely way of obtaining the loan; the appointment of an Envoy on this occasion seems to imply a want of confidence in our Minister's attention, abilities or something else; however I hope it may not be construed in that light, but rather considered as an evidence of our earnestness in the business.

We seem now to be carrying on a war of finance; the States are therefore jointly and severally entering into it with great zeal, and I do not fear but we shall get the better of our enemies even in this sort of contest. We have a great plenty of every thing but specie, & military stores. We can readily furnish them with provisions & pay and are pretty well stored with arms & ammunition; cloathing is our principal want. Our friends abroad must assist us with some money and clothes.

Since General Gates's disappointment at Cambden (owing to the then inexperience of the Militia in that Country) our affairs to the Southward wear a more favorable aspect. The Militia afterwards became ashamed, grew almost desperate, and have beaten the Enemy where ever they met them; with equal numbers they attacked a Body of near 1200 under Colo. Ferguson at Kings-Mountain, killed the Colonel and about 250 more & took all the rest prisoners, except about 15, or 20 at the most; Major Weymiss of the British Horse was wounded & taken prisoner, together with 25 of his cavalry, and a number killed, by a party under Brigadier General Sumpter of the Militia of South Carolina; who have since that, it is just reported and believed, attacked Colo. Tarlton's Legion, mortally wounded

the Colonel, killed near 100 and taken 112 prisoners. All is quiet in the neighbourhood of New-York. The Enemy seem to bend their whole attention and force to the Southward. They had detached 2000 men to Portsmouth in Virginia under General A. Lesley, with a view of forming a junction with Lord Cornwallis; but being totally deceived in that expectation, after staying in that neighbourhood upwards of three weeks, making a small fortification there, burning some churches & dwelling houses according to their custom, they re-embarked on the 23d last month, intending it is supposed for Cape-Fear in North Carolina, but we have as yet no certain accounts of their landing. So much for news. You should have more, but the Bearer, Mr. John Benezet,² purposing to sail early tomorrow morning prevents it.

Permit me, Sir, to introduce this Gentlemen to your acquaintance. He proposes to reside for some time in France, as a Merchant; he is one of a considerable House here, has been a staunch Whig from the first dawn of the contest, and has always bore the character of a sensible & polite Gentleman.

I am, dear Sir, Your most obedient & very humble servant,

[P.S.] Be so good as to present my very respectful compliments to Mr. Dana.

FC (Phi: McKean Papers). In the hand of Thomas McKean.

¹ See these *Letters*, 14:162-63.

² John Benezet, merchant and business agent for William Bingham, was lost at sea during this voyage. See Samuel Huntington to John Benezet, March 9, 1780, note 1; and Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage. The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), p. 101.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia Decemr 18th 1780

The Avarice of Connecticut & the Jealousy of Pensylvania have brought on a Dispute which could not be Settled but by a Resolution for your Excellency to relieve the present Garrison of Wyoming with Troops not Drawn from the Line of Either of Said States.—Leaving it in your Descretion to Determine whether a Garrison was necessary at that Place. A full persuasion that you wish to Exercise this & Every other Discretionary Power for the Publick good Induces me to take the Liberty of offering my opinions which is That if a Garrison is not maintained at that place, The Indians by having the River Free for their Canoes will Cut off all the Inhabitants at Wyoming: on the west Branch of Susquehannah and all the Frontier Settlers Down to Easton. This from my knowledge of the Country appears to be the inevitable Consequence of removing the Garrisons. Your

Excellency will give This Hint Such weight as it may appear to merit
& believe me to be with the most zealous attachment, Your
Excellencys most obedt Servt, Jno. Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For this December 12 resolution attempting to mollify the contending Pennsylvania and Connecticut partisans in the Wyoming Valley, see Samuel Huntington to Washington, December 16, 1780.

Oliver Wolcott to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia 18 Decr. 1780

The Most Material Matters which have been transacted in Congress Since my Arrival¹ has been an Appointment of an Envoy to the Court of France, and a Vote to Send a Minister to the Court of Russia. The Expediency of Sending an Envoy to the Court of France was much doubted of by a Number of Gentlemen—As Nothing was proposed to be transacted of that particularity and Importance but what might properly be done by our Residentiary Minister at that Court. That the Measure might excite wrong and Very improper Apprehensions. That it might be understood by Dr Franklin and the World in general as wearing an Appearance unfavourable to his Character, which while he was in so Important an Office Prudence as well as Justice Oblidged us to Support. That instead of an Envoy Our Minister in France ought to have the Aid of an Active intelligent Secretary, an Aid which every other Minaster in less important Service had been furnished with. But upon a Division it was carryed And Col Laurens a Gentleman it is Said of real Abilities is charged with this Commission. The Vote to Send a Minister to Russia met but with little opposition upon the Consideration of the Influence of that Court upon the General Affairs of Europe and as paying a Respect to a Princiss of the greatest Dignity. Mr Dana may probably be Sent to that Court.² Mr J Adams is charged with the Commission which the late President Laurens was to Execute.³

Mr. Williams writes from France that the Reason why no more of the Cloathing has not been Sent has been owing to a Quarrel between Capt. Landais and Some of our other Officers.⁴ The Occasion of this Delay will be enquired into. The Rest of the Supplies may probably soon be in America.

Mr. Vergennes wrote to Mr J Adams then in Paris with Regard to the Measure adopted by Congress for cancelling their Currency at a Discount, & Manifested Some Apprehensions he had, that Congress might not be able to Vindicate the Justice of the Measure. Mr. Adams I think returned a Very convincing Answer in which

in a particular Manner he Stated the true Principles upon which Congress proceeded, and in my Apprehension clearly shewed that Justice dictated the Measure. It is presumed that the Minister will be Satisfied with the Propriety of the Act. No unfavourable Symtoms Appear which indicate any Want of Cordiality in that Court. Your Excellency has probably heard that the Count de Sartine is removed from the Marine Department.⁵ The Reasons for this are not known, it is Said that this Gentleman had no professional Acquaintance with Naval Affairs, and that the most perfect Amity had not Subsisted between him and the Count de Estaing.

We have pretty undoubted Information that Portugal has Acceded to the Plan of Neutrality proposed by Russia.

There is a very probable Account that Sr Harry Clinton has Sent to the British Court for Ten Thousand additional Troops or that he might be permitted to Return Home, that this Court have Signified to him their intire Approbation of his Conduct, and have it is Said determined to Send him the Succours asked for to carry on their Military Operations to the Southward.

By Accounts from the Southward We learn that our affairs there, are becoming more prosperous—Small Advantages are pritty frequently gained upon the Enemy. Lord Cornwallis Apprehends it Seems that he can put no Confidence in the People who have recd. his Protection, in this probably he is not Mistaken, this has induced him to Excercise a Most Severe Government over them, which has Occasioned Many of those People to join our Troops. Every Defection increases his Severity which has a proportionable Influence upon the People and as they will find the Government perfectly insupportable it is to be hoped that Exertions will be made by them adequate to repel the Violence which oppresses them.

Your Excellency has probably been informed that a rapid Depretiation of the old Bills had taken place in this Town, this Occasioned the Inhabitants to Meet, who paid the Discount at 75 for one—the immediate Consequence of this was an Advance of the Specie Price upon all Vendables—so that not the least Advantage has been derived from the Measure. The practical Discount is about one hundred for one. What seems to have been the immediate Cause of the Depretiation has been a Vast Influx of the Bills from the Southward. In S. Carolina & Georgia they can be but of little use, in N. Carolina who have not yet Adopted the Money System of Congress, they are Very low, but yet pass at twice the Value of a late State Emission which they have issued. In Virginia who it is said are issuing a State Emission the Depretiation is also Very great. This Occasions the Money to be brought here to Exchange or realize. These Causes will probably Continue to Operate for some Time as the old Money is but a Very little of it Yet cancelled, and a large part of Taxes paid in Certificates and State Emissions Made. I believe

there are none of the New Bills of Congress Emitted South of the Jersys. This State have put out a few of them and made them a Tender at 75 for one. Pensylvania are about to pass an Act relative to the New Money System. What will be the Ultimate Fate of the New Bills cannot be known absolutely but upon tryal. The State Emissions of Connecticut, Pensylvania and Maryland which were well funded now pass in the Relation to the old Bills one for forty. Bills of Exchange Sell here at 75 per Cent. I suppose this is nearly the Case in all the States. An Evidence that there is no high Demand for Specie for commercial Purposes Abroad—or that Bills of Exchange are plenty. I suppose that they must continue So while a French Fleet and Army are in this Country and while Congress at the same Time continue to draw upon their Commissioners in Europe. Upon those Principles But little Specie will go from Us except what Shall be clandestinely Sent to N York which will not probably be Very great, and which upon every Principle ought to be totally prevented. The large Expenditure of Specie by the French Army and Navy in the Country, and but Very little of it Sent Abroad will Rapidly Increase the Quantity—And may probably if continued but for even a Short Time produce a Redundancy especially, in the Northern States. That will be a Cause of Luxury, Dissipation and Injustice.

The Doings of the Convention who met at Hartford are in the Hands of a Committee.⁶ The Object of Finance will come under Consideration. But the Effect of these Deliberations will probably be Slow and perhaps Unproductive. We have No Money in the Continental Chest—and have but a little Prospect of having it Supplied. As the Post is going out of Town shall only add that Since Writing the above Some Alteration has been made by Congress in the Slate of their New Ministers—And Mr Dana is appointed for Russia.⁷ I am Your Excellencys Most Obedt. Servant,
Oliver Wolcott

P.S. Before I close up my Letter I cannot but Express the Chagrin that almost every Man must feel on Reflecting that the old Bills which are fit but for little Else but to Make the Tail of a Paper Kite with at least their Value May not be worth more than 500,000 £ Sterling Should so extremely Imbarrass our Affairs, And that it seems to be an Evil which will probably continue for a long Time to Oppress Us in the way in which We are proceeding. Congress will consider the Object of Finance as a Very Delicate Affair as it truly is. Every one is interested in the Subject—And the Opinions of Mankind in Regard to it are Very different. To Do Justice to the Possessors of the Bills to Obviate the Misschief, which they Occasion and to Maintain the Honour and Reputation of the Publick in Regard to those Objects, are Difficulties of a peculiar Nature. Congress have been so much Criminated for what they have already done upon this

Head, that it Appears to Me they will depend upon the Efficacy of the Measures already Adopted, the Certainty of which is pritty precarious—when it is considered how little of the old Money is cancelled. How farr individual States may proceed in this Business I cannot Say—at present the War is and must be supported by an Exertion individually exerted.

As I have thot it my Duty to give your Excellency every Information in Regard to the general State of Affairs here and to the Southward—I could Wish that the present Oppertunity would have Allowed me Time to have Done it in a more Correct Manner.

Your Excellencys humble Servt.

O Wolcott

[P.S.] Col Root's Son has the Small Pox and he tells Me he Shall not chuse to Write least possibly some Accident may happen.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ Wolcott had resumed his place in Congress on November 29, after a two-year absence. *JCC*, 18:1105.

² See note 7 below; and Samuel Huntington to Francis Dana, December 20, 1780.

³ Congress did not formally make this decision until December 29, although the committee report on which this appointment was based was submitted on December 6. See *JCC*, 18:1124, 1204; and Huntington to John Adams, January 1, 1781.

⁴ Jonathan Williams' October 17 letter was read in Congress on December 11. See *JCC*, 18:1141; and *PCC*, item 78, 24:267-70.

⁵ See James Madison to Joseph Jones, December 12, 1780, note 9.

⁶ See John Witherspoon to William Livingston, December 16, 1780, note 2.

⁷ As Francis Dana was elected minister to Russia on December 19, Wolcott probably completed this letter the 19th. See *JCC*, 18:1166.

Abraham Clark to Elias Dayton

Dear Sir,

Philada. Decr. 19, 1780

I but lately recd. your favour of the 13th ulto. Am Sorry you should think any Neglect towards you hath ever appeared in my Conduct. Congress is impressed with the necessity of Observing Oeconomy in the public expenses and having been formerly too profuse in the promotion of officers determined to stop their hand. They say N. Jersey hath one Major Genl. and by the Reduction proposed we shall have but two Regim'ts. What prospect have I then of obtaining another Genl. officer. Before the reduction was agreed to I moved it, but found the subject disagreeable; since the rect. of your Letter I have Consulted such as I thought most in your favour and met with but little encouragement. We have had no recommendations for this measure either from the Genl., the Legislature, or even the brigade. You mention the promotion of Genl. <Greene> Gist and Morgan, but their appointments were in consequence of requests from Maryland and Virginia. This cannot be offered in your favour.

I see the Embarrassment the Subject is under; If I move an Appointment at present I shall fail in obtaining it; And if you leave the Service in Col. Ogden's favour (which is a matter being a family affair I can say nothing about) you will afterwards be necessarily excluded. Genl. Sullivan hath Wrote to the Genl. desiring his Opinion in some general matters respecting promotions of general officers¹ and desired me to postpone any proposals respecting you, till he recd. an answer,² which not having recd. I am left at uncertainties and tho' Time draws very near when some one of our three Colo's must leave the service, Mr. Houston some time ago went to Trenton and proposed to consult our Legislature and Obtain a request from them for a Brigade. I formerly wrote to them to the same purpose, but hear nothing from them or Mr. Houston on the subject. Thus stands the matter. I wish the arrangem't of our Brigade could be postponed a short season only from a possibility that some favourable Occurrence might offer in your favour.³

I am Dear Sir Your Obedt. Humble Servt.

Abra. Clark

Tr (DLC: Burnett Collection). Copied for Edmund C. Burnett from the original owned by James H. Manning, Albany, N.Y.

¹ See John Sullivan to George Washington, November 29, 1780.

² For Washington's views on the promotion of general officers, see his December 17 reply to Sullivan and a similar December 20 letter to Congress, Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:488-91, 501-505.

³ Clark had been endeavoring to obtain Colonel Dayton's promotion since 1777, but Dayton was not made brigadier general until January 1783. See these *Letters*, 6:414n.2.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Decr. 19th 1780

As you are entitled to a Wife's Portion of Mr. A's Honors & Satisfactions I inclose for your Reading some Papers to be afterwards forwarded to Holland.¹ I do not intend to have any of my future Letters to Mr. A— thrown overboard unless they are specially so directed on the Cover. I chalenge any body to tell the Contents truly. The letters of Mr. Luzerne are never sunk. I am told the Enemy have another Mail of ours or yours, this prevents my giving you such Explanations of my private Letter to Mr. A as I at first intended. I will only say that he has most ably and with *becoming Dignity* supported our Plan of March 18 without *much* piquing any great Minister. If you had not bantered me so more than once about my generally-enigmatic manner, and appeared so averse to cyphers I would have long ago enabled you to tell Mr. A some Things which you have most probably omitted, as well as to satisfy your Eve on

the present Occasion. I will a little enlarge by *Mr. Penny* in a few days and send you a Key to use upon such Occasions as you may have from Mr. A or to him.² I am told Letters from Holland have been thrown from Vessels now arrived at Boston when only chased. Those losses at least might be avoided.

It is possitively said to be a Post *from hence* Novr. 21 that has been robbed. In that Case *I suppose* you have lost a Letter from Mr. Adams covered by a few Lines from me.³ We did on the 20th receive a Packet from Mr. A. and I see by my Almanack that on the 20th and 21st I wrote to many.

20th. Clarke & Nightingale, *Isaac Smith*, Mrs. L[ovell], Jemmy Jnr., Josa. Tho[ma]s, Doctr. Holten, Mr. Gerry.⁴

21. Mrs. L[ovell], Doctr. Whitwell, *Mrs. Adams*, Govr. Hancock, Mr. S. Gridley.⁵

I *hope* I gave the Letter for you to the Gentleman who must have carried those for Clarke & Nightingale and Mr. Smith but I really cannot recollect. I forwarded another to you on the 30th.⁶

The long Letter in the Advertizer is one of Mr. A's among the many that do him great honor.⁷ But I really think the Essence would have been the printing of it in a London Paper at the Time it was written.

I am, my dear Madam, yours respectfully, J L

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:36-37.

¹ These enclosures were probably letters for John Adams from the Committee for Foreign Affairs of December 12, from Lovell of December 14, and from Samuel Huntington of December 18, 1780.

² Lovell sent no such "Key" to Abigail, but his January 8, 1781, letter contains a reference to her Cranch family in-laws which he apparently expected her to understand as that key (i.e., *Cranch*), for which see Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:63n.7, 393-99.

³ Not found, but for this captured "post," see the document note at John Sullivan to Meshech Weare, November 15, 1780.

⁴ Only Lovell's letter to Elbridge Gerry has been found.

⁵ Only Lovell's letter to John Hancock has been found.

⁶ See Lovell to Abigail Adams, November 27 and 30, 1780.

⁷ The "long Letter in the Advertizer" was John Adams' June 2, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington, which was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertizer*, December 19, 1780.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Gerry secret Decr. 19th. 1780

The *little Gentleman*¹ is commissioned *Minister* for Russia. I do not like the measure because I think it superfluous, after some proceedings which have been forwarded to *all* plenipoes. I fear he will find himself distressed on this Occasion two Ways—the Weight of the Business in itself—and the Want of the wherewith.

I wish yr. particular attention to the Scrawl which I have superscribed to Doctr. Holten.² Yours affectionately.

James Lovell

RC (NHi: Gerry Papers).

¹ That is, Francis Dana. See Samuel Huntington to Dana, December 20, 1780.

² See Lovell's letter to Samuel Holten, this date, which discusses several subjects of undoubted concern to Gerry, including the capture of Lovell's November 20, 1780, letter to Gerry, and Massachusetts' representation in Congress.

James Lovell to John Hancock

Sir

Decr. 19. 1780

As I have mentioned to Doctor Holten the Capture of one of my Letters to your Excellency on the 21st of November, I suspect you will think that there might be something in it which may prove detrimental to the Public.¹ I take this Occasion to inform you that the Letter was only to acknowledge the Rect. of yours covering one from Mr. Gridley to inform you of the Steps I had taken and the Power given to the Admiralty to take Order respecting the Draught. Capt. Chew's accounts having been settled by the eastern Navy Board I suppose they will have order to accept or refuse the Bill according to the Lights which they may have beyond us in this Business; and that they will also be told how they are to pay the Draught when accepted.²

I also took that opportunity to express my Wishes for your Success in your late Advancement preferring an accidental mode to one in which an express formal Attempt would wear the Face of Sycophancy.

I am out of Patience in Regard to our Post-Management. Letters must be insignificant or our affairs must be risqued Weekly. I am, your Excellencys, very humble Servant. James Lovell

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

¹ See the following entry, and Lovell to Hancock, November 21, 1780.

² See Lovell to Hancock, November 21, 1780, note 2.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Decr. 19, 1780.

I was unable on the last postday to thank you for yr. favor of Novr. 23d—then, thro' want of time—now, I am scarcely able thro' much Indisposition of Body to notice largely all the Points to which you expect my attention. As to Bermuda you seem to have conversed more with merchants who own Privateers than with Politicians who

know the great Portion of our friends in Bermuda above our Enemies a Portion which ought not to *be driven* into the mode of fitting out Cruisers who would be as troublesome to us as they were to the french formerly. As to the Duck in the Agents hands orders have been given. As to the Resolve of Novr. 21/22 respecting our Delegation, Circumstances at this moment make Remarks very requisite.¹

I have been ill 4 days tho' I have had a pen in my hand all the Time in my Chamber. Genl. Ward is quite unwell, he has attended Congress & the Bd. of War while he ought to have been in his Bed Room. Mr. Adams is not out, I fear he is also unwell. It was to make up a Delegation that I have risked myself this very vile day. Questions on European important Concerns are agitating; and single Voices serve several States, as always heretofore. I do not mention this because I am averse to the Rule of our State that 2 should be the least to give her Vote here especially when she directed 5 or 4 to attend "*upon the Duties of the Delegation.*" Nay if she does not enjoin *that* upon more than 3. But when she makes 3 necessary "*to give the Voice of the State*" she puts a great hardship upon 3 when only 3 are *attending the Duties of their Delegation* and runs a treble Risque beyond several States of losing her Vote here daily. Mass. has been at extraordinary Expense beyond many states in furnishing heads and hands to perform Congress Drudgery, and her members have more of the Work of standing Boards & Committees than most others, because their Residence has been more usually permanent; This has exposed her to lose a Vote when she has made *numbers* necessary to give it. One of her Delegates may often render tenfold Service on the Board or Comtee. of which he is a member by serving an entire day on it than by being in Congress merely as a *make-vote*. You well know these things by your past Sufferings, and Mr. Gerry has felt them at the Peril of his Life. Whatever may have been the Intention of a remarkable Variety in the Course of 4 years respecting the *Voice* of Mass. here, I do believe that in the present Case the Words do not speak the Intentions of the Movers of the Resolve. I am so persuaded of that, as to determine not to present the latter Vote to Congress with the proceedings of Oct. 4, more especially if one of us here shall be unwell;—till I hear more from you. I am almost determined not to write any more to you for either my Letters must be quite insignificant or I must tell Tales to the Enemy. 10 or 11 of those I wrote Novr. 20 & 21 are gone into N. Yk. Among them those to Mr. Gerry (inclosing one I think from Mr. J. Adams), Doctr. Holten, Doctr Whitwell, Mrs. Adams (inclosing one certainly from her Husband), Govr. Hancock, Mr. S. Gridley with my Rhode Island & Family Letters.² I am told two mails from hence are laying at Fish-kill. There are some immense Genii in the Post office Department but I am told they say the Faults of Congress marr their Plans. Yr. Friend and h. servt.

James Lovell

Reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 222-23. RC (DLC: Holten Papers). Final page missing.

¹ By "the Resolve of Novr. 21/22," the Massachusetts General Court required "the Attendance of three Delegates to represent this Commonwealth in Congress the Resolve of the 4th October to the Contrary notwithstanding." Records of the Massachusetts Senate, November 21-22, 1780, p. 58, DLC (ESR). For the Massachusetts delegates' suppression of this resolve and presentation of only that of October 4, which allowed two delegates to represent the state in Congress, see *JCC*, 19:4-5; and Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, February 27, 1781.

² Of these "10 or 11," only Lovell's November 20 letter to Elbridge Gerry and November 21 letter to John Hancock have been found.

James Madison to Joseph Jones

Dear Sir, Philadelphia, December 19th, 1780

Yours of the eighth instant¹ came to hand yesterday. I was sorry to find the Assembly had not then taken up the recommendation of Congress on the subject of the western lands. Its being postponed so late will, I fear, prevent the result of their deliberations from being communicated to Maryland before the rising of their Legislature; in which case much time must be lost, unless their Delegates be authorized to accede to the Confederation, on a cession satisfactory to themselves,—a liberality of proceeding hardly to be expected from that State, after the jealousy and reserve it has shown. I am no less sorry to find so little progress made in the plan for levying soldiers. it seems, contributed by Virginia, the North Carolina Assembly having broken up without making any effectual provision of that sort. One would have supposed that the fatiguing service exacted of the militia in that State, would have greatly facilitated such a measure, and yet that is assigned as the obstacle to its practicability.

I wish anxiously to hear from you on the subject stated in my letter by Grayson, and in my subsequent one by the post.² Circumstances which I do not choose unnecessarily to hazard by the post, have made it expedient to lay the matter before the Assembly, that their former instructions may not be invalidated by a supposed effect of a change of situation, or may be rescinded if real. This went by W. Jones, Esquire, on his return to North Carolina, who, I suppose, will not be at Richmond till nearly Christmas. I wish it could have reached the Assembly before your leaving it.

MS not found; reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:249.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

² The "subject stated" in Madison's November 25 letter "by Grayson" and his December 5 letter "by the post" concerned new instructions from the Virginia legislature on the free navigation of the Mississippi River, for which see the Georgia Delegates' Proposed Resolutions, November 18, note; and Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, December 13, 1780.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Decr. 19th. 1780

You preserve your character for punctuality so well that I always have the pleasure to begin with acknowledging the receipt of a favor from you. That of the 11 instant¹ came to hand yesterday. As the sufferings of your Militia are ascribed to the conduct of their Commanding Officer, I hope the disgust will be only local. A general disgust would be a very serious misfortune.

We are informed from good Authority that an embarkation is taking place at N. York.² From the number of Regiments & Corps mentioned, it probably consists of about 4000 troops. Knyphausen & Philips it is said are to have the command of them. Their course will without doubt be directed to the Southern States.

We have a probable story from the Southward, corroborated by a paper from N. York, that Tarlton has had an encounter with Sumpter, in which he lost upwards to 100 men including the wounded, & received a mortal wound himself. Sumpter is said to have been wounded but slightly and to have lost one man only. The personal wound of Tarlton is omitted in the N. Y. Paper, but his loss otherwise is represented as greater than our own account makes it.

I am Dr Sr. Yrs. sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:250.

¹ Ibid., p. 234.

² The "good Authority" was undoubtedly the commander-in-chief, whose December 13 letter concerning the New York "embarkation" had been read in Congress the previous day. See *JCC*, 18:1156; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:468-69.

Samuel Adams to John Adams

My dear Sir.

Philadelphia Decr. 20 1780

Mr. Palfrey is just embarking, so I have only a few Moments to inform you, that I have this Morning been conversing with an old Man and an old Whig, who has all his Days been an Inhabitant of South Carolina & Georgia.¹ He was taken Prisoner last Summer & carried to New York, from whence he lately came to this Place. And though his Fortune would enable him to live here at Ease, he thinks he can be useful to America by returning to that Part of it, and at the Age of 73 [has] undertaken the long Journey. He has always mixed with the People of those States, & is well acquainted with their Temper & Sentiments. He also has been much among the Indians & is greatly beloved by them. This Account I have had of him often from the Delegates of Georgia & others whom I can confide in. The

old Gentleman tells me that the People of those States are in general firmly attachd to the American Cause, & most fervently deprecate their being finally seperated from the United States. His Soul was refreshd to hear me say that I did not apprehend any Danger of it—that the Idea would, in my Opinion, be abominated by the Eastern States, and, as far as I could judge, by all the rest. He says, that the Creeks & the Chictaws, which are the most numerous tribes of Indians, consisting of at least 8 perhaps 10 thousand gunmen, are our staunch Friends. The Heads of them have lately spoken to him in this Language, “We stand [on] the same Ground with you, we drink the same Water & breathe the same Air, we are the Trees, you are the Buds, & can there be Fruit if the Buds are nipped off.” These are forceable Words, which express their own Sense of the *Necessity* of their Union with us for their very Existence. They are as sagacious as well as a powerfull People, & an Alliance & Friendship with them is of Importance to all the United States. The People, of whatever Nation, who shall possess Georgia & South Carolina, will be the *Leaves of their Trees*. It is my Opinion, that even a Thought of leaving the Inhabitants of those States to be subject to any foreign Power, who so gallantly defended themselves in the Begining of this Contest, & have lately sufferd so much for the Sake of *American Liberty*, would not only be unjust to them, but in a high Degree impolitick.

In every View we see the Necessity of a sufficient Naval Force. A few Ships of War at the Bar of Charles town, & a Frigate or two in Stono River, might at this time effect the Recovery of that City. I need not inform *you*, what an Effect the Sight of a Sixty Gun Ship would probably have at Penobscott. Do not our Enemies conceive the Idea of *Uti possidetis*? And Can there be Peace in America while Britain holds a Foot of Ground in any Part of it?

Adieu,

S A

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ Undoubtedly Jonathan Bryan, for whom see these *Letters*, 13:218–19; and Isaac Motte to Thomas Bee, November 28, 1780.

Thomas Burke to John Adams

Dr. Sir

Philadelphia Decr. 20th 1780

Presuming on our former acquaintance, while we served together in Congress, I take the liberty of introducing to you Mr. John Benezet¹, of this City, who proposes to visit you at Amsterdam. I hope you will find him, what he is esteemed here, and I believe him to be, an honest, Sensible, inteligent gentleman, and most unequivocally attached to his Country. I shall not sollicit for him

your attention and regard. I know he will deserve them; and I know you too well to doubt, in that case, his obtaining them.

Having lately left the Scene where our affairs labor under the greatest difficulties, I mean the southern department, it will probably not be disagreeable to you to know my Sentiments relative to them. Some Events, it is true, were unfortunate, but to me, they Seemed rather the result of Misconduct, and a precipitation that contemned all precaution, than of weakness. Nothing can be a stronger proof of that determined, unconquerable Spirit, which Animates all America, than what appeared in the State of North Carolina immediately on the defeat of General Gates near Campbden. The rout of his army was as compleat as can be imagined. The utter loss of Tents, Wagons, and every Camp Necessary made it impossible for his Troops to keep the field. Want of magazines, which, through some defects in the Staff departments, had been neglected, rendered it almost impossible to collect the Scattered Soldiers. Appearances could not be more desperate. Even the General gave up all hopes of defending the Country, and thought of nothing but the Safety of the remains of his regular Army. But, under all those Circumstances, the People, tho laboring under all the distresses inseperable from an unprovided Soldiery, flew to Arms with the greatest alacrity; resolving that the Enemy should not find their Country an Easy prey if even they should not be able, finally, to withstand them. They had the Success that such spirit in a people will always Command. They obtained a most compleat victory over one of the principal divisions of the British Army, with Numbers much inferior to those they Conquered. They harrassed the other division with incessant skirmishes, until they obliged them to retreat a considerable distance into South Carolina. The war may impoverish and distress us: we may be many times unsuccessful. Our armies may be dispersed: our finances deranged, but a people, pervaded by such a spirit as animates all America, never can be Conquered.

I refer you to some other Correspondent for details. The spirit of the people appears to me, and, I am persuaded to you also, of far more interesting Consequence.

I am Sr with much regard and Esteem, Your obedt. Set.
Tho Burke

FC (Nc-Ar: Burke Papers). In the hand of Thomas Burke.

¹ See Thomas McKean to Adams, December 18, 1780, note 2.

Samuel Huntington to Francis Dana

Sir, Philada December 20. 1780

You will receive herewith enclosed, a Commission appointing you one Minister to the Court of Petersburg, with Instructions for your Government in the important Mission with which you are entrusted, as also a Letter of Credence to her Imperial Majesty the Empress of all the Russias; to be delivered when you shall be openly received in your public Character at that Court.¹

I have also enclosed a Copy of the Letter of Credence for your Perusal and Information.

Provided you proceed to the Court of Petersburg you will draw on Doctor Franklin for fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling for one Year's Salary, agreeable to the resolve of Congress of this Day herewith enclosed.²

With the warmest Wishes for your Prosperity, an honorable & successful Execution of your Mission

I am dear Sir, yours &c, &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For the decision to send a minister to Russia, and Dana's appointment, commission, instructions, and letter of credence, see *JCC*, 18:1155, 1164, 1166-73. For an analysis of Dana's mission to St. Petersburg, see David M. Griffiths, "American Commercial Diplomacy in Russia, 1780 to 1783," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 27 (July 1970): 379-410.

² *JCC*, 18:1174. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve this day with a brief cover letter to Benjamin Franklin. PCC, item 15, fol. 188.

Samuel Huntington to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir, Philadelphia December 20. 1780

Convinced of your Zeal, unremitted Attention and Endeavours to promote the mutual Interest of France and these United States, it is with Pleasure that I execute the Orders of Congress, in communicating to you, that Congress find themselves under the Necessity of requesting the Aid of his most Christian Majesty, to obtain a Loan of twenty five Millions of Livres, in Order to prosecute the next Campaign with Vigour.¹

I have also the Honor to inform you Sir, that Congress have been pleased to appoint the Honorable Francis Dana Esquire Minister to the Court of Petersburg, with full Powers to accede to the Plan of Neutrality proposed by her Imperial Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, for the Freedom & Protection of Commerce relating to neutral Powers, as also to form a Treaty of Alliance & Friendship with her Imperial Majesty Conformable to the Spirit & Meaning of the Treaties subsisting between France and these United States.

I am perswaded that your Wisdom, and the Desires you have manifested to promote the Happiness & Prosperity of these States will readily induce you Sir to lend any Assistance in your Power to forward their Designs, consistent with the Honor & Interest of his most Christian Majesty.²

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect,
sir, your most obedient and very humble Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, Supplement, 18:378-81).

¹ For the delegates' decision to seek this loan from France, and the text of Congress' letter to Louis XVI embodying this appeal, see *JCC*, 18:1068, 1080-85. See also Huntington's letters to John Laurens, December 14, 1780, and to Laurens and to Benjamin Franklin, January 1, 1781.

² Congress' hope that La Luzerne would lend his assistance "to forward their Designs" for obtaining this loan was chimerical. The French minister had repeatedly attempted to discourage such an undertaking, and indeed, according to his December 28 dispatch to Vergennes, upon receiving this letter he arranged a meeting with Huntington to restate his conviction that such a loan could not possibly be obtained in France. Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 14:452-61.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia December 21. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, a Letter from Brigadier General Starke of the 10th Instant, requesting from Congress Leave of Absence on Account of his ill State of Health, with a resolve of Congress of the 18th, Instant refeiring the Letter to the Commander in Chief to take Order.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the most perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedt & most hbble Servant,

Sam. Huntington Presidt

P.S. I have been honored with your Letter of the 15 Inst. by Majr Franks.²

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1156. Gen. John Stark's December 10 letter to Huntington is in the Washington Papers, DLC.

² For Congress' response to Washington's December 15 letter, which is in PCC, item 152, 9:401-4, and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:477-79, see Huntington to the States, December 22, 1780.

Samuel Johnston to James Iredell

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, 21st Dec., 1780.

You will have heard, before this reaches you, the state of my health on my arrival at this place. I now begin to hope I may recover, though I am still confined to the house, and my cough, attended with fever, very troublesome; but I sometimes go down stairs and mix with the gentlemen who lodge in the house, and those who visit them, which I find of some service to me. I had the pleasure of hearing, by the last post, that Mrs. Iredell was getting better; I hope by the next to hear every body is well. Congress seem to be very busy; but as I have not yet taken my seat in it,¹ I am acquainted with but few particulars, and if I was acquainted with any thing interesting, I should be afraid to write it by the post, as there is reason to apprehend that, before this reaches you, the enemy may be in possession of some of the towns in Virginia through which the post passes, as we have certain advices that 4,000 troops, under the command of General Kniphausen, have been some time past embarked, though we have not yet any advice of their having sailed, and their destination is kept a profound secret in New York. Congress have sent a Colonel Palfray, formerly paymaster of the army, to France, in the character of consul from the United States: Colonel Laurens, son of the late President, is appointed a minister for a particular purpose to the court of France. This last appointment is much disapproved of by some of the members, apprehensive of its disgusting Dr. Franklin, and by that means impeding rather than promoting our interest at that court. Mr. Dana, secretary to Mr. Adams, is appointed minister to the Empress of Russia: it is uncertain how he may be received, but the general opinion is, that the old lady will not be displeased with the compliment.

23d. I have just heard of a brother of Mr. Granbury's, who sets out in the morning for Carolina; I will therefore close this letter, and endeavor to send it by him; and can now venture to mention the distresses of Congress in regard to money matters. Nothing can be more alarming. The treasury quite empty, and no means of filling it, to answer the pressing demands which are daily made upon it. What adds to their distress: the supplies for the army are not yet laid in, and they have been disappointed in getting over a quantity of clothing, promised for the use of the army, in France. Expenses here exceed all conception from the great number of prizes brought in, and large importations from Europe to this place, the town is filled with all kinds of goods, and furnishes supplies to all the Southern States, and the State of New York; this draws all the circulating cash in these States to this town; this occasions such a profusion of money here, that every thing is most enormously dear. I had almost forgot

to mention, that the British ministry have carried all before them in the late general elections. Most of the eminent characters in the opposition are left out—namely, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wilkes, with a number of others, whose names I do not recollect. An unsuccessful attempt was made to oust Sir George Saville. My best respects to Mr. Barker and all my other friends. You will observe there are some circumstances in this letter which should be communicated with caution. Tell Mr. Smith I will write to him soon; and let him see this. Present my love to my sister Iredell, my sister Blair, Nelly, and the children; tell them I think of them with all imaginable tenderness. Though I am now writing at two o'clock in the afternoon, it is so dark I can scarcely read what I write. Adieu! and believe me ever, My dear Sir, Your affectionate brother and most obedient servant,

Sam. Johnston

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell*, 1:479–80.

¹ Johnston took his seat in Congress on December 29. *JCC*, 18:1203.

James Lovell to Benjamin Franklin

Honorable Sir

Philadelphia 21 Dec 1780

The bearer William Palfrey Esqre our late paymaster general has been appointed Consul in France, with powers adequate to a general Agency in our Commercial Concerns there. But while I take up my pen to introduce him to your patronage, I ought to use it, rather perhaps by way of apologizing for myself in the line of Member of the Committee of Foreign affairs from whom you will find no Letter. There was a prospect of much business being committed to you by this opportunity, but it was altogether depending upon the President and Secretary to transmit it, which it seems, they were prevented from doing by an arrangement being but partly accomplished, which Congress have thought fit to connect with those affairs.¹

The proceeding is of a nature not to admit of my enlarging upon it; because neither my head nor my heart Suggests any thing of Eulogium; and my conscience forbids me to pursue the usual Stile of Minorities.

The Journals which I send will Show that we have had no Letter from you since that of May last, except two Short ones lately, respecting the private concerns of two Officers, Baron Arendt and an other whose name is not now on my Memory.² Col. Palfrey will be able to give you information additional to the Gazettes, I am Sir your mo. H. Servt,

Signed James Lovell

FC (DNA: PCC, item 79). In a clerical hand.

¹ For the "additional instructions" for Franklin adopted by Congress on

December 27, see Samuel Huntington to Franklin, January 1, 1781. For some further actions of Congress related to Franklin's role as minister to France, see Huntington to Francis Dana and to the chevalier de La Luzerne, December 20, 1780.

² Capt. Thomas Hutchins, whose memorial had been enclosed with Franklin's letter to Congress of March 16, 1780. See *JCC*, 18:1107; and *PCC*, item 82, 1:219-22. For "Baron d'Arendt," the subject of a May 22 letter from Franklin, see Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 1, 1781, note 3.

Virginia Delegates to William Livingston

Sir Philada. Decr. 21st. 1780

We received this morning a letter subscribed by Peter Thornton informing us that he is the son of a gentleman in Virginia,¹ that he lately made his escape from N. York and is now detained by your Excellency till some testimony shall be given by the Delegates from Virga. in his favor. Although we are total strangers to the youth, and are very imperfectly informed of his case, yet as we have no reason to doubt his being the son of the gentleman he calls his Father, whom we know to be of respectable character & family and firmly attached to the independance of this Country, we venture to request your Excellency to permit him to proceed on his journey to Virginia. If on his arrival here we shall have reason to suspect the reality of his professions, we shall take the necessary steps to frustrate the views of Impostors.

We have the honor to be with the highest respect & esteem Yr. Excellency's Most obt. & humb Servts.,

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

RC (NN: Emmet Collection). Written by Madison and signed by Madison and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:254-55.

¹ Peter Thornton was the son of Col. Anthony Thornton (1726-82) of Ormsby, who had been a sheriff, judge and member of the Committee of Safety in Caroline Co., Va. Although Peter is not noted in W. G. Stanard's "Thorntons of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., 5(1896): 58-59, 6 (1897): 54-57, 109-13, it is apparent that he was the second of six sons born between 1748 and 1760. Why he was in New York at this time and how he escaped is unclear. Gov. Livingston undoubtedly provided Thornton with the necessary pass in response to this appeal, however, for within a week Peter was in Philadelphia prepared to carry a letter by Theodorick Bland to Virginia, for which see Bland to George Weedon, December 28, 1780, note 2.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular Philada December 22. 1780
Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of an

Act of Congress of this Day together with the Extract of a Letter from the Commander in Chief of the 15th Instant to which the Act refers.¹

The Nature & Importance of the Subject is so fully stated in the Inclosures, and the Necessity of a Compliance with the requisition so obvious, it would be superfluous to attempt any additional Motives to call forth the effectual Exertions of the respective States to compleat their Quotas of the federal Army with the necessary Supplies.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). This letter was sent "to the several States from New Hampshire to North Carolina inclusive." The enclosures that went with it were also sent to South Carolina governor John Rutledge with a brief cover letter from Huntington of December 24. PCC, item 15, fol. 191.

¹ The enclosed December 22 resolve contained an exhortation to the states to complete their quotas of troops for the Continental Army "without loss of time, . . . [and] to furnish the supplies of provisions and money assigned for their support." See *JCC*, 18:1182; and Huntington to George Washington, December 21, 1780. For the extract Huntington actually enclosed from Washington's letter, concerning Britain's "Intentions . . . to send further reinforcements to America . . . [and] to revenge herself upon us" in retaliation for the recent growth of the League of Armed Neutrality, see *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 8:686-87.

Oliver Wolcott to Samuel Lyman

Sir

Philadelphia 22 Decr 1780

Your Very Oblidging Letter of the 18t Instant is recd. I am but little Surprized at the Vexation Oliver Meets with in his Business.¹ I saw the Inveteracy which some felt towards him—and Very much doubted of the Expediency of his holding his Business especially after I saw that Mr. Hubbard had determined not to continue in Office. I knew that the office would be but poorly supplyd with Money—That there was no Forage provided—That some knavish Fellows were determined to Embarrass and Misrepresent every Part of his Conduct to get the business for themselves or for such as were like them—as well as to gratify their malice against me for Opposing some of their Villanys. These were sufficient Reasons with me to be extremely dubious as to the Expediency of his being in this Business. His Wish was not to be idle, and hoping that Matters might not be so uncomfortable for him as I feared, I was upon the whole willing that he should be gratified, and I believed that he would Discharge his Duty in the best Manner he was able. But I am extremely glad that he has determined to quit the Business, and more so under Circumstances so agreeable as those you mention. You may be assured Sir, that this as well as other Acts of your Kindness excites my Warmest Gratitude. Might this youth be in a Situation agreeable and Usefull to himself and beneficial to others it would give me that

parental Pleasure which those who never felt the Relation can have but little conception of. What he has suffered by being in this Business will be Nothing more I hope than a disagreeable Seasoning. His living in Litchfield would be very agreeable to me in every other View than that I believe it will not be best for him, And shall therefore advise him to Embrace so advantageous an offer.

The publick Papers will give you a general Veiw of the Complexion of the Times. The Pride, Chagrin and Lust of Revenge of G Britain will undoubted urge Great Britain to continue the War, to obtain an end which is now I apprehend indubidably certain that every Nation in Europe is opposed to. The B. Administration consider themselves as playing a desperate Game and therefore, will probably risque every Event. I think that we have not the least Reason to apprehend that Nation will be able to contravene the Wishes of all mankind—If she will madly persist, which I believe she Will, the War will I apprehend be carryed on by her opponents, with more energy than it has hitherto been. Necessity will Oblidge to this. We gain frequent advantages at the Southward. My best compliments to Mr. Elsworth and Mrs. Elsworth. I shall Write to him by next Post. With much Regard I am Sir your most obed Servt.

Oliver Wolcott.

P.S. Please to Favour me with your Correspondence. Mr. Goodwin told me he would send me his Papers but I have recd none of them.²

RC (NNPM: Signers of the Declaration Collection).

¹ Wolcott's son, Oliver, had been an assistant to the deputy quartermaster general in Connecticut, Nehemiah Hubbard, who had left the department after the appointment of the new quartermaster general, Timothy Pickering. See *DAB*; and Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1981), pp. 59-60.

² George Goodwin was publisher of the *Connecticut Courant* in Hartford.

William Burnet to William Livingston

Sir, Philadelphia Dec. 23, 1780

I am desired by Congress to transmit unto your Excellency the inclosed Resolve with the Extract from General Washington's Letter.¹ You will see that it is on an important interesting Subject & if the Legislature has not fully complied with the former Resolution of Congress upon this Head, I am well assured that your Excellency will properly recommend & enforce a Compliance. I am with great Respect, your Excellency's most obedt. humble Servt.

Wm. Burnet

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to the States, December 22, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia December 24. 1780

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 12th Instant, respecting the Garrison at Wyoming, which was adopted in Consequence of Difficulties that arose in supplying the present Garrison with Provisions.¹

I presume that the Commander in Chief will judge that Post necessary while the War continues, but perhaps your Excellency may think proper to advise him of the Necessity & Importance of the Post, not only to protect the Inhabitants in the Vicinity, but as a Barrier to the Frontier in general.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedt & most hbble servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Joseph Reed, December 14, and to George Washington, December 16, 1780.

Thomas McKean to John Dickinson

Dear Sir, Philadelphia. December 25th. 1780

Your favor of the 14th instant did not come to hand 'till the 23d; it has been somehow strangely delayed. I was severely attacked with a rheumatism & fever a few days before you left the city, otherwise I should have waited on you in order to have conversed about the affairs of Delaware previous to your departure. As soon as I recovered so far as to be able to walk out, which was only last week, I enquired after the Bill you mention, and found it had been in the hands of a Committee from the beginning of the Sessions of Assembly, and that instead of enacting it into a law they continued the Act for the suspension of the tender &c. until their next meeting, which will be the first Tuesday in February. The original draughts I procured from the Clerk of the House, and, not being able to copy it, now transmit it to you, begging you will be pleased to return it to me by some safe conveyance after you have done with it, as I shall be greatly censured should it not be restored to the Committee at their meeting. Laws for amending the Acts, making the continental money &c. a legal tender, have passed in most of the States Eastward of this, but they have fixed a ratio or scale in certain cases at forty for one, and enabled the courts in all others to determine according to their discretion, so that no great instruction can be obtained from any of them: however I shall endeavor to get some of their laws on this subject, as well as others, which I think may be of use to you, and if possible transmit them by this opportunity.

Let me entreat your attention to the Delaware Regimt. and put them on as respectable a footing as the troops of Pennsylvania; on our army, next under God, the success of our cause depends. I wish some measures may be adopted for procuring the exchange of Captain Silas Snow, and some others of our virtuous countrymen, who have languished as prisoners so many years with the Enemy. The militia must be also put on a regular system; they may prove a useful resource.

Taxes for the purposes of the army, for the payment of our quota of the interest on Loan Office Certificates, and for the maintaining the civil Government, must be imposed. This last, the civil government, appears to me to have been too much neglected in Delaware. Unless the principal Magistrate, and Officers concerned in the administration of Justice, are supported in an honorable manner, the country will be governed by a parcel of ignorant & extortionate men; for there are but few to be found, that are possessed of great talents, who will devote them intirely to the public-service solely for the public benefit; and rather than incur want in such a service they will be likely to employ them for their own emolument.

And now, my dear Sir, permit me to say a few words respecting myself. I find that my health and fortune are impaired by my unremitted attention to public affairs; what I undertake to perform, I do with all my might; and having very little relief in attending Congress, I find that this, and the discharging the duties of Chief Justice, a Trustee of the University &c. &c. are more than I can perform to my own satisfaction: besides, the Rank I am obliged to maintain is greater than comports with my finances. I must therefore beg of you to appoint some Gentlemen as Delegates, who will attend in Congress at all such times as I am obliged to be on the circuit or in courts, and that one of them may relieve me occasionally at other times, and permit that relaxation which is absolutely necessary as well for the mind as the body; otherwise that the General Assembly would be pleased to excuse me the honor in future, which is my ardent wish.

I have never in any year received as a Delegate, as much money as would defray my personal expences incurred in the service, and have not been offered a farthing since the first of January 1779, now two years wanting a few days. If an adequate allowance is made to your Delegates, you have Gentlemen enough qualified for the station, who I am certain will cheerfully undertake it.

You will herewith receive printed Copies of the Acts lately passed here respecting the Embargo (*Bread* as well as Flour ought to have been permitted to be exported), the Pennsylvania troops, Duties on imports &c. &c. most of which I should think it the interest of our State to adopt.

My intention was to have waited personally on the General

Assembly at Newcastle, but my indisposition will, I fear, prevent me. I was desirous, unasked, of throwing in my Mite for the benefit of the State in it's present difficulties; if you sit any time I may perhaps be able yet to accomplish my desires in this behalf; however I purpose to continue my service [in] Congress until I hear from you, if my health only remains as [it] is.

Please to present my best regards to Mr. Vn. Dyke, Mr Read, and the other Gentlemen, who may enquire after me, and believe that I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate and obedient humb [servant]
Tho M:Kean

P.S. You may expect to receive Mr. Charles Thomson's thoughts on finance,¹ adapted to the condition of the Delaware State, in a day or two.

RC (PHi: Logan-Flower Collection). Addressed: "John Dickinson Esquire, at Newcastle."

¹ See Charles Thomson to John Dickinson, this date.

Jesse Root to Oliver Ellsworth

Dr Sir, Philadelphia Decembr 25th 1780.

The resolution of the 18th of March last was Improved by our Enemies in britain against us—was Complained of as unjust by Some Merchants in france who were interested in Speculation in America—till at last the Minister of that Court wrote to Mr John Adams upon the Subject—which drew from him a long letter Stating the principles upon which Congress adopted it & evincing in a Clear & pointed manner the Justice of the Measure with respect to both Citizens & foreigners. A Copy of the letter I have Sent to Govr Trumbull.¹

The affair of Vermont is postponed Generally.

The armed Neutrality proposed by the Empress of Russia is Acceded to by Sweeden, Denmark, Holland & its Said by Portugal likewise. Count Estang on the 24th of Octr. last was at Cadiz with a fleet of 74 Ships of the line. Mesr. Guichen had arrived there with a Convoy of 140 Merchantmen from the Westindies. The Terrible Hurracane in the West Indies I presume you have heard of before Now. Several Skirmishes have happened to the Southward between Genl Sumpter, Col Clarke & the british Tarlton, Wimys &c in which the latter have been worsted, Col Tarlton its Said is mortally wounded, Major Wimys wounded & taken prisoner. Mr Dana is appointed to go to the Court of Russia. Col Jno. Laurence is appointed to go to France to obtain the aids of money and other Supplies wanted for our army. Col Palfry is gone to France in the

Character of Consul & Commercial agent. Questions of Finance are Still on the board—it behoves the States to exert themselves mightily & I beleive they will not loose their reward. My Compliments to Mrs Ellsworth & to all friends with much Esteem & respect your Obedt humble Servant,

Jesse Root

Dec. 27th. P.S. By returns Recd. from Genl Green this day Genl Sumpter on the 20th ult had a Severe action with the british Tarlton & repulsed the Enemy who left 92 dead & 100 wounded on the field. Genl Sumpter had 3 killed & 4 wounded he being among the latter.

Also that on the 1st Inst one Ruges,² a Col. Cook & 112 Tory officers & Soldiers immured themselves in a log barn on Ruges plantation which barn was abaticed round. Lt Col Washington of the light horse got knowledge of their Situation—with about 90 men—mounted a pine log on Carriages in form of a Cannon & marched in plain Sight of the Enemy toward the barn but before he discharged this formidable peice of artillery he thought proper to Summon the Enemy to surrender & told them what their fate must be if they refused, they immediately Surrendered without firing a gun.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ See Root to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., December 27, 1780, note 1.

² Henry Rugeley.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Decembr 25th 1780

I expected to have the pleasure by to Morrows Post of transmitting to You the Result of Congress respecting the dispute between the Town of Portsmouth and Mr De latour but Congress has been so immersed in the Business of Finance that I was not able to obtain a Determination but hope you will receive it by next Weeks Mail.

I shall however take the Liberty of giving You the following deffinition of the Droit dau Baine and Droit de Detraction.² Droit dau Baine is a Right by which Sovereign Princes claim the Estates of Foreigners dying within their Dominions to the exclusion of Heirs, Administrators &c. This is defined in Molloy De jure maritimo³ and by most other Writers who treat of the Laws of different Nations. This Droit dau Bane is part of the common Law of France. The Droit de Detraction appertains more particularly to the German Dominions and is there exercised for preventing the emigration of the Subjects of one State to the Dominions of another or to Foreign Kingdoms and is thus defined by the German Law[y]ers.

“Le Droit de Detraction or Jus detractus gabella Heriditatis Censur emigrationis is a certain Sum which ought to be paid to the Sovereign

upon the value of the Estate of those of his Subjects who quit His kingdom to pass into another or upon the sale of an Estate descending to a Foreigner who will not come to inhabit in the Country. This Right varies much from an Hundred to ten per Cent according to the amount of Sales of the Estate which the Heir or Lagetee would carry out. The Sovereign has a legal Hypothecation and the preference of payment in such Goods. In some Countries This Right is by common Law, in others such as France after the treaty of abolition of Droit dau Bane it is exercised only by retention."

This expression is become the Style in the Treaty of abolition and is found in our Treaty of Commerce by superabundance & by an Exercise of foresight in the Parties contracting.

The King of France therefore by abolishg those Rights respecting the Americans in effect permitted their Estates to descend to the Heir or to be taken by the Executor or Administrator and permits them to depart from His Kingdom with all their Effects without substraction or diminution.

What He now requests from the American States is to pass Laws granting like Privileges to His Subjects.

I have the Honor to be, with much Esteem your most obedt
Servant,
Jno Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Sullivan.

¹ For the dispute between "Portsmouth and Mr De latour," see Sullivan to Weare, December 11, 1780, note 2.

² Under article 13 of the 1778 Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, subjects of the United States were to be exempt in France from the "droit d'Aubaine" and "droit de détraction," and subjects of France were to enjoy, "in all the dominions of the said states, an entire and perfect reciprocity relative to [these] stipulations." See *JCC*, 11:429; and Samuel Huntington to the States, January 18, 1780.

³ Charles Molloy, *De Jure Maritimo et Navali; or A Treatise of Affaires Maritime and of Commerce* (London: J. Bellinger, 1676).

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 25th Decemr 1780

I have the Honor to Inclose you a number of Queries Made to Me by the Secretary of the French Embassy with Copies of My answers.¹ This Gentleman is one of those usefull genius's who is Constantly in Search of knowledge he is about to write the History of America or rather to give a Geographical Description of it. As much advantage will arise from our Commerce & Constitutions being well known: As Mr Adams has wrote from Holland to Congress pressing upon them the necessity of Taking measures for this purpose

I wish you to Lay these papers before the assembly & request a Committee to furnish Such answers as they may find I have omitted and to Correct Such mistakes as I may have made & I wish a Sample of our Glass may be forwarded.

I have So much writing to do as The Commander in Chief the principal officers of the Army & others Keeps up a Constant Correspondence with me and in addition to this I have so many Reports to frame, Copy & prepare for Congress That I am compelled to keep Mr Smith almost wholly Employed with the Pen. I must now Employ him to Copy all the papers respecting Vermont & make a Brief. This will be a voluminous work & take much time. He thinks that he Merits Some Consideration for these Services & asks no more than his Expences which are Inclosed & but Small. I wish the assembly to pass a resolve to allow them & to Let me know whether they will, or will not that I may Direct him Accordingly. I know that a Delegate Less acquainted with publick Business would not be under the Same necessity but as I apprehend it was the Design of the assembly that I should Exert Every Talent Nature has furnished me with to Serve the Common Cause & as I now assure them that it is not possible for me to do it without an assistant to Copy my Letters, reports &c &c I cannot perswade myself that the Honble assembly of New Hampshire will refuse to allow him his Bare Expences for so Essential a Service.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem Dear Sir
 yr most obedt Servt, Jno Sullivan

RC (MHi: Weare Papers).

¹ For Sullivan's "answers" to the "Queries" of the marquis de Barbé-Marbois, see Sullivan to Barbé-Marbois, December 10, 1780.

Charles Thomson to John Dickinson

Dear Sir.

Philada Decr 25. 1780.

Agreeably to my promise I have thrown together some thoughts on the subject of our last conversation. I am sensible they are not sufficiently matured and digested. However I shall be happy if they furnish any useful hints. The subject is important and merits the attention of those who are employed in the legislature of any of these states.

After many fruitless attempts and a war of six years our enemies must be convinced that it is not in their power to subdue us by force. During the contest, our numbers are rather encreased than diminished. We have now more arms and more ammunition than we had at the beginning and experience has instructed us in the military art and taught us to use them to better advantage. Their

prospect of success in a farther continuation of the war, and their hopes of subjugating us, if they still retain any, must rest wholly on the derangement of our finances. If these can be put upon a proper footing, we shall soon see an end of our troubles and have nothing to fear from the ambition or malice of our enemy. The arrangement and right management of our finances is therefore an object of the greatest importance. Our resources are great if we can but adopt wise plans to call them forth. For although some individuals have suffered by the war, yet the people in general are rather enriched. Our farms are cultivated as formerly, our harvests have been plentiful and our future prospects are favorable & flattering: A spirit of œconomy and frugality prevails. Our farmers in general possess freehold estates and are thereby unencumbered with rents. We are not burthened as in other countries with the maintenance of expensive clergy. From all which causes we are in a condition to apply a greater part of our income and of the product of our labour to the public exigencies and are able to bear a greater load of taxes than most other nations in the world.

The great question is, in what manner ought these taxes to be levied? There are two methods in use; one by a direct application to the people for the sums necessary; the other by imposts and duties. The latter is a mode of drawing money from the people insensibly. For although the money is at first paid by the importer, exporter or possessor of the article, upon which the impost or duty is laid, yet as he who advances the money always takes care to indemnify himself by adding it to, or deducting it from the price, according as the impost or duty is laid on articles of home consumption or foreign exportation, the money is refunded to him by the people and generally with a considerable additional sum for having advanced it. But little attention is paid to the duty as it is blended with the price of the commodity.

This is a favorite scheme of levying taxes in monarchies and aristocracies, where large sums are expended that will not bear a public examination, But in republican governments, such as are established in America; it is dangerous and inexpedient. When people are called upon for taxes and feel the burden of them, they are more attentive to abuses and misapplication in the expenditure and will of consequence be more watchful to prevent their rulers from bribing the people, as is often the case, with their own money and subverting the public liberty by means put into their hands for securing and defending it.

The people of America are in general sensible and intelligent; Convince them that taxes are necessary and they will cheerfully pay them. It appears to me that during the present controversy, the people have been always readier to pay than the legislatures to lay or call for taxes. Before Governments were established it was no doubt

prudent in the rulers to take the tone from the people. But the present situation of affairs requires that the legislatures should take the lead. We have used expedients and temporised so long, that our cause is in the utmost danger. Distress is coming upon us like an armed man. And nothing but the most vigorous exertions can secure our independence and preserve us from the most dangerous convulsions. We have depended upon emissions of paper money without establishing funds for its redemption, until we have ruined public credit. Various schemes of finance have been tried until the people have lost all confidence. The public treasury is exhausted, the army greatly in arrears & unsupplied; And no hopes are left of replenishing the one, or of paying and supplying the other, but from our own internal resources. The contest is of such a nature that we cannot relinquish it at pleasure, Duty, interest and necessity therefore all combine to enforce the immediate and most speedy collection of taxes.

As by the means of embargoes on our exports and the consequent ballance of trade against us the country is drained of Gold and Silver we must necessarily make use of paper money of some kind for a circulating medium and to answer our present demands. But it will be in vain to attempt this without calling in, and sinking the old continental currency. Congress was sensible of this and therefore proceeded in their resolution of 18th March last, that the new money should not be issued faster than the old was brought in and cancelled, in the proportion of one of the former for 20 of the latter.¹ For this purpose they called upon the states to pay in their quotas of fifteen million of dollars per month until the whole two hundred millions which had been emitted were brought in and cancelled. In order to prevent any undue advantage that might be taken by those, who had amassed large sums of the old currency, it was recommended that in collecting the taxes the new money, which might be issued, should be received at the rate of one of the new for forty of the old, which was at the time of passing the resolution the average rate of exchange between silver and paper money. And it was generally imagined that this would have fixed the exchange and stopped the farther depreciation. It is very probable it would have had this effect if the several legislatures had immediately complied with the resolution of Congress, passed laws conformable thereto and proceeded to taxation. But while the legislatures neglected to adopt the measure, the people who apprehended they would soon be called upon for large taxes took advantage of the public and demanded a higher and a higher price for the commodities they had to sell. The farmer and the dealer in foreign articles seemed to vie with each other in raising the price of their respective commodities. And as by reason of the embargo on produce Gold and silver was the principal article of remittance to foreign countries they also rose in price with other articles. By which means the depreciation of the paper went on until it had

advanced to upwards of an hundred for one. People at length began to see their folly and soon became convinced that by raising their prices they diminished their fortunes. They therefore stopped short and by general consent brought it back to 75 for one, at which rate it now seems fixed.

This operation has produced one good effect. It has changed the ideas of the people and brought them back to the old mode of estimating things by specie prices. There is scarce a man now to be found who rates his estate or the commodities he wants to buy or sell in continental currency. Government should therefore avail itself of this change and, in order to redeem the old currency and provide supplies adequate to the public exigencies, should call for taxes, the first to be paid in specie or continental money equivalent at the rate of 75 for one and all future taxes in specie or new money at par. By this means a state may in a month or six weeks by a vigorous exertion call in & redeem its whole quota of the old currency without overburthening its inhabitants and lodge in its treasury a large sum of the new money, which by calling for & collecting the future taxes every two or three months at farthest may be brought into credit and circulation without any compulsory laws and rendered equal in value to Gold and silver. By which means the public treasury may be supplied, debts discharged, the army recruited and paid & Congress enabled at the opening of the campaign effectually to co-operate with our ally and probably bring the war to a speedy and happy issue.

Congress having in their act of 18th March last resolved that new money should be emitted in a certain proportion as fast as the old is brought in and cancelled and having determined that the quantity of the new money should not exceed ten million dollars have directed that six tenths of the new as fast as issued be delivered to the states and the remaining four tenths reserved for the payment of the army and other public demands.

Suppose a state not to have called in and cancelled any part of the old continental currency. Let it take a fifth of its whole quota of the two hundred millions; divide that by fifty and call for a tax equal to that fiftieth part to be paid within a month or six weeks at farthest either in specie or continental currency at the rate of 75 for one. If any Gold or Silver is received let it be exchanged for continental currency at the same rate, and the whole amount of the tax in that currency being brought in and cancelled, the six tenths of the new money issued in lieu thereof which the state will receive will be sufficient within a trifle to redeem the remainder of the quota which is uncollected. Let the state then proceed to call for another tax to the same amount to be paid within a month or six weeks in specie or new money only at par and direct all those who have old continental currency to bring it in and receive new money in lieu

thereof at the rate of one of the latter for 75 of the former. By this means the new money being absolutely necessary for the payment of taxes and being received at par with Gold and Silver will immediately become an object of desire and be received with readiness. And the remainder of the states quota being brought in and cancelled, new money will be issued in lieu thereof, the six tenths of which will go into the state treasury and enable government to discharge public debts and recruit the army so that the taxes raised from thenceforward may be wholly applied to the current expences of the war and government.

The following calculations will fully explain my meaning:
 The quota of the two hundred millions called for from the state of Delaware is 2,266,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars.
 In order to make the calculation easier say 2,267,000
 One fifth of this is 453,400
 453,400 divided by 50 gives 9,068
 The state of Delaware then is to call upon its inhabitants for a tax of 9068 dollars to be paid within one month either in specie or continental currency equivalent at the rate of 75 for one: consequently the product in continental currency will be 9068
 multiplied by 75 which is equal to 680,100
 This being cancelled new money will be issued in lieu thereof to the amount of
 $\frac{1}{20}$ equal to 34,005 doll.
 The six tenths of this new money which will belong to the state is 20,403
 Consequently this at 1 for 75 will redeem of the outstanding quota 1,530,225
 To which add what was before paid in & cancelled viz 680,100
 make 2,210,325

So that there will remain to be redeemed only 56,675 Cont. Dol.
 which will require only 755 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars new money more than the $\frac{6}{10}$ received in lieu of the first specie tax. And upon bringing in and cancelling the remr. of its quota viz 1,586,900 old
 The state will receive for its $\frac{6}{10}$ of the new money 47,607
 from which deducting the above mentioned 755 $\frac{2}{3}$
 There will remain for discharge of debts and raising recruits &c 46,851 $\frac{1}{3}$
 which by continuing to call for other taxes as above mentioned will become of equal value to so much Gold and Silver.

But as all the states are jointly and severally pledged for the redemption of the two hundred million of dollars issued, and as South Carolina, whose quota is 16 millions, is at present, on account of

its being invaded, unable to redeem its quota; Suppose the quota of South Carolina divided among the other states in proportion to their respective quotas, then the quota

of Delaware will be	2,448,000 doll.
The fifth of which is	489,600
This divided by 50 gives	9,792
which will be the specie tax which the state will have to call for; But suppose it to call for	10,000
This at 75 for one will produce of old continental currency	750,000
For this the state will receive its 6/10 of the new money issued	22,500
which at 1 for 75 will redeem of the outstanding quota	1,686,500
to which adding the sum already cancelled viz	750,000
there will only remain to be redeemed	11,500
which will require only 153 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars of the new money more than was received for the first specie tax.	

And for the 1,698,000 dollars when brought in the state will receive in new money 50,940 from which deducting the abovementioned 153 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars there will remain in the treasury for the use of the state 50,786 $\frac{2}{3}$. In order to fix the value of the new money and to give the receivers and holders of it a solid assurance of its stability and credit, funds must be established for paying the annual interest and for redeeming and sinking the capital in six years which is the time limite for its redemption. The act of Congress abovementioned recommends that every state provide funds for paying the interest and redeeming the capital of such part of the new money as is issued in lieu of its quota of the two hundred millions continental currency.

The full quota of Delaware being	
as is above mentioned	2,448,000 dollars
Its proportion of the new money for which it will have to provide funds to be sunk in six years is	122,400 dollrs
Consequently reckoning the interest at 6 per cent per annum	
The state must provide a fund to sink	
the 1st year	27,744
2d year	26,520
3d year	25,208
4 year	24,072
5 year	22,848
6 & last year	21,624

Here I could demonstrate that a fund of 10,000 dollars per annum faithfully applied would in twenty three years discharge the annual interest at 6 per cent per annum and pay off or redeem the debt of 122,400 dollrs and leave a ballance in the treasury. This would unfold

the whole mystery of funding and redeeming the national debt and the whole art of financeering as practised in G. Britain. But as I hope this mystery of iniquity will never be admitted into any of these United States I shall not trouble you any further on this subject.

The Labour of the Husbandman and the industry of the people is our best national fund and taxation the best mode of drawing it forth. I have already shewn that by means of a tax to the amount of 10,000 dollars The state of Delaware will be able to redeem and call out of circulation its whole quota of the old continental currency. But to bring the new money into credit and circulation to defray the expences of government and to carry on the war the people must be called upon for farther taxes, and the vigor and industry with which they are collected will be the best means of inducing the people to bring in the old money, of establishing the credit & value of the new and of extricating the public from its present difficulties and embarrassments and to bring the war to a happy conclusion by a safe and honorable peace.

I think it is an observation of some of the writers on finance that the amount of rents paid by the people of Great Britain is more than double the current coin of the kingdom and that every Guinea and piece of money passes twice in the year from the tenant to the landlord besides answering the other purposes for which it serves in commerce, in taxes and in the ordinary dealings between one man and another. It is farther observed that the whole amount of taxes levied annually on the people of Great Britain compared with the number of inhabitants is nearly 40/ sterling per head including men, women and children. Surely then it will not be unreasonable to expect that for such a prize as we are contending, in supporting a cause on the issue of which depend not only our liberty and property but also our lives, the people of America should contribute annually a sum equal at least to the amount of the new money which is ten million of dollars. The quota of this for the state of Delaware would be but 10,200 dollars a month, which with what is necessary for paying the interest and sixth part of the principal abovementioned would make in the whole 12,512 dollars per month or if paid in quarterly payments 37536 dollars a quarter. This at first view may appear a large sum to be raised in so short a time; but when compared with the number of inhabitants in the state, or with the value of their property real and personal, or with the value of the annual produce, it will be found not to be greater than what they can easily bear. I presume the number of inhabitants in the state is not less than 40,000, if so the tax will not amount to a dollar per head in three months. Compare it with the property real and personal and it will scarcely be a half penny in the pound; or compare it with the annual produce and it will scarcely amount to 1 per cent. I am firmly persuaded that the county of Newcastle could easily alone pay this tax. That County

is well inhabited. The land is generally fertile and in a good state of cultivation and improvement. The county is I suppose near 40 miles in length and upon an average eight miles in breadth and must consequently contain more than 200,000 Acres of Land. It has several towns some of them well built, rich and flourishing. Will any man persuade me that such a county as this could not in a contest such as the present once a quarter pay a tax which does not exceed 1/3 an Acre. Surely then, it cannot be deemed burthensome, to the whole state. But suppose it should be somewhat burthensome, it will serve as a stimulus to excite in the people a desire of procuring the new money and consequently induce them freely to part with their produce and the fruits of their labour to obtain it, and will operate in giving it a credit and circulation better than ten thousand compulsory acts or *tender laws*.

To enable the people to support the burden of taxes and to give a spring to industry it will be necessary to facilitate the sale of such articles as the inhabitants have to spare and of consequence the ports should be opened and embargoes avoided except in cases of absolute necessity. It will also be proper to cultivate by all possible means a spirit of frugality and to discourage and if necessary restrain by suitable regulations the extravagant use of foreign articles. This will prevent the farther exportation of gold and silver & by turning the ballance of trade in favor of the state will necessarily draw into it, fresh supplies of those precious metals. Though I totally disapprove of imposts and duties when laid for the sole purpose of levying taxes, yet I have no objection to the laying a tax on foreign articles of luxury which we can well do without and obliging the importer to pay that tax in Gold and Silver only. This would be a regulation of trade wise and proper under our present circumstances: nor would it be amiss if it were carried a step farther and the vender or consumer taxed for dealing in or using such articles. Frugality is itself a great revenue and joined with industry is the surest means of making states and individuals rich and flourishing. But exclusive of this consideration the present distresses of our country and the dangers to which we are exposed from a cruel merciless and invading enemy ought to impress every thoughtful mind with an abhorrence of every kind of extravagance. Besides what an absurdity is it, and how ridiculous & contemptible must it make us appear in the eyes of our allies and of all Europe to be applying to foreign nations for loans and aids of money, while we are lavishing away in luxuries, gewgaws and trifles, sums sufficient to carry on the war and to extricate us from difficulties and embarrassments.

The United States are just entering upon the stage of political existence. The novelty of their appearance will naturally attract the attention of other nations and from our conduct at our first outset they will form their opinions with regard to our character and the

rank we are to sustain among them. It is easy to see what an influence the favorable or unfavorable opinion of foreign nations will have not only in the present controversy but likewise in our future intercourse with them. If we exert ourselves with zeal and vigor in defending our rights and maintaining our freedom, we shall be honored and respected and will meet with countenance and support. The most powerful arguments to induce other sovereign powers to interest themselves on our behalf is to convince them that we are in condition to make ourselves respected and have firmness and resolution to maintain our cause. But if we discover an inability or unwillingness to do this we shall find ourselves neglected and contemned. It is said that when the King of Prussia was solicited to acknowledge our independence, he replied that *we must throw sixes* (alluding to a fortunate cast of the dice) before he could take such a step. Our chief reliance therefore under God ought, in our present arduous enterprize, to be on our own exertions. To implore the assistance of Heaven, without using the means in our power, is rather mockery than religion, and to rest upon foreign nations for aid without exerting our own strength and applying our own resources is folly in the extreme. When we first engaged in this contest we declared that rather than submit to the domination of Britain we would sacrifice not only our fortunes but our lives. This is now the time to demonstrate the sincerity of those declarations. I hope the people of America will evince that they deserve that freedom and independence for which they are contending by a cheerful sacrifice of a portion of their wealth and by a ready acquiescence in paying such taxes as are necessary for defraying the expences of the war and supporting government. But in levying those taxes the legislatures should endeavour by all possible means to render the collection of them cheap, easy, expeditious and certain, to adapt them to the real wants of the public and the abilities of the people and to apportion them in such manner that all may bear the burthen alike.

The mode of laying and levying taxes in this and the neighbouring states is in my opinion too dilatory to answer our present exigencies and is at the same time too expensive and unsatisfactory. The hosts of Constables employed in making out lists of property, the numerous trains of assessors for rating the property and laying the tax, and the courts of commissioners to hear appeals with their tribes of clerks and attendants besides the collectors all on wages consume a great part of the taxes levied: while at the same time, there being no certain rule given to guide the judgment of the assessors, jealousies prevail not only among individuals but between county and county and complaints are made of partiality and an unequal distribution of the burden. Taxes are always disagreeable when a considerable part of the sums raised sink in the pockets of those employed in laying and levying them. But a sensible people will bear heavy burdens when

they see them faithfully applied to the necessities of the public and when they are convinced that all share the burdens of the public alike. It is not enough that equality is preserved between the individuals composing a township or county. To preserve the peace and tranquillity of the state it must pervade the whole and it should be apparent by a comparison of one county with another or by the mode of laying the tax, that every part bears its due proportion.

To enable the legislature to call forth the resources of the state or to raise taxes adequate to the public wants and the abilities of the state, they ought to be possessed of a competent knowledge first of the real wants or exigencies of government and secondly of the ability of the inhabitants. The first branch of knowledge comprehends

1st A list of the civil officers of government, their salaries and emoluments.

2d An estimate as accurate as possible of the sums necessary for public buildings, highways, causeways, bridges &c as well as for seminaries of learning promoting useful arts and for maintenance of the poor.

3d A like estimate of what may be necessary for internal defence namely Arms, ammunition, fortifications &c.

4th The quota of the state as agreed upon in Congress for the general defence and for carrying on the war.

As these things come under the immediate notice of the executive it should be made a part of their duty to obtain the necessary information and to have the proper estimates made out and laid before the legislature at the end of every year or at their first meeting after the annual election together with an account of the expenditures of the preceding year.

The second branch of knowledge comprehends

1st The number of inhabitants in the state, their ages, occupations and employments, whether single or married and if married the number of their children and servants. It would be satisfactory and might answer valuable purposes in government to know the number of both males and females reduced to classes of a certain age, for instance under ten, from ten to eighteen, from eighteen to twenty six, from twenty six to forty five and from forty five upwards in one or more classes as may be thought proper.

2d The stock of wealth possessed by individuals, including their estates, real and personal so far as the latter may be judged subject to taxation.

The second branch of knowledge should be obtained from proper returns made to the legislatures. The making such returns may at first view appear too arduous and difficult and not worth the trouble, but I am persuaded that by proper regulations it will be found to be practicable and easy and may be the means of removing all complaints upon account of the inequality of burdens borne by

individuals or by communities within the state and may serve as the best foundation for establishing a proper militia law and creating sundry regulations and institutions for perfecting the government and internal police of the state.

In Connecticut which is one of the best regulated and most vigorous states in the union, I am informed this is done annually with great facility and to great satisfaction. I have not been able to obtain a sight of the law directing the mode but understand that it is to the following effect.

The counties in that state are subdivided into towns answering your hundreds. Each of those towns is a corporation for certain purposes. They have a power of making bye laws not inconsistent with nor contrary to the laws of the state, for their internal government. They have stated meetings for the purpose of appointing certain officers to manage the affairs of the town. Some of these officers are called *select men*, who superintend the morals and manners of the people and see that a due obedience is paid to the laws of the state, as well as to the regulations of the town. The select men have the power of calling occasional meetings of the towns, giving public notice of the time and place of meeting and the purpose for which it is called. When the people are assembled they chuse a moderator who presides and regulates the debates and preserves order.

The law, above alluded to, provides that at the annual meeting each town shall chuse certain officers who are called *Listers* and that on a certain day in every year, every householder within the town shall deliver or send to the Listers who meet at a certain place for the purpose a written account of his family, occupation & property, particularising the quantity and quality of his land under the titles *arable meadow* or *pasture* and *woodland* with a description of the buildings and improvements, also his neat cattle, horses, hogs, sheep &c his carriages whether for pleasure or farming; and if required the names, occupations and ages of every individual composing his family. If any neglects to make a return, he is rated in his property by the listers at fourfold of what he possesses, or if in his return he omits any article, which ought to be included therein they rate him fourfold of the article omitted. One half of the tax raised for such delinquencies goes to the listers. From these several returns the town clerk who is another officer chosen by the town make a return to the state treasurer by a certain day; keeping a copy among the records of the town. If any town neglects to make such return it is rated fourfold. These returns are digested by the treasurer, cast up and laid before the legislature. In order to avoid disputes, to prevent complaints on account of partiality and to make the burden of taxes as equal as possible, the law fixes a price upon every article. For instance every male from 18 to 60 years of age is rated at 18 or 20 pounds, dwelling houses of one story according to their hearths or fire places at certain prices,

those of two stories and upwards according to their hearths at certain higher prices. Lands at prices according to their quality; arable at one price, meadow at another and woodland at another and lots within a certain distance of large trading or capital towns at a higher price proportioned to their relative value, compared with the lands in general throughout the country. As persons of larger estates can bear a greater proportional tax than those who have only a bare competency; the select men and listers have a power to rate at a higher value than the law has fixed not exceeding a certain sum lands possessed by one man to the amount of two, three or four hundred acres and upwards and make a proportional abatement on the small plantations of one hundred acres and under, so as not to lessen the value of the town collectively according to the rate fixed by law. The law also fixes the price at which mills, forges, furnaces, ferries and inns are to be rated; also, the price of horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs &c, but it leaves to the select men and listers to rate the occupation or trade of the individuals; as this is too indeterminate to be ascertained by law. To the returns made from every town by the town clerk is added the valuation as fixed by law or rated by the select men and listers. And the sum totals of those several returns shews the legislature the the wealth of the state so that knowing the sums necessary for the purposes of government & comparing them with the amount of the wealth returned the legislature has only to pass a simple resolve "That a tax of sixpence or of one shilling in the pound (more or less as the case may require) be levied on all rateables and taxable property agreeable to the lists delivered in on such a day and that the same be paid in by such a day and that the treasurer issue his warrants accordingly." Upon this the treasurer immediately issues his warrants to the several towns and the collectors who are appointed at the annual elections by their respective towns immediately proceed to the collecting. As the town has the choice of the collectors, the law make the whole corporation or town responsible for him so that if he neglects to bring in the quota of the towns by the day appointed the treasure may issue his warrants to the sheriff of the county commanding him to go into the town and seize any property he may meet with and make sale thereof to the amount of the quota or deficiency. It is however expected he will first fall upon the collector. And the instances are exceeding rare where it is necessary to proceed to such extremity. When the taxes are large and likely to be burthensome to the midling and lower classes of the people it is usual for the legislature to call for a sum one ninth part larger than what is necessary or expected to be raised and to give a power to the select men and listers to make abatements in whole or in part to individuals who are in indigent circumstances to the amount of the tenth part of the quota of the whole town. This with the power before mentioned of rating the lands of proprietors

of large estates somewhat higher than the small freeholds gives relief to the poor, throws a greater share of the burden upon the rich and consequently makes the people easy and contented. It is farther to be observed that there is very little deducted from the tax on account of the laying or levying it. The Listers are not allowed any thing for their trouble save what may arise from the extraordinary taxes laid upon delinquents and the collectors are allowed for their trouble only one penny in the pound. The select men have nothing but the honor of serving their country and the satisfaction of distributing equal justice and relieving the indigent which in all free governments ought to be the principal reward of public officers.

How far the above plan may be improved or amended I cannot pretend to say. But as the exigencies of government, during the war must require large taxes, I would propose that the whole amount of what may be necessary within the year be divided into four quarterly payments—That the state treasurer should lodge with the sheriff of the county and with the clerk of the quarter sessions or county courts duplicates of the debits against each particular town or hundred within each respective county, that the several townships or hundreds should be obliged to appear by their collectors at the said courts and make payments to the state treasurer who should attend in person or by his deputy and in presence of the sheriff and clerk of the county receive the money in open court and that credit being given on the duplicates of the sheriff and clerk should discharge the town and be a *quietus* to the collectors—that if any towns are delinquent the sheriff should compel payment before the next term at which credit should be entered as above and if the money was paid to the treasurer in the intermediate time his receipt should be taken and delivered to the sheriff to be lodged with the clerk of the county. That the clerk of each county should make quarterly returns to the legislature countersigned by the sheriff of the sums so paid and received which returns should be sufficient to debit the treasurer, and the warrants or orders drawn upon him by the proper authority should be his discharge.

As all the money levied from the people should come into one treasury and be accounted for, I would further propose that all fines and forfeitures should be added to the duplicates of the debits abovementioned delivered by the treasurer to the sheriffs and clerks of their several counties and returns thereof made by the clerks to the legislature. And here I would submit it to consideration whether it would not be adviseable instead of allowing certain officers (especially such as act in a judicial capacity and high ministerial officers such as sheriffs and marshals of the court admiralty &c) to pay themselves by fees, to order the fees to be collected by proper officers added to the duplicates aforesaid and paid into the public treasury, And to pay the officers stated salaries.

By some such mode as is here pointed out the resources of the states may be called forth with ease to the inhabitants and with the least possible expence; the public credit may thereby be restored, the exigencies of government provided for, contracts made and the articles wanted procured on the most advantageous terms; and by thus arranging our finances and convincing our enemies that we are in a condition to carry on the war we shall I am persuaded soon bring them to acknowledge our independence and to grant us peace on honorable terms.

But as our present demands are urgent and immediately wanted no time should be lost in calling upon the people to pay in two or three monthly taxes agreeable to the last assessments in the mode heretofore accustomed until such time as a law can be made to the effect and for the purposes abovementioned.

As for the mode of raising recruits for the continental army and regulating the militia of the state I must reserve my thoughts for some future occasion, and will only add here that I am much mistaken if the state find any great difficulty in furnishing its quota of men provided it adopts the foregoing plan or some one similar and proceeds with vigor and resolution in carrying it into effect.

I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate, Cha Thomson

P.S. As the whole success of the foregoing plan depends upon the punctual collection of the taxes, I find upon farther inquiry, that the Connecticut law pays a particular attention to that matter and provides that the sheriff upon receiving the warrant from the Treasurer shall first call upon the collectors & seize their effects. But if they cannot be found or if their effects are not sufficient he shall then proceed and levy upon the effects of the select men & listers, who in that case are empowered by the law to indemnify themselves by rating & collecting from the inhabitants of the town a sum sufficient to reimburse themselves for all losses & damages. The town, also has power to call the collectors to account as often as they think proper, to take security for the faithful discharge of their duty, to remove them at pleasure & appoint others. In short they have a sovereign controul over them & are at liberty to guard against their laches² or unfaithfulness in such way as they may judge best.

RC (PPL: Logan-Dickinson Collection).

¹ See *JCC*, 16:262-67.

² In law, "Negligence in the performance of any legal duty." *OED*.

Thomas Bee to Benjamin Huntington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 26 Decemr. 1780.

I am much Obligated to you for the agreeable Intelligence contained in your Letter of the 8th respecting the Prize taken by Capt. House, an account of which we also received from him in a Letter yesterday. I am in hopes this Prize will enable us to remit something handsome to our distressed Prisoners in Chas. Town who are suffering every hardship the British can inflict on them. They have lately taken up Thirty more of the principal Inhabitants to be sent to St. Augustine, without the Shadow of a charge against them except the Influence they may have on the other Inhabitants a few of whom have been induced by their Threats to take protection from them—We have no Advices from the Southern Army since Genl. Green has taken the Command, but I fear the reinforcement Genl. Leslie carried from Virginia, will prevent our doing much this Winter. I am glad to find your assembly are using their best endeavours to answer the requisitions of Congress—if we could once get into the Field an Army for the War, we may with the assistance of our Ally easily drive our Enemies from the Continent next Campaign. The President, & my Colleagues beg to return their best respects wishing you the Compliments of the Season, & a return of many happy New Years. I am Sir with sincere Esteem, your most hum servt,

Tho. Bee

RC (NRom: Huntington Collection). Addressed: “The Honble Benjamin Huntington Esqr. at Norwich in Connecticut.”

Thomas Burke to John Laurens

Phila. 26th De'r 1780.

1 Qu. What Methods have been taken for raising men & what prospect of Success?¹

Ansr. A Law is in force for raising men on a bounty of One prime Slave and a Tract of (I believe) 200 acres of Land to every Soldier for the War who shall compleat the term of Service, and to the family or representative of Such as may die in Service. Besides this a bounty of money was appointed, but the depreciation has made it Inconsiderable.

This act has had little or no Success, nor do I expect any from that or any other Expedient for raising regular Troops so long as the Circumstances of the war require so many of our Militia in the field. Very few can at any time be found to enlist voluntarily, because landed property is very easily acquired, the Climate is mild, and the Soil either fruitful for agriculture, fit for raising Stock, or for

producing Naval Stores. The War has exhausted all or most of the men who might be calculated upon for voluntary enlistments.

2 Qu. What methods for procuring Supplies?

Ansr. A specific Tax is laid, which, on the lowest computation, will yield 500,000 bushels of Indian Corn, or other provisions Equivalent. Besides this the Commissioners are authorised and required, if necessary, to take, for public use, one half of all the provisions which can be found in the State above what may be necessary for the Support of the Inhabitants. Powers are given for calling forth Teams &c for transportation but this is a very difficult business, and destructive to the agriculture of the State. So many of our Wagons and Horses have been destroyed, disabled, or lost in the late affair near Cambden, and, before that, in the distant Service to which the Militia were called, that the Country retains but a very scanty Supply for its agriculture for which they are Essentially requisite. Teams, however, and carriages have been supplied for the movements both of Militia and regulars, but in Consequence thereof the agriculture has been very much Neglected.

Commissioners are appointed with ample powers for employing the resources of the State in the purchase of Arms, Amunition, cloathing and other foreign Supplies. I cannot Say I expect much from their Efforts, but rather wish these Supplies might be sent from abroad. A money Tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the gross value of property valued at 7 for 1 on the specie price.

3d Qu. What towards relinquishing Vacant Lands for the use of the United States?

Ansr. This has never yet been submitted to the Legisla[tur]e nor indeed do I know upon what principle it is requ[est]ed. I believe it will be difficult to Convince the State that a [large] part of her property should be made Common Stock w[hile] others retain all their more Valuable property entire and unaffected by such a Contribution. This is Conjecture. The Question cannot be pointedly answered.

Sir,

In the foregoing you will find all that at present Occurs to me on the Questions propounded to me by Mr. Mathews on your behalf.² I wish my answers could be more agreeable, but the truth must be told to you, and your prudence will best point out the use you may be able to make of it. If I can give you any farther Satisfaction I will do it with great pleasure.

I am S'r with Regard and Esteem, Your very obd. S't.

Thos. Burke

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

¹ For the purpose of these queries, see the following note.

² John Mathews had originally served on the committee that drafted Laurens' commission and instructions as minister extraordinary to France and on December

23 he chaired a committee that was further instructed to confer with Laurens "on the subject of his mission." *JCC*, 18:1141, 1185-88, 1193. To provide Laurens with recent information on conditions in the states, Mathews apparently presented these three questions to several state delegations on Laurens' behalf. For the Connecticut response, see Oliver Wolcott to Laurens, December 27, 1780. For a more lengthy consideration of conditions in North Carolina sent to Laurens before his departure, see North Carolina Delegates to Laurens, January 16, 1781.

William Burnet to William Livingston

Sir, Philadelphia Dec. 26, 1780

Your Excellency has I doubt not received the Resolve of Congress of the 22d inst., which I had the Honor of sending to you Yesterday by their Order,¹ demanding a Supply of Men &c. agreeably to former Requisitions, & I am happy to think, that the Legislature is disposed to comply with it, in the fullest Manner.

I have formerly mentioned to your Excellency the Abuse of Flags at Elizabeth Town, & am sorry, that there is Reason for renewing the Complaint, but as the Evil is not remedied, & I look upon it of dangerous Consequence, I beg Leave to mention it again.

I have Reason to believe, & suppose that it can easily be proved, that some having obtained Permission from the British General to go to New-York, have gone in the Flag, without Permission from us, or even asking for [it]. And it is well known, that the Master of the Flag Boat, & indeed any Person on Board, is permitted not only to land, but to travel from one End of the Town to the [other and] to mix in what Company he pleases, & thus give & receive all the Intelligence which our Enemies desire. [Wh]ether an Inquiry into past Misconduct is pending I will not Take upon me to say, but I flatter myself [your] Excellency will give the most positive Orders for [strict]er Regulation of Flags in future.² I have the Honor [to be] with much Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant.

Wm Burnet

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers). MS torn.

¹ See Burnet to Livingston, December 23, 1780.

² For the difficulties American officials continued to have over the "illicit" use of "flags" at Elizabethtown, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:384.

William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir, Philadelphia, December 26th 1780.

Since my arrival here Congress have been mostly Employed about the foreign affairs and nothing Material has happened that Relates to our State.¹

The Letters from Europe which we have Lately Rec'd give us little hope of peace, altho' all the powers of that Country are taking measures which are Evidently against the Interest of Great Britain.

The Armed Neutrality which has been so much talked of, is come into by all the neutral powers, and which will undoubtedly make very much in our favour.

By our last accounts from the Southward are that, Colo. Tarlton of the British Legion made a very vigorous attack on Colo. Sumpter, who was prepared to Receive him and totally Defeated him with the loss of about one hundred of his men and a Considerable number of his horses.

At that our affairs in that Quarter were in a promising Situation, but we fear that the Reinforcement which Sailed from Chesepege Bay arriving in that Quarter will give some further trouble to our people there.

I must Refer you to the papers Inclosed herewith for the news and am with the Greatest Esteem and Respect, your Excellency's most obed't and humble Serv't,
Wm. Floyd.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:524. RC (N: Clinton Papers). RC charred.

¹ Floyd had resumed his seat in Congress on December 4, 1780. *JCC*, 18:1120.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir,

Decr. 26, 1780

Yours of *Novr. 28 Decr. 1* was yesterday recd. I am glad to find you are at *Ways & Means*. I wish there was the Like of you in every State, particularly in this. Mr. Otis arrived here the 23d. I shall find some Liesure to be a little diffuse by him, Post Communication is almost at an end.

[I shall] send by a Return Express the Receipt you ask for. I have forwarded by Mr. Penny the Amount of the Error of a double Charge of money paid to Sheldon; and I also sent your Tickets. Your Frd.

J L

[P.S.] I think a very confidential Letter is with Rivington relative to the *Exaltations* in your Quarter.¹

RC (NH: Gerry Papers, photostat).

¹ Lovell is anticipating the embarrassment he was about to suffer over the capture and publication of his November 20 and November 21 letters to Gerry and to John Hancock, respectively, having condemned the worship of Hancock by the Massachusetts electorate in the former while simultaneously engaging in a bit of hypocritical adulation himself in the latter.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Decr. 26. 1780

I have your favor of the 18th inst.¹ inclosing another relating to Capt. C. Taylor² with a certificate of his situation; to which I shall pay the necessary attention but cannot undertake to predict certain success.

The Danish Declaration with the step taken in consequence by the Ct. of London mentioned in the inclosed are the chief news of this week.³ There is a *report* that Arnold is gone up the Sound with 4000 troops towards N. London. Wishing you the compliments of the Season, I am D Sr. yours Sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.⁴

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:262.

¹ Not found.

² That is, Craddock Taylor, who had been Madison's schoolmate. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 34 (1926): 142. Although little is known about Taylor, he was also the subject of the following brief, undated letter from ex-delegate John Penn of North Carolina to James Lovell, which is now in the Franklin Papers, PPAmP. "Cradduc Taylor a young man of Virginia brought up to the Sea was in England when the present War commenced, he has lately written to his mother that he was pressed on Board a Man of War against his consent, that the Ship has since been taken & he is now a prisoner in France, he has two Brothers now in the army one has been killed in it. All his relations are warm whigs, a large number of them are now in the army. The Minister of France has been so obliging as to write to Count de Vergens to have him released. Will Mr. Lovell be so good as to write to Doctor Franklin to Interest himself in procuring the liberty of the Young man. I know him very well & his relations & am convinced the above state is a true one. I had this account from Mr. Pendleton Chancellor of Virginia." Taylor was apparently released and by 1783 had married and returned to the sea, but no further information about him has been found. See David John Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 2:206. See also Madison to Pendleton, February 13, 1781, note 4.

³ Although "the inclosed" has not been found, it was probably the December 23 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

⁴ For Madison's expense account for the quarter September 20 to December 20, 1780, which he sent to the Virginia Auditors at about this time, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:251-52.

William Sharpe to Unknown

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Decr. 26th. 1780

When I had the pleasure of being engaged with you in business more than a year ago, you may remember that I requested your aid in obtaining a good waiting Servant, having sold my former one for his misdemeanors and ever since have had an hired servant who has lately taken a notion & is gone a privateering—and am at present

in a manner destitute. You will exceedingly oblige me if you will inform me by the first post whither one can be obtained, and on what terms. (Hard money I have none.) If it is not possible to get a good waiting man please let me know whether an honest farmer boy can be had & the terms, and perhaps he may be taught to make a waiter—honesty is the most necessary qualification. I am sorry to give you so much trouble but cannot get a good boy to purchase to the southward.

Our affairs to the southward wear a better aspect, the voluntary exertions of the Militia since the defeat of Genl. Gates, has repulsed the enemy in various rencounters with their out posts & thereby have obliged their main body to retreat out of North Carolina with precipitation. Sundry private letters say, that Genl. Sumter who commands a small body of So. Carolina Militia defeated Colo. Tarleton about the 20th Novr. but have not received it officially. We are not informed of Genl. Leslie since he left the chessepeak bay.

With great esteem, I am, Sir Your Most Obt. Humble Servt.
Wm. Sharpe

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

Jesse Root to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Please your Excellency Philadelphia Decembr. 27th 1780

The want of a Safe Conveyance, and my Sons having the Small pox in the family, of which he is got well, prevented my writing to you Sooner. Inclosed are Extracts of letters which passed between the Count Vergennes Minister of France & Mr John Adams—which need no Comment.¹ Also a Copy of a letter wrote to the board of war from the President & Council of Pensylvania,² avowing & Justifying their orders to Lt. Hunter to Stop Supplies Carrying on to wyoming by order of the Commissary Genl; and the Subsequent resolution of Congress respecting that Post;³ the whole being of Such a nature & Complexion I thought it my duty to Communicate the Whole to your Excellency that you may write to Genl Washington on the Subject in Case you Shall think it proper & necessary.

The tenour of the armed Neutrality among the northern powers, the States which have acceded to it & their naval force; with the manner in which it is received in Britain, the inclosed papers will Explain nothing is Clearer than that this Confederacy does most pointedly Counteract the Veivs of Britain with respect to America, for it legitimates a free trade with us without Exception—which has been interdicted by great Britain. Messr. Guichen arrived at Cadiz on the 24th of Octr. with a Convoy of 140 Sail of Merchantmen,

where was also Count de Estang with 74 Ships of the line. Mr. H Laurance is Committed to the Tower on a Charge of high Treason. Mr Adams is impowered to negociate the business in Holland which Mr Laurence was to have done. Mr Frances Dana is appointed our Minister at the Court of Petersburg to accede to the neutrality & to negociate other business which may be beneficial to these States.

Col John Laurence is appointed to go to France to enforce the reasons for granting us the aid Solicited from thence & to Send over the Supplies So much wanted for our Army.

The british Ministry hold up to their people an Idea of paccification; to keep up the Credit of their funds & quiet their minds of the people under the heavy losses they have Sustained in the Summer past—and to amuse their Enemies while they are Secretly Meditating war & reveange. The Kings Speech at the opening of the new parliament, it is Said, Contains nothing very Important only with respect to America he is please to observe, that those rebellious Subjects who rise against Government must be reduced to distruction or the Constitution must fail. Overtures have been made by the british ministry to the Court of Madrid, for an accommodation which that Court rejected unless France Should be included—to which the british Minister replied—that France was So Connected with America that they Could not treat without America, to this the Spanish Minister answered, that his Court was no less bound to France than France to America.

The System of Government over these States as at present exercised is extremely defective. The Sovereign power of war & peace, having no permanent funds in its possession, nor the means of establishing any Must feel itself weak & prevent or defeat almost every measure however necessary & render the Execution languid tardy & oft times wholly abortive—The wealth of the States Constitutes the great fund on which we must depend for Credit abroad & for resources at home—and while these are drawn forth at the volition of each State, by recommendatory requisitions only it is in the power of any State to defeat the most important measure.

The union of these thirteen States, for their mutual interest & Safety, Constitutes a republic of States or political persons—of which great republic, each State Constitutes one Member or Subject—over which Congress is appointed to preside and it is as necessary that Congress Should exercise the powers of Coercion over the particular States for the general purposes of the Confederacy as it is that the Confederacy Should Continue in its present form—or that each State Should exercise Such power over its particular Citizens for the weal of the State—and this power is so far from infringing upon the right or Sovereignty of the particular States—that it is as necessary for the preservation of them as the union itself.

The result of the Convention at Hartford has been laid before

Congress and is Committed—I flatter myself it will Serve to facilitate Some usefull & necessary regulations. The business of Finance in the present Situation is distressing & extremely embarassed—had all the States punctually Complied with the resolution of the 18th of March with respect to sinking the old bills & Issuing the new—and had the new Issued in the time, quantity & Credit proposed, four tenths only is to go into the Continental Chest—which would be a very inadequate Supply—but few of the States have Issued any of the money, Some have not taken resolution even to Comply—and the new bills Issue with an evident depreciation, besides I dont See how it will be practicable to Sink the old bills by Taxes on account of the unequal manner in which they are distributed in the States—Some have a great Surplus while others lack of their quotas—to Stop the Circulation by a resolve of Congress is a Stroke of power which has been already but too often repeated for the Credit of public bodies—it is easey to See how Such an exertion of power must disagreeably effect the Credit of the New money—for individuals will distrust the faith of that body which in any Instance makes use of its power to alter or rescind As engagements to the Prejudice of Individuals. By the System ten million of dollars only was to be put into Circulation, one sixth to be sunk annually; besides this the States must be taxed annually to raise the Current Supplies—the year is very far elapsed—the measure but partially Executed in any & not even attempted in Some. Query will it be posible for the States now to Carry this System into Execution—and at the Same time raise the necessary Supplies for the next year. The pay of the army which is in arear Eight months will Swallow up the 4/10.

The resources of a Country are to be estimated by the wealth of its Citizens and the means established for drawing that wealth into public use. The ordinary method of doing this is by taxation; and as this must be laid on by general rules in equal proportion, Scarce any State is able by this means to raise more than one half of what its inhabitants are able to pay because while one part is Oppressed the other Scarcely feels the burden, recourse ought therefore to be had to other means to releave the necessities of the public by more equal exactions—and this I think may be done by duties & Imposts in the Continental way if Judiciously laid & Carefully Collected*—for if they are laid by the particular States for their particular benefit—it is easy to See that the Collection will be vastly unequal—for one State may Import for many others who Consume the articles & of Consequence pay the duties which the State that Imports takes the benefit of—whereas if laid in a Continental way & for Continental use no State will pay for more than it Consumes & none Share in the profit beyond its Just quota. Again if these duties are laid indiscriminately on all the necessities of life it must distress the poorer Sort which ought to be releived—but if they are laid upon luxuries

& Superfluities which are Consumed only by the rich & Opulent an amazing Sum might be raised without distressing any body—but why do I trouble your Excellency with reasoning upon a Measure which is evidently out our power to put into practice.

A letter is Just received from Genl Green⁵ Informing Congress that it is Impracticable at this Juncture to institute a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Genl Gates—and that his transactions at that time was more owing to Misfortune than misconduct in the Opinion of the Officers that were present. It Contains also a Confirmation of the taking of Major Wemys &c by Genl Sumpter—also the repulse of Col Tarlton on the 20th ulto. the action was Severe the Enemy were repulsed & rallied three times—finally quitted the field & left 92 dead & 100 wounded; the approach of night prevented our people from pursuing—to advantage; also an Account of the Capture of one Mr. Ruger, Col Cook & 112 tory officers & Soldiers who had immured themselves in a log barn on P Rutgers plantation the barn was abatticd—Lt Col Washington with about 90 light dragoons knowing their Situation—got a pine log & mounted it on Carriage wheels in form of a Cannon—approched in full view of the barn with this formidable peice of artillery—and to prevent the Shocking Scene of bloodshed & Slaughter that must follow the first discharge of this Mighty Cannon he humanely Summoned them to Surrender which they readily did without firing a gun. Monsr. Terney's death was not heard of till yesterday⁶—I have enclosed to your Excellency the Journals of Congress for Septr. & Octr being all that are printed—and the vol. of 1778 which Mr Sherman desired me to Send by Brown—and Several of the latest papers. I must ask your Excellency's pardon for troubling you with So long a Scroll which I had not time to Copy.

I am with perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedt & most humble Servt.
Jesse Root

P S. Genl Clinton has wrote home to be recalled or reinforced with ten thousand men.⁷

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ Root enclosed extracts from the comte de Vergennes' June 21 letter to John Adams, and Adams' June 22, 1780, reply defending Congress' March 18 devaluation of the Continental dollar, which are printed in Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:805-7, 809-16. The extracts are in the Trumbull Papers, Ct.

² Joseph Reed's November 20, 1780, letter to the Board of War. *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 8:611-12. Root's copy is in the Trumbull Papers, Ct.

³ See Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed, December 14, 1780.

⁴ The necessity for a Continental impost—"to establish the national credit, furnish a proper circulating medium, [and] support the credit of the bills issued by the [United] States"—had been asserted by the "committee for regulating the finances of the United States" in a report submitted to Congress on December 18. See *JCC*, 18:1157; and John Sullivan's Committee Notes, November 7-23, 1780.

⁵ Gen. Nathanael Greene's December 7 letter to President Huntington, which

is in PCC, item 155, 1:471-80. That Greene's letter was read in Congress on December 28 (*JCC*, 18:1199), suggests that Root may have completed this letter to Trumbull after that date.

⁶ That is, Charles Henri d'Arsac, chevalier de Ternay, commander of the French naval squadron at Newport, whose recent death was reported in General Washington's December 22 letter to President Huntington. See *JCC*, 18:1203; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:1-2.

⁷ For a discussion of Gen. Henry Clinton's demands on the North ministry, see William Willcox, *Portrait of a General, Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), pp. 355-62.

Oliver Wolcott to Andrew Adams

Sir,

Philadelphia 27 Decr. 1780

According to the present Veivs, G Britain smarting with her Losses and encouraged by her Success to the Southward, is Violently Actuated by those different Passions, and will at all Hazard, continue a War in which it certain She is opposed either openly or Secretly by every Nation in Europe. But the Dishonour which the British Administration think they must suffer by their Loss of America, their disappointed Pride, Ambition and Lust of Revenge will excite them to keep up the War as long as possible. It becomes Us to prepare accordingly And have our Army established, and provided for and paid. And this America must do except to Cloath the Army. And why except on Acct. of the disordered Condition of our Finances are We not Very Able to do it. Money is not the Wealth of a Country if it was so We should be poor indeed. For the Old Bills which give us So much Trouble do not exceed in Value half a Million Sterling. Shall We have all our affairs imbarressed by the Existence of this Stuff. We certainly in my Opinion can do infinitely better without any publick Bills than with these. Indeed I do not See but what We might do pritty Well if there were no publick Bills in the Country. But at any Rate I think that those old Bills ought to be cancelled within a limited Time, not in Declaration only but in Fact—perhaps individual States may adopt Measures which will be equitable to provide for an Exemption from the Embarrassment of the old Bills by the first of May—The Time when Congress proposed to have the Bills Sunk.

Congress have many Things to do, but Want Materials to Effect any Thing Very Material. They must be supplied with money from the States and until that is done, the States must in their individual Condition Support the War. This is conducting it under great Disadvantages.

Our Affairs to the Southward are quite as well as We could except them to be. In all the small Actions which happen our People have the Advantage.

Here is Health and Plenty So that a Man if he had a Cart load of Money might probably live well a month. Were the Provisions carried to Genl. Washingtons Army in Case they were fully established which are Weekly brought to this Market, they would be fully and regularly supplied. Shall not the United States be able to do what is effected by a smal Part of one of them. The Provisions brought to this Market are paid for. We pay for Nothing. Shall everybody be rich but the Publick. Sir Part of the Surplus Wealth of Individuals must be collected to carry on this War, upon the Event of which every Thing interesting depends—and but a part of the unnecessaries of Life or at least such as are not Wanted will be sufficient. Those must be proud and in that Case We Shall do well. I believe it may be a real Question wheather the Country taken Collectively have been made poorer by the War. Attend as well as you can either to what you Shall perceive to be either the Real or Apparent Wants of the People and then judge. Are another People as Well fed and as Well Cloathed as they were before the War. Is there Not a great Plenty of forraign Manufactures and even Luxurys amongst us. Look into the Stores in Philadelphia and Boston and this will be found to be the Case. This City is I believe as full of goods of all Kinds as it was before the War. I beleive that Boston is probably much fuller. What then is the Dificulty—cannot those Amazing Resources be drawn out by paying for them. To an infinite Amount they are continually selling here to Individuals and Yet the Publick cannot Buy any Thing because they can pay for Nothing. But why cannot they Pay? What Fascination prevents the publick, being Rich when it's constituent Parts are Rich? It would be a Most Scandalous Story to tell, that a Country was undone, because it did not know how to make Use of it's Wealth for it's Necessary Defences.

Present my Compliments to Mrs. Adams—And all my good Friends—I am Sir with real Regard, your most Obedt Servant,
Oliver Wolcott

RC (PPRF).

Oliver Wolcott to John Laurens

Philadelph 27 Decr. 1780.

The Hon Mr. Mathews has desired me to inform Col Laurens¹—Whiether Connecticut will have for the next Campaign, their Line in the Army compleat, according to the Requisition of Congress?

Whiether that State will furnish the Provisions for the Army, required?

Whether that State has or will Cede the Unlocated Territory which they Claim, to the United States?

My Answer to the first Question is—That the State has offered a large Bounty to every Recruit who Shall enlist in the State Line for three Years or during the War. Besides this, by an Act of Government, each Town in the State is divided according to it's Taxables into as many Classes as they are deficient in their Quotas—which Towns and Classes are Obligated under a Severe Penalty to furnish their respective Recruits by the first of February. I am of Opinion that Connecticut will have their Line in the Army the Next Campaign, as full as it has usually been.

My Answer respecting Provisions is That the State has by Law Obligated their Towns to furnish for the Army for the Next Campaign, Salted Beeff, Salted Pork and Flour to the amount of about Six Thousand Barrells. These Provisions will be chiefly collected in Flesh. The Law ordaining this Supply passed but a little Time before I left the State. I am credibly informed that this Measure is carrying into the most cheerful and Vigorous Execution.

The large Demands for Provisions for the French Fleet and Army at Newport, and the alluring Pay which they make induces great Quantities of live Beeff, to be Sent there. This Circumstance I apprehend will render it More Dificult for the State to furnish this Article to the Amount required than it would otherwise be, But Notwithstanding I am of Opinion the Zeal and Vigor of the State will Surmount this Dificulty—And I am perswaded that Shall the Other States exert the same Vigor to furnish Men and Provisions for the next Campaign that Connecticut will. That even if no Successfull Efforts Shall be made the next Campaign by our Ally; either by Cooperating with us to Suppress the Foe in America, or by diverting more effectually the War from this Country, But that the Main Weight of it must Still be Sustained by Us. That even in this Case upon similar Exertions it will not be in the Power of the Enemy to gain any Material Advantages over the Northern and Middle States more than they usually did before the Alliance.

As to the third Question—Connecticut has Ceded to the United States all their unlocated Territory West of what they call their Susquehannah Purchase, which if I rightly remember extends Two Leagues² West of the Delaware. This Cession is made upon Condition that the other States claiming unlocated Territory Shall Cede proportionably according to their Claims. Connecticut are Very sincere in Wishing that the Unlocated Territory (except such Lands as are yet within their Susquehannah Purchase unlocated which they think it reasonable for them [to] retain) might become a common Interest. The State are disposed to have these Cessions made not from any Apprehension that they cannot as well and even better Support their Claims than any other States, when they consider that

their Purchase can be well ascertained—And that the same Act of the Crown which constitute the once Colony of Connecticut with the Powers of Government Vested the Colony with the Fee of the Land which the State now Claims. But what influences the Conduct of the State in this particular is a Desire to adopt a Measure which might Cement our union, and Constitute an Estate for the Publick Superior to what any other Nation possesses—and which if rightly Managed, might be used for the Introduction of Millions of industrious Forreigners to become Purchasers and Settlers. The Avails of which Purchases made by Forraign Property would within a few years be more than sufficient to pay the whole Debt incurred by the War.

As Col Laurens will go to Boston or Newport in either Case it will be Very convenient for him to See Govr. Trumbull, from whom he can Obtain more particular and perfect Information than it is possible for me to give him.

Oliver Wolcott

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

¹ For a discussion of this series of questions from John Mathews, see Thomas Burke to Laurens, December 26, 1780.

² Above "Leauges" is written in another hand, and perhaps at a much later date, the word "degrees."

Theodorick Bland to George Weedon

Dr. Sr.

Philadelphia Decr. 28th [1780]

My time is so much engaged at present that it is with much difficulty I have found a leisure hour to comply with your two Commissions. You will therefore not be surprized at my fire being somewhat weaker than it formerly was, especially when you consider that my way of fighting is now with an air gun. We have been lately sweetend with two or three strokes of good news from your Part of the world—Sumpters, Washingtons and Marians affairs—and have no doubt when the *Big knife*¹ becomes sufficiently sharpened of hearing that you have given them a Coup de Grace. All the northern news stirring at present is that Admiral de Ternay is Dead—that the Infamous Arnold has gone on an Expedition to New London with the Command of about 2500 *Ragamuffins* as may be supposed; for who else can be supposed will be commanded by him. Enclosed you will receive by Mr. Peter Thornton² son of Col. Anthy. of your Neighbourhood the Lottery Tickets renewd and your Commission renewd as you requested.³ God Bless you & send you a happy new year. Repeat your letters as often as you can or as you please but do not always expect fire for fire from Yr. Friend & Svt,

Theodk. Bland

N.B. Arnolds Expedn or return or his destination is not yet certain but supposed. Some think he may be gone Southward.

RC (MnHi: Allyn K. Ford Collection).

¹ That is, Virginia.

² For whom, see Virginia Delegates to William Livingston, December 21, 1780, note.

³ Weedon had requested to have his "Commission renewed" the preceding spring, for which see Joseph Jones to Washington, May 23, 1780, note. He and Daniel Morgan were called into service again on June 16; his letter of acceptance was read on July 10 and referred to the Board of War. Apparently before the Board took further action, Gov. Thomas Jefferson pressed Weedon into service in October 1780 to organize resistance against British raids into Virginia, a duty that continued through the Yorktown campaign. See *JCC*, 17:518, 576; *PCC*, item 159, fols. 394-95; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:58, 81n, 339, 384, 423, 5:273, 6:28n, 52.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia December 28. 1780

The enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 24th Instant¹ will inform your Excellency of the Measures they have adopted in Consequence of your Letter of the 15th Instant.

I have the Honor to be, with very great regard, your Excellency's most obedt & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. Decr 29 I have the Honour to Transmit your Excellency the Extract of a letter this moment receivd from Genl Greene with the agreeable Intelligence of the Success of Genl. Sumpter & Lt Col. Washington Containd in the enclosd dispatches.²

I am ut supra

S.H.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand with signature and postscript by Huntington.

¹ Actually a resolution of December 22 urging the states to meet their quotas of troops for the Continental Army, for which see Huntington to the States, December 22, 1780.

² The enclosed dispatches consisted of a report from Col. Hugh Middleton concerning Thomas Sumter's repulse of Banastre Tarleton "at Blackstocks on Tyger River," South Carolina, on November 20, and a December 6 letter from Gen. William Smallwood to Gen. Nathanael Greene. Both are in the Washington Papers, DLC.

Samuel Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia December 29. 1780

I do myself the Honor to transmit your Excellency the agreeable

Intelligence of the Success of Gen Sumpter & Lt Col. Washington contained in the enclosed Despatches No. 1 & No. 2.¹

It is said a reinforcement is gone from New York to South Carolina, and that Admiral Rodney with nine Sail of the line is gone to the West Indies.

From the Situation & Disposition of the Powers in Europe, Russia in particular, by the latest Intelligence, Congress have thought it expedient immediately to send a Minister to the Court of Petersburg, and for the Sake of Despatch, among other Considerations, have appointed the Honble Francis Dana Esquire (now in Europe & Secretary to Mr J. Adams) to that important Mission. The Appointment ought not to be published at present for obvious Reasons.

Colonel John Trumbull was in London the 25th of October last, and had been there some Time in Company with Mr West the celebrated Painter. This Intelligence I have received from a Gentleman just arrived in this City from London who tells me he saw Mr Trumbull and conversed with him & a Number of other Americans who had taken an active Part in the War in America, and appeared Openly in the City & no Notice taken of them by Authority.

From my present Situation & Engagement Necessity obliges me to depend upon my Colleagues to give your Excellency more particular & frequent Intelligence than I can possibly do, which I have no Doubt they will faithfully perform.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,
Sam. Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See the preceding entry, note 2.

Samuel Adams to John Scollay

My dear Sir

Philade Decr 30 1780

I receivd your favor of the 6th Instant, but not till the 25th. The Post has been very irregular of late, & our Letters grow old before we receive them. It is a Shame that the Mail has been caught a second time in the same trap. I inclosed to you a Warrant on Mr Appleton for the Amount of your Demand for boarding the orphans of our late Friend Genl Warren. I think I did not send the Letter by that Post. But being uncertain I informd you in a subsequent Letter of my having sent the Warrant, and desired you to inform me whether it had come safely to hand. I expect to hear from you in Answer

to my last at least, & shall then conduct the Matter if necessary, as you have proposd.¹

Our Government, I perceive, is organizd on the Basis of the new Constitution. I am affraid there is more Pomp & Parade than is consistent with those sober Republican Principles, upon which the Framers of it thought they had founded it. Why should this new OEra be introduc'd with Entertainments expensive & tending to dissipate the Minds of the People? Does it become us to lead the People to such publick diversions as promote Superfluity of Dress & ornament, when it is as much as they can bear to support the Expense of cloathing a naked Army? Will Vanity & Levity ever be the Stability of government, either in States, in Cities, or what, let me hint to you is of the last Importance, in *Families*? Of what Kind are those Manners, by which, as we are truly inform'd in a late Speech, "not only the freedom but the very Existence of Republicks is greatly affected?" How fruitless is it, to recommend "the adapting the Laws in the most perfect Manner possible, to the Suppression of Idleness, Dissipation & Extravagancy," if such Recommendations are counteracted by the Example of Men of Religion, Influence & publick Station? I meant to consider this Subject in the View of the mere Citizen. But I have mention'd the sacred Word *Religion*. I confess, I am surpriz'd to hear, that some particular Persons have been so unguarded as to give their Countenance to such kind of Amusements. I Wish Mr ——² would recollect his former Ideas when his Friend Whitfield thunder'd in the Pulpit against Assemblies & Balls. I think he has disclaim'd Diversions, in some Instances, which to me have always appear'd innocent. Has he chang'd his opinions, or has the Tendency of things alter'd? Do certain Manners tend to quench the Spirit of Religion at one [ti]me & are they harmless at another? Are Morals so vague as to be sanctified or dispens'd with by the Authority of different Men? He does not beleive this—but I will not be severe, for I love my Friend. Religion out of the Question for the present. It was asked in the Reign of Charles the 2d of England, How shall we turn the Minds of the People from an Attention to their Liberties? The Answer was, by making them extravagant, luxurious, effeminate. Hutchinson advis'd the Abridgment of what our People call'd English Liberties, by the same Means. We shall never subdue them, said Bernard, but by eradicating their Manners & the Principles of their Education. Will the judicious Citizens of Boston be now caught in the Snare, which their artful insidious Enemies, a few years ago laid for them in vain? Shall we ruin ourselves by the very means, which they pointed out in their Confidential Letters, tho even they did not dare openly to avow them? Pownal, who was indeed a mere Fribble, ventur'd to have his Riots & Routs at his own house, to please a few Boys & Girls. Sober People were disgusted at it, & his privy Councillors never thought it prudent to venture so far as expensive

Balls. Our Bradfords, Winslows & Winthrops would have revolted at the Idea of opening Scenes of Dissipation & Folly; knowing them to be inconsistent with their great Design, in transplanting themselves into what they called this "Outside of the World." But I fear I shall say too much. I love the People of Boston. I once thought, that City would be the *Christian* Sparta. But Alass! Will men never be free! They will be free no longer than while they remain virtuous. Sidney tells us, there are times when People are not worth saving. Meaning, when they have lost their Virtue. I pray God, this may never be truly said of my beloved Town. Adieu—My Respects to Mrs. Scollay & Family & beleive me to be sincerely, Your Friend, SA

[P.S.] If Mr B A³ thinks a Question from me worth his answering, ask him whether he has lost some valueable Books which I have seen in his Library, *the Works of our illustrious Forefathers*.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ None of the letters of Adams or Scollay mentioned in this paragraph has been found, but Scollay's January 17, 1781, response to this letter is in the Adams Papers, NN.

² That is, John Hancock.

³ That is Benjamin Austin, Boston merchant and political activist, who, according to Scollay's January 17 reply, promised to respond directly to Adams.

Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene

Dear sir

Philadelphia Decemr. 30th. 1780

I had the Honour to receive your Excellencys favours of the 22d Ult. and 7th Instant by the last post. The President is informed that you had not received the Resolution recommending the Six Million Tax¹—But he says it went by the way of Boston, and thinks you have received it before this.

In my last I informed you, of my Intention to return home,² immediately upon being relieved, But you will see by the inclosed Resolution of Congress, that I am elected a Commissioner of the Board of War.³ I confess I do not think myself fully justifiable in accepting the Appointment without the Approbation of the State, whose directions I conceive myself bound to observe. As I did not solicit the Appointment, I flatter myself I shall be pardoned by my Constituents—And have undertaken the task upon no other principle than that of serving my Country with honesty and faithfulness to the extent of my small Abilities.

As no more expence will accrue to the State on Account of my delegation I have inclosed an Account of my Expences, and of the Monies I have received and will send the Vouchers by the first safe Conveyance.

I have sent to your Excellency by Colo. Peck a Collection of Accounts, Expenditures and Estimates which have been taken from the best Authorities and you may rest assured are as compleat as our Situation at present, will admit. I at first collected the Materials for my own Information, and afterwards thought it might give you such information as would be agreeable and to the Honble the General Assembly such as might be necessary. And for that purpose I wish through you to communicate the Contents to that Honourable Body, with that degree of Secrecy, that you may think necessary. And if the Information is received with one half the satisfaction it is given, I am fully paid for all the pains and Trouble I have been at in making the Collection and the highth of my Ambition gratified.

The President of Congress received yesterday dispatches from General Greene dated at Charlotte the 7 Instant by them it appears he had relieved General Gates and taken the Command of the Southern Army, these dispatches contain but little News, only that Col. Washington of the Dragoons had taken by Stratagem a Tory Garrison consisting of a Colonel Rugesly and one hundred and eleven of his Associates without firing a Gun.

As I am now out of Congress, it is not in my power to give you a particular detail of the transactions of that honourable Body. But I make no doubt you will receive the fullest information from Genl. Varnum whose pen is more able than mine. At the same time I shall continue to embrace every Opportunity in giving you every information that shall be for the Interest of the State so far as shall come to my knowledge.

As it is the heighth of my Ambition to deserve well of my Country and after the many Honours conferred and Trusts committed to my Charge by the State to which I belong, to be unmindful of her welfare would be the heighth of Ingratitude, at the same time to lye under any Censure by my Constituents for any misconduct would be one of the most mortifying Circumstances that could befall me, I must therefore beg you will be so kind as to inform me even if it is only supposed I have been guilty of an Omission in the duty I owe the State since my residence in this City that I may endeavour to give satisfaction either by information or retraction.

I have the honour to be with every sentiment of Esteem and respect your Excellencys most obedient and most humble Servant,
Ezekiel Cornell

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Cornell to Greene, November 9, 1780, note 1.

² Cornell did not mention his "Intention to return home" in his "last" of December 10, but he had done so in his December 4, 1780, letter to Greene.

³ Cornell, who had been elected as a congressional member of the Board of War on November 21, 1780, was named a commissioner in place of Timothy Pickering on December 29, thus allowing him to remain in Philadelphia after he had been relieved as a delegate on December 19 by James Varnum. *JCC*, 18:1075, 1165, 1203.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Decemr. 30. 1780

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter of the 14th November¹ intended for you but fell into the hands of the enemy by the Mail being taken at Stratford in Connecticut and was published in Rivington's Gazette. I also enclosed you by the same post in another letter of the 18th copy of an address to the New Hampshire Officers with my letter to Colonel Scammell.² These also shared the same fate, copies of which I also enclose you once more, and hope they will meet the approbation of the Assembly.

What view the Enemy had in publishing those letters cannot be conceived. The French Ambassador has translated my letter into French,³ and enclosed it to the prime minister of France by Colonel Laurens, who is appointed our special minister to the Court of Versailles, he has been polite enough to communicate the contents of his letter which is to show from the State of Our political Affairs the necessity of supplying the money, and other articles requested and urged, that as this letter was written confidentially to the President of a State by one who has had at least an opportunity of acquiring a Knowledge of our political affairs, was not intended to answer any purpose at the French Court, but was exposed to public view by the common enemy, it must be a true picture of our situation and says that this will have more weight there than any thing that he or Congress can write as it was evidently not intended as a stimulus to that Court.

If it should answer that essential purpose I shall not regret its being taken, though I confess I am not fond of being one of Mr Rivington's correspondents.

I only have in this letter to repeat my request for money, as Congress have resolved that members shall not draw from the Public Treasury. The hint in my last letter, and a moment's calculation will show the situation I must be in for money. I wish for hard money not because it passes more currently, but because it makes a less sound and may be more readily forwarded, and I wish no time to be lost in letting me have money of some kind, and of either sort the nominal sum must not be small. I shall easily be able to convince the Assembly, that I have used every economy but the price of articles must be paid which are even in hard money most enormous.

Our Southern army have in the partizan way gained some considerable advantages over the enemy, and to continue to give them severe checks.

I have the honor to be most respectfully, Dear sir, Your very humble Servant,

Jno Sullivan

¹ That is, Sullivan's November 15, 1780, letter to Meshech Weare.

² See Sullivan to Alexander Scammell, and to the Officers of the New Hampshire Line, November 19, 1780.

³ Sullivan is referring to his November 15 letter to Weare. Although this intercepted letter had been published primarily to expose the lamentable state of Continental finances, La Luzerne was also struck by Sullivan's description of his personal finances. "The duty I owe to myself and Family," Sullivan had warned Weare, "will no longer permit me to serve the Publick in the highest and most perplexing offices to the ruin of my Fortune when even the common Soldier receives a superior reward and commands Superior Attention." From this the French Minister concluded that Sullivan might readily be attached to the French interest and accordingly recommended to the French court that he be put on the French payroll before the British made a similar attempt. For a discussion of Sullivan's vulnerability to such influence and the efforts of La Luzerne to capitalize on it, see Sullivan to George Washington, November 26, 1780, note 5.

Virginia Delegates to Samuel Nightingale, Jr.

Sr.¹

Philadelphia Dcr. 30th [1780]

Please to deliver to the Order of Monsr. de Touche, Commander in Chief of the Squadron of his Most Christian Majesty now at Rhode Island, the Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, Medcines and other Articles, imported in the Comite on account of the State of Virginia And oblige Sr., Yr. most obedt. H. Sets,

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

RC (RHi: Nightingale-Jenks Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:264-65.

¹ Samuel Nightingale, Jr. (1741-1814) was a partner in the mercantile firm of Clark & Nightingale in Providence, R.I. He had written to the Virginia delegates on December 6, 1780, concerning the cargo of the schooner *Le Comité* which had sailed from Nantes the previous summer with military supplies for Virginia. Captured by the British off Cape Henry, the vessel was retaken as a prize by American privateers and sold at public auction in Providence. Half the cargo was still the property of Virginia, however, and the question of its disposal became a subject of the delegates' correspondence in the ensuing months. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:227-28, 245-48; and Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson and to Nightingale, January 1 and 2, 1781, respectively.

To this letter was also appended the following note by the chevalier Destouches, commander of the French squadron at Newport. "The things mentioned are to be delivered to Mr. Dubose, agent of the french fleet at Providence. Newport the 26th January 1781."

The delegates' letter had been given to the French Minister in Philadelphia for transmittal to Destouches, for which see Theodorick Bland, *The Bland Papers*, ed. by Charles Campbell, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund & Julian C. Ruffin, 1840), 2:30-31, where La Luzerne's dispatch is misdated January 2, 1780. Destouches undoubtedly added his message before sending the letter on to Nightingale.

Samuel Huntington to Etienne d'Audibert Caille

Sir

Philadelphia Decr 1780

I have laid before the Congress of the United States of North America the Letter you were so good as to address to them from Salee the 6th September 1779,¹ and they have directed me to inform you that they receive with much Pleasure the Intimation of the generous and Princely Intentions of his Majesty the Emperour of Morocco, which they have more particularly acknowledged in their Letter to him of this Date. It is forwarded to their Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles who has it in Command to interest your good Offices in presenting it to the Emperour.

I am also to assure you that they entertain a just Sense of your Services in this Instance, and of the Tender of your Assistance to the Subjects of these States who may visit the Ports of the Emperour for the Purposes of Commerce; and that it will ever give them Pleasure to acknowledge and recompense, as far as may be in their Power, such Marks of Friendship.

I have the Honor to be

FC (DNA: PCC, item 98). In the hand of William Churchill Houston. Addressed: "To Mr Stephen D'Audibert Caille at Salee."

¹ Caille, a French merchant residing in Salé, Morocco, had written concerning the establishment of trade relations with the United States, explaining that he had been authorized by the Sultan to act as consul for nations unrepresented at the Moroccan court. He had written as early as April 14, 1778, to Benjamin Franklin, who, after inquiring of French officials, had advised that "it was not safe to have any correspondence with him." Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:192. But after other overtures, Franklin subsequently forwarded Caille's letter to Congress without comment, and it had been referred to the Committee for Foreign Affairs on September 1, 1780. See Huntington to Jonathan Trumbull, September 4, 1780, note 3. The present response was undoubtedly drafted by Houston as a member of that committee, along with a letter to the Sultan of Morocco, for which see the following entry.

Caille had also attempted to reach Congress through John Jay at Madrid, but Jay too had initially failed to forward Caille's letter, although this and a number of other related documents were enclosed with a November 30, 1780, letter to Congress that was received May 2, 1781, for which see PCC, item 98, fols. 235-61; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:169-74.

The disposition of this reply to Caille is not known, but as instructions for Jay prepared in May 1781 appear to make future correspondence with Caille conditional on Jay's holding "no objection to the contrary," just as Franklin had been advised previously, it seems probable that it was not sent. See *JCC*, 18:1104, 20:554. For a March 1785 report by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on the background of negotiations with Morocco and other Barbary States then under study, which suggests the same conclusion and lists many of the documents related to Caille's overtures in 1778-1780, see also PCC, item 81, 1:57-59; and *JCC*, 28:139-48.

For the context of United States-Moroccan relations at this time and a discussion of the earliest efforts of the Sultan and Caille to promote trade with the United States, see Sherrill Brown Wells, "Long Time Friends: Early U.S.-Moroccan Relations, 1777-87," *Department of State Bulletin*, 87 (September 1987): 1-15.

Samuel Huntington to the Sultan of Morocco

[December 1780]

The Congress of the Thirteen United States of North America, to the High, Potent and Most Noble Prince, The King and Emperour of Morocco.

Most noble and puissant Prince!

We, the Congress of the Thirteen United States of North America, have been informed of Your Majesty's favourable Regard to the Interests of the People we represent; which has been communicated by Mons Etienne D'Audibert Caille, of Salee, Consul for Foreign Nations unrepresented in Your Majesty's States.¹ We assure you of our earnest Desire to cultivate a sincere and firm Peace, and Friendship with your Majesty, and to make it lasting to all Posterity.

In Order that we may demonstrate more fully the high Value we place upon the Amity of so enlightened and magnanimous a Prince, we have given the necessary Orders to our Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, and a proper Person will receive Powers to enter into Negotiations for settling a Treaty of Peace and Commerce with such representative of Your Majesty as you may please to appoint. This, from Your Majesty's great Wisdom and Generosity, we have no Doubt will be adjusted to the mutual Advantage of both Nations.

In the mean Time should any of the Subjects of our States come within *(your Majesty's)* Ports or Territories, we flatter ourselves they will receive the Benefit of your Protection and Benevolence. You may assure yourself of every Protection and Assistance to your Subjects from the People of these States whenever and wherever they may have it in their Power.

We pray your Majesty may enjoy long Life and uninterrupted Prosperity.

Signed in, and by Order of the Congress of the thirteen United States of North America, Day of the Month of December in the year of our LORD Christ 1780 and of our Independence 5.

FC (DNA: PCC, item 98). In the hand of William Churchill Houston.

¹ See the preceding entry.

Artemas Ward to Unknown

Sir

[December 1780]¹

Your Letter of the twenty fourth of Novr. last is at last come to hand; for which I return you my warmest thanks. With astonishment I read the several pieces of Intelligence. In the year 1760 Octor. 25.



Artemas Ward

G — the third came to the Throne. What declarations & Promises did he make? What fulsome addresses were presented to him? On the 25 of Octobr. 80. ———² came to the throne [. . .] has he promised & recommended in words, and what fulsome nonsense has been presented to him, by way [of] addresses? Has the conduct of the two gr[eat men] anyways comported with their former declarations & engagements? I [think] not at all. The conduct of the last has been such if I am rightly informed, that the Jealousy of all ought to be awakened, Lest the morals of the people are debauched by his evil examples & [. . .] State we become a profligate Commonwealth. However I am always for making the best of every thing—I think it is a smile in Providence that he has discovered himself so clearly to the people and so early after his acession (as it is called in one of the acts). Unless the people are Stupedly blind (which I don't think they are) they will see their error, and if proper measures are taken previous to the next ——— to rouse the Genius of old Cato to address them in the mouth of & in the manner mentioned by my friend, great good will arise to the Community. People many times run into excesses for want of consideration & when this is the case there is no more effectual way to bring them to a sense of their duty than, to address them in a serious, and Solemn manner. It is of importance that it should be done in due season; should it be delayed untill the people are habituated to these Views it will be more difficult to bring them off & there will be danger of a general corruption of morals. Should this corruption spread we shall have reason to fear that destruction will follow. I am sometimes ready to fear that, this Generation must be moved of[f] the Stage [before?] Peace, Liberty & Righteousness will flourish on this Continent in a manner wished for. The Stiff necked Israelites of old, were made to wander in the wilderness untill the rebellious generation were dead before the tribes of Israel were permitted to enjoy the Promised land. Innumerable have been the remarkable appearances of Divine Providence in favour of this people but alas how unmindful have they been of the Hand that supported and the Ar[m] that saved them. If there was that attention paid to Virtue and Religion which ought to be, and a sincere desire to acknowledge God in all our ways we might then have grounds to hope in the Divine favour for deliverance from a[ll] the Calamities we now feel. But so long as the people with their rulers at their head are in pursute of folly & vanity, we have no reason to expect anything [but] that the hand of the Lord will be stretched out against us & we be made to feel [the] terribleness of His wrath. It is the duty of every one to exert himself to info[rm] the ignorant and to reclaim the vicious, to stir up the minds of all to a sense [of] their duty, that the great exertions of our Pious ancestors to establish a re[fuge] for Liberty & Righteousness on this continent may not

at this period be lo[st] through the abounding folly & wickedness of us their degenerate offspring.

FC (MHi: Ward Papers). In the hand of Artemas Ward.

¹ Although this letter is undated, Ward was responding to one "of the twenty fourth of Novr. last" from an unknown correspondent who had obviously discussed the October 25, 1780, inauguration of John Hancock as governor of Massachusetts.

² That is, John Hancock.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Dear Sir

Jany 1 —81

The Letter with the Strictures upon it, I propose to be published in Boston if you approve of it.¹ I hope the Press there is free, as the Constitution dictates. If it is not, the Liberties of the People which we have been struggling for, will, in my Opinion be soon lost. I see nothing in the Strictures disrespectful to the Governor or the Government. Indeed they were hastily drawn, & I am not unmindful of the Fable of the Ape & her young one. My Design is to discountenance the Lovers of Flattery, and to vindicate a respectable Character which has been wantonly attackd. We must support such Characters. You will easily see that for one reason & one only, it would be imprudent for me to be known. I am willing however that you should consult confidential *judicious* Friends. Yours—Adieu.

ENCLOSURE

The foregoing is copied from a Letter signd JOHN SULLIVAN,² publishd at New York in the Royal Gazette extraordinary, printed by *James Rivington* Monday Decr. 18, 1780, & said to be a Copy from the original. The Design of the Writer Seems to be merely to please a Great Man: That of the Publisher, partly to expose the Writer, but Principally to sow the Seeds of Disgust in the Minds of some very respectable Citizens in this Common Wealth. I think Mr. Rivington could not have wishd for a fairer Opportunity, but I am satisfied, they have more Wisdom than to be caught in the Snare.

The Letter is written in the true Stile of modern Address; and it is a Pity it did not make its Appearance in publick before; because as it is a perfect Model, it might have been of Use to others, from whom some Inaccuracies have escaped, by Means of their not having been Adepts in that Kind of writing. I have been told that he has frequently been addressed himself, and I am inclin'd to believe it. The Effects are such as one might expect from a Man of his Cast. He who is easily susceptible of Flattery, will soon perswade himself that he is in Reality that Great Man which his Flatterers only meant to perswade him to think *they* believe him to be. He will be apt to

suppose, that others will have the same exquisite Feelings by being flatterd, as he has had, & that they will conceive themselves as highly honor'd by it, as he conceives himself to be when others flatter him. Persons who relish Flattery, will for ever be deceivd by those who design to deceive them. He will therefore employ himself in the daubing Business as often as he can find suitable Subjects, and will colour in so fantastick a Manner, as to excite a Blush on the Cheek of any Man who has a Spark of Modesty. He will go on suffering himself to be deceivd, and deceiving others like himself, till he meets with him who only can be called the *truly great* Man, I mean the *Man of stern Virtue*. Such a Man will never fail to frown when he is flatterd, & his Frowns are Death to the Sychophant.

This Writer pays no great Compliment to the People (indeed I imagine he did not intend it) in supposing that among them all, there could be but one esteem'd qualified "to regulate the political Wheels of Government," as he expresses it, [...] however that he was mistaken. Two were actually in Nomination, & more were thought of by Men of great Judgment, Authority & Experience in publick Affairs. He is totally unacquainted with the Character of the People, as they are with his; nor does he know any thing of the Honourable Gentleman, whom he calls his Excellency "Competitor," who, he says, "in time of publick Danger feard to venture upon the Stage, and whose after Conduct seems rather to have proceeded from *fortunate* Successes on our side, than from the Result of Choice & deliberation." I am also ready to presume, that he is not fully acquainted with the Person whom he takes upon himself so freely to address. He ought to have supposd that his Excellency would not have been well pleas'd with a fulsome Compliment paid to himself, at the Expence of one of the best Characters in the State. But when men will flatter, they run a tilt with Honor, Justice & Truth, & if their Flattery takes, they feel no Remorse. The Gentleman whom he has attackd, was long before he paddled out of obscurity, one of the Helmsmen of the Ship of the State; was markd by Bernard & Hutchinson as a Champion for American Liberty; was negatived by them repeatedly, by express Order of the British Ministry, when he had the full Voice of his Country for a Councillor; continued in the high Esteem of his fellow Citizens, till the Royal Government was dissolv'd by Common Consent, when the opportunity offerd, for him to take a Seat which had so long been prevented by the Governor. This he did, at Watertown, while the Enemy were in Boston. A Time, which Men, *perhaps* less brave, but perhaps however, of more solid *Judgment* than the Letter writer, thought to be a "Time of publick Danger." He remaind a Member of that Board, till every Body saw his Health was in so bad a State as no longer to allow of it. He therefore resign'd his Seat, a Circumstance, which, though all judgd necessary, was regretted by all. He has since however, sustaind the

honorable Places of President of that much revered Body who formed the Constitution, & President of the Council of the State and he is at this time President of the American Society of Arts & Sciences in Massachusetts. How little are the Great Characters in this Revolution known, to those who were *not the earliest* in the virtuous Conflict!

ARISTIDES

RC and enclosure (MHi: Warren-Adams Letters). In the hand of Adams, though not signed.

¹ Adams' enclosures, which he sent to Warren for publication in a Boston newspaper, actually consisted of two documents (1) an intercepted "Letter" from John Sullivan to John Hancock that had recently been published in James Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, and (2) Adams' "Strictures upon it," which he signed "Aristides." They apparently met Warren's approval, for they were subsequently printed in John Gill's *Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser* (though not until April 19, 1781), touching off a vigorous exchange of letters between the supporters of Sullivan and "Aristides."

² For "The foregoing . . . Letter signed John Sullivan," a fawning letter congratulating John Hancock for his recent election as governor of Massachusetts over James Bowdoin, which Adams obviously thought deserved the contempt of all true republicans, see Sullivan to Hancock, November 18, 1780, above.

Samuel Huntington to John Adams

Sir, Philadelphia January 1. 1781

You will receive herewith enclosed, a Commission as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces of the low Countries, with Instructions for your Government on that important Mission;¹ as also a Plan of a Treaty with those States,² and likewise a resolve of Congress relative to the Declaration of the Empress of Russia respecting the Protection of neutral Ships &c.³

Proper Letters of Credence on the Subject of your Mission will be forwarded by the next Conveyance, but it is thought inexpedient to delay the present Despatches on that Account.⁴

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect & Esteem, sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For Adams' commission and instructions regarding his appointment as minister to the United Provinces in the place of the recently captured Henry Laurens, adopted by Congress on December 29, 1780, see *JCC*, 18:1205-6.

² *JCC*, 18:1206-17.

³ For the adoption of this October 5 resolve concerning the declaration of Catherine the Great on the maritime rights of neutrals, see Huntington to the marquis de Barbé-Marbois, October 7, 1780.

⁴ See Huntington to Adams, January 9, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

Philadelphia January 1. 1781.

You will receive herewith enclosed a Letter addressed to his most Christian Majesty,¹ as also a Copy of the same for your Information, together with Instructions of the 28th of November & 27th of December for your Government on the important Subject contained in the Letter to the King of France;² likewise a Copy of the Instructions given to Coll. Laurens on the same Subject,³ and a Copy of the Resolution of Congress respecting the Declaration of the Empress of Russia.⁴

By these Despatches you will be informed that Colonel Laurens is coming to France charged with a special Commission, with your Advice & Influence to solicit the Aids in Money and other Articles referred to in his Instructions. It is probable he will sail from America in some fifteen or twenty Days from this Time.

You will observe nevertheless, that it is the Pleasure & Expectation of Congress you should not delay any Measures for obtaining the Aids requested, or wait for the Arrival of Mr Laurens.

An Estimate of the Aids requested, except the 25,000,000 of Livres, you have already received the last Year; and no Time ought to be lost in forwarding such Aids as may be obtained.

Your Wisdom, Prudence, & Zeal for the Prosperity of the United States render it unnecessary for me to add any Perswasives on this important Subject.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect & Esteem, sir, your most obedient & most humble servant,

Saml. Huntington President

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to La Luzerne, December 20, 1780, note 1.

² JCC, 18:1101-4, 1197-99.

³ See the following entry.

⁴ See Huntington to the marquis de Barbé-Marbois, October 7, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to John Laurens

Sir,

Philadelphia January 1. 1781.

You will receive herewith enclosed, a special Commission as Minister to the Court of Versailles,¹ as also two Letters under Seal addressed to his most Christian Majesty, with Copies of both Letters for your Information.²

Likewise Instructions for your Government on the Subject of your Mission, of the 23d & 27th of December last with Copies of Instructions to Doctor Franklin of the 28th of November & 27th of

December ulto on the same Subject for your Information;³ and an Estimate of the Aids requested from his most Christian Majesty.⁴

My warmest Wishes for your Prosperity, Safety and Success attend you. I am, Dear Sir, with much Esteem & regard, your most obedient & most humble Servant

Sam Huntington President

RC (ScHi: Laurens Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 18:1184; and Huntington to Laurens, December 14, 1780.

² These consisted of Congress' November 22 letter to Louis XVI and a December 23 letter of credence for Laurens. *JCC*, 18:1080-85, 1188.

³ See *JCC*, 18:1184-87, 1197; and the preceding entry.

⁴ Although all of the above noted enclosures are located with this letter in the Laurens Papers, no. 55, ScHi, this "Estimate of the Aids requested" has not been found. However, another list of "objects of the first necessity, which demand a preference in point of time" which Laurens "selected from the estimate transmitted by Congress" and sent to Congress in March after his arrival in France, is in PCC, item 165, fols. 57-72. And Laurens received an additional instruction from the Board of Admiralty on January 3, signed by admiralty commissioner Francis Lewis, concerning the loading of the *Alliance* with clothing for its return voyage to America, which is in the Myers Collection, NN.

See also Huntington to Vergennes, January 2, and to Laurens, January 12, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to William V

High and serene Prince

[January 1, 1781]

The United States of America in Congress assembled impressed with a deep sense of your wisdom and magnanimity and being desirous of cultivating the friendship of your Highness and of the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands who have ever distinguished themselves by an Inviolable Attachment to freedom and the rights of Nations, have appointed the honble. John Adams late a delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and a member of the Council of that State to be their Minister plenipotentiary at your Court that he may give you more particular Assurances of the great respect they entertain for your Highness & for the people over whom you preside as Stadtholder.¹

We beseech your Highness to give entire credit to everything which our said Minister shall deliver on our part especially when he shall assure you of the sincerity of our friendship and regard.

We pray God to keep your Highness in his holy protection.

Done at Philadelphia this first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty one and in the fifth Year of our Independence, By the United States of America.

Your friends,

Sam Huntington President²

Attest Cha Thomson secy.

RC (The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief: Archives of the Stadholder Prince William V). In the hand of Charles Thomson and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Adams, this date.

² This day Huntington also sent a brief letter to Col. John Sandford Dart, notifying him of his appointment as auditor for the southern army. See *JCC*, 18:1200, 1203; and *PCC*, item 15, fol. 194.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir,

Philadelphia Jany. 1st. 1781

We have been Hond. with Your Excellencys favor¹ in answer to ours concerning the safest and best Harbor &c. &c. which has been duely communicated, through the proper Channel, and we beg leave to inform you that we have endeavored to improve the intended design into a mode for obtaining a more Speedy and safe Conveyance of the Cargoe of the Comite to Virginia (should it take place,) than a land Carriage would be and hope it will meet with yr. approbation, as it appeared to us the most eligible method, we have venturd to adopt it without particular Instructions for so doing. Monsr. L—— has promised to use his endeavors to have our request complied with². We have the Honor of transmitting to Yr. Excellency a Proposal from a Baron D'Arendt.³ He Speaks of a Commission with which he is charged but we have not as yet seen his Commission or powers, we have seen Mr. Wm. Lees written request to him to endeavor to negotiate the Sending of Arms, Linen, &c. with Mr. Wm. Lee's promise to him in writing that if he Succeeded he shd. be handsomely rewarded by the State of Virginia, but if not he shd. be Entitled to receive from that State twenty five Louis D'ors for his trouble; all these things we offer to Yr. Excellency at his request (being ourselves Ignorant of the whole transaction except as stated above) and wait your Orders thereon.

In a letter from his Excy. Genl. Washington dated New Windsor Decr. 27th 1780 we have the following Intelligence—"Another embarkation has taken place at New York supposed to consist of two thousand five Hundred land forces, whose destination is not yet known the fleet fell down to the Hook on Wednesday last."⁴ *Our* Conjecture is that they are destined to the Southward, and indeed all the Enemy's political & military manœuvres seem to indicate their Intention of making a Vigorous effort against the Southern States, this Winter. We are Sorry to inform yr. Excellency that we receive very little Authentic Intelligence of the Steps which are takeing to counteract those vigorous operations, that we are in a great measure uninformed of the progress that has been made in raising the new army, and on what terms, of what has been, and will be, done in establishing Magazines for its Support, and above all, of the measures persuing to cancell the old money and give an effectual Support to the new, by providing for its punctual and final redemption with Specie. This is a crisis at which we conceive a most assiduous

application to these great objects to be necessary, and (next to the completion of the Confoederacy which is perhaps the Basis of the whole) of the first importance to America therefore highly importing us to know, as the measures of so large a state as ours cannot but have considerable effects on the other states in the Union.

We have the honor to be with the greatest respect Yr obt & humble servants,

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:266-67.

¹ That is, Jefferson's letter to the delegates of December 18, 1780, in answer to one of theirs of approximately December 6, which has not been found. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:246-47.

² For the "Cargoe of the Comite" and the efforts of the French minister La Luzerne "to have our request complied with," see Virginia Delegates to Samuel Nightingale, Jr., December 30, 1780, note.

³ Henry Leonard Philip, baron d'Arendt, had been appointed colonel in command of the Pennsylvania-Maryland German battalion in March 1777 and had been granted a one-year leave of absence in August 1778 to return to Prussia to recover from injuries. See these *Letters*, 6:364n, 8:547, 550n, 10:484, 651, 653n. During the months following his long delayed return to the United States, Arendt submitted a memorial and several letters to Congress in which he claimed that when preparing to return to America he had been requested by William Lee in Frankfurt to solicit clothing and arms from Prussia for Virginia, which would reimburse him for expenses up to twenty-five guineas. Because he had remained in Prussia at the request of a commissioner of Congress, the baron argued that he should be granted full pay from the beginning of his furlough and reinstated in the Continental service. In a separate petition of December 30, 1780, to the Virginia assembly, which is in the Executive Papers, Vi, Arendt explained that he had failed in his assignment because the Prussian Director General of Maritime Commerce feared the capture of the proposed Virginia shipments. Although Arendt's expenses had been far greater than the twenty-five guineas promised, he requested reimbursement of at least this sum, which Virginia paid. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:456-57.

Arendt's memorial and letters to Congress were referred to the Board of War, the commercial committee, and several other committees which dealt with various aspects of his claims. In its report of January 5, 1781, the commercial committee expressed approval of the baron's "agency," but Congress postponed the report indefinitely because, according to Charles Thomson's endorsement, it was "judged improper for Congress to give any Answer on the subject to Baron d'Arendt." See PCC, item 19, 2:11-14. On February 13 Congress endorsed the Board of War's recommendation to pay the baron for his military service only to the end of his furlough in September 1779. This Arendt protested, and after months of further appeals Congress eventually relented, resolving on July 11 that he was entitled to "pay and depreciation" to January 1, 1781, and "to such future pay and emoluments, as may be allowed by Congress to other foreign officers in similar circumstances." See *JCC*, 18:1121, 19:29-30, 41, 95, 117n, 143-44, 180-81, 201, 353, 20:589, 700, 729, 740-42; and PCC, item 78, 7:331-32, 335, 343, 351, 355, 359-60, 401. See also Charles Thomson to Richard Peters, January 11; and Virginia Delegates to Jefferson, February 13, 1781.

⁴ See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:22. The "embarkation" reported actually consisted of 1,600 troops under Benedict Arnold destined for Virginia.

Artemas Ward to Joseph Ward

Sir¹

Philadelphia January 1st 1781.

This day I received your Letter of the seventeenth Ult with Mr. Hortons enclosed; I shall in the morning take care to send it either to Mr. Bradford or to Mr. Horton, if I can find where he lives.

You say you have not seen any of the great Folks, but understand they figure, & feel their helm. If all I hear is true it appears to me some of their figuring is neither for their profit or honor. I sincerely wish the morals of the people may not be corrupted by their figurings. It is unaccountable to me that some Gent. and Ladies have attended upon some of the figurings. A few years ago they would have thought it extreemly wrong to have countenanced any such measure, but alas now they seem to think there is no harm in it. Have they experienced such a change, by the change of the Constitution as to make Evil, to become good, & right to become wrong. I fear if we don't practice more on the principles of our Pious ancestors we shall be a miserable people; for no people can be happy, in this world or that which is to come without they are Virtuous & practice morality. It would be a great Blessing if people in general would endeavour to discontenance vice and folly more than they do, and incourage the oposite Virtue.

I now acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you a long time ago, which I ought to have acknowledged long since; it is now mislaid & I am not able to mention the date.

I have nothing of news to write you, & being in a great hurry must conclude by subscribing, Your real friend and very humble Servant,
Artemas Ward

RC (Sol Feinstein, Washington Crossing, Pa., 1976). Addressed: "Colonel J. Ward."

¹ Col. Joseph Ward, who had served as aide-de-camp to General Ward in 1775-76, is identified in these *Letters*, 2:345n.1.

James Duane's Memoranda

[January 2-3, 1781]

Memoranda for Col. Laurens¹

I. Question. What is the Amount of the National debts.

Answer

1. There is due on Loan Office Certificates to the 20th of Novemr 1780.

Dollars nominal money
60,263,458.

Value in Specie
11,396,203.

Of this Sum 7,342,275 dollars draw Interest on bills of Exchange on France.

2. There is due the greatest part of the 200,000,000 of Dollars issued on paper bills of Credit: the whole ought to be redeemed by a monthly 15,000,000 Tax, required by Congress the 18th of March & to be paid in at 40 for one by the 1st of April next . . . 10,000,000 to be issued on new bills at par with Silver (in Place of the 200,000,000) payable with Interest at 6 per Cent—each State to fund its Quota on Solid Security and to Sink it's Share of principle & Interest by Annual Taxes: so that the whole should be cancelled at the End of Six years. 4/10ths of the New Emissions to be paid into the Continental Treasury and 6/10ths for the use of the Governments of the respective States. At present then consider the money of the Emissions of 200,000,000 of Dollars as creating a debt of 10,000,000 of Specie Dollars.

3. There is a Sterling Debt contracted on bills of Exchange drawn on Holland, Spain and France to the amount up to October 1780 of 295,048.12.6 Sterling.

4. If the Taxes demanded should be anticipated by Quarter Masters & Commissaries Certificates for Supplies to the Army in the year 1780, which is pretended, tho I State it Hypothetically: Then there will be due from the publick on these Certificates in Specie Value a further debt of 2,358,604 Specie dollars. The Grounds of this last Computation are conjectural and do not deserve entire Credit, but there *[are]* no materials to arrive at greater Certainty.

5. The Supplies of Cloathing, Artillery, Arms & Ammunition by France & Spain And the Commercial transactions form another capital Article of national Debt which I have not Materials at hand to ascertain.

6. The Pay & Subsistence Due to the Army is very Considerable & nearly a Million of Specie Dollars: Besides debts due on the Staff & Civil List to a large Amount.

II. Question. At what Sum do you estimate the Expences of the War from January 1781 to January 1782?

Answer

Estimate of provisions required from the States by a Tax in kind	}	Value Specie dollars
A Tax on the several States in Specie to be laid out for Forage estimated at . . .		4,357,012
The Expence of the Quarter Masters department estimated on general principles at . .	}	1,642,988
Pay and Subsistence of the new Army for one year estimated accurately at		5,000,000
	}	5,114,897.30/90
		<u>16,114,897.30/90</u>

N.B. Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition & other Supplies, you have the Estimate, and they are to be procured from France and Spain. NB. Material for Col Laurens to be informed that our Minister at Madrid gives us assurances that Spain has promised a Supply of Cloathing &c.

The raising the new Army for the War must prove a vast additional Expence to the people. I want data to fix it with any tolerable precision ∴ At a modern estimate every Recruit will receive a bounty of 100 Specie dollars: on 20,000 it will amount to Two Millions specie Dollars. For extras you may make such an Addition as will bring the whole, exclusive of the Supplies of Cloathing, Arms & Ammunition expected from Europe. Twenty millions of Specie Dollars.

III. [Question.] What are the Ways and Means for defraying the Expences of the War for the year 1781?

Answer.

The last Campaign having been carried on chiefly by the Certificates of the Quarter Masters & Commissaries for Supplies, the Taxes of that year must necessarily be supplied to satisfy those Certificates; in other words the Certificates must be received for the Taxes; And no money being in the Treasury; we must look forward to the predictions of the year 1781.

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1st. Then the Tax of Specific Supplies & the Tax for forage amount to | } Specie dollars |
| 2d. If the plan of the 18th of March succeeds, we shall draw from it into the Treasury | } 6,000,000 |
| 3. The People by draft or Contributions will answer the Country [. . .] | } 4,000,000 |
| 3d. We depend on a foreign Loan for 25,000,000 Livres equal in specie dollars to | } 2,000,000 |
| 4. The produce of domestic Loans is uncertain. | } 5,000,000 |
| 5. So is that of an Impost of Trade if the States will agree to it.— | |
| 6. In the same manner every other plan of finance we attempted admits of no Certain Conclusions. | |

Upon the whole it is clear from these hasty Hints that Whatever may be the Success of our own Exertions the Loan of 25,000,000 of Livres in Europe is indispensably necessary: for a brilliant Campaign And this tis the point which Col. Laurens is interested to maintain.

Jas. Duane
Philada. 2d Jany 1781.

If you shew this to the General² he will be able to correct one article, the Number of Recruits to be raised.³ I only guess at it. With respect to Bounty which will be allowed each I am certainly within the mark: Virginia gives £1000 Contl. in hand, a Negroe between 10 and 30, or £60 specie & 300 Acres of Land at the End of the War to every Voluntier And one is to be issued on these Terms by every Class of 15 Inhabitants, the State only giving the Land.

P.S. As you did not proceed this morning according to your Intentions I have an oppertunity of giving you further Information.

IV. [Question.] What are the pay & Subsistance of a Regiment of

Cavalry, a Regiment of Infantry and a Regiment of Artillary respectively for one Month on the new Establishment?

Answer.

The Establishment of each you'l See in the new Arrangement.
Cavalry

(1) The Number of officers & privates in a Legion are 450, of which 360 are privates and their pay & Subsistance for a Month is	Dollars specie 5348.7.1/2
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Number of Legions four.

Armand & Lees partizan Corps officers & privates in each 388 of which there are 300 privates:

pay & Subsistance of each Corps for a Month	4723.7.1/2
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Infantry

(2) The number of Officers & privates in a Regiment of Infantry 717 of which 576 are privates—their pay & Subsistance for a Month	6251.30/90
---	------------

Number of Regiments including Hazens 50.

Invalids

(3) A Regiment of Invalids.

Officers & privates 375, privates 291 Pay & Subsistance for a Month	3407
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Artificers

(4) A Regiment of Artificers.

517 officers & privates 369 being privates; pay & Subsistance for a Month	6012.47/90ths
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Artillery

(5) Four Regiments of Artillery Total of each 645, of which 316 are Matrosses; pay and subsistance of each for one month	8097.77/90ths
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(6) Maraschause Corps.⁴

V. [Question.] What are the pay and Subsistance of the General & Staff Officers including those of the Hospital, Quarter Masters & Commissaries department?

Answer

Their pay and Subsistance per Month amounts to	41,335 30/90 Specie dollars
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NB. Commander in Chief—No pay: but Expenses which are computed.

Commanding officer of Southern Army	900 per Mo
Do of West Point & its Appendages	160 Do

14 Major Generals Each 160 Do per Mo
 22 Brigr Generals &c &c &c &c Each 125 per Mo.
 VI. [Question.] What are the Articles of provisions to be delivered
 by the respective States for the year 1781.

Answer

Barrels of Beef	Barls. Pork	Barrells Flour
60,000	35,000	120,000
Gallons of Rum		Bushells of Salt
299,999		40,001.

And 141,625 hundred Weight of fresh beef, on the foot.
 Philadelphia 3d Januy. 1781. Jas. Duane

MS (CSmH: HM 1594). In the hand of James Duane, and endorsed by him: "Hints for Col. Laurens."

¹ Duane prepared these memoranda for the use of John Laurens, undoubtedly as a member of the committee appointed December 23 "to confer with the honble J. Laurens on the subject of his mission [*to obtain additional aid from France*]." JCC, 18:1193.

For further evidence of the committee's efforts to provide Laurens with the best available information, see Thomas Burke to Laurens, December 26, and Oliver Wolcott to Laurens, December 27, 1780.

² General Washington's "conferences" with Laurens on "the present state of American affairs" are the subject of Washington's long January 15 letter to Laurens, which is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:105-10.

³ At this point, Washington inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following comment at the bottom of the page: "It will take at least 25,000 Men to rec[rui]t the Army to 35,000. GW."

⁴ This line was also added by Washington.

James Duane to George Washington

My dear General,

Philad. 2d January 1781.

I receivd with infinite pleasure your very friendly favour by Lt Col. Smith.¹ I shall have occasion to give you some Information on passages of it which you ought to know but I have already trespassed on my Health to assist our new Minister. I have Just got rid of a violent Inflammation in my Throat and find myself at an extinguishd fire an hour after midnight. The provision you wished is made for Col. Smith and I am happy on his Account.² I wish I knew what to do for Col. Willet.³ An officer of his Gallantry and Zeal for the Service ought not to be mortified with a Retirement.

Young Pierce wants the office of paymaster General.⁴ I know his merit but will the Appointment be agreeable to your Excellency. To speak plainly is he supposed to possess a dignity of Character suitable to the Office? Sir Henry Clintons movements & Retardments, Embarkations, and Debarkations keep our Southern friends here in a constant fever. If General Greene had with him a small regular

force & could operate before a Junction between the Reinforcement & Cornwallis advanced body, this insolent little Tyrant would repent his Rashness. Tho' he is rejoicing at his safe Arrival at Charles Town & will never venture so far from home again, his whole force which I verily [believe] does not at his three posts exceed 2000 men including the shattered Corpse of Tarleton, must have been broken to pieces. Leslie I fear will come up in Time to reanimate them. Adieu my dear children⁵ and believe me with the warmest affection, Esteem & Attachment, Your most obedient & most faithful Friend & Servant,
Jas. Duane

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Washington's December 26 letter to Duane is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:13-16.

² In language paralleling Washington's recommendation to Duane, Congress resolved on January 1 to continue Lt. Col. William Smith as "sub-inspector with his present rank in the army of the United States, to be employed as the Commander in Chief shall direct." *JCC*, 19:3.

³ Col. Marinus Willett's 5th New York Regiment was one of the five New York Regiments that were consolidated into two on January 1, 1781. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:254; and Wright, *The Continental Army*, pp. 247-50. See also Duane to Willett, April 21, 1781.

⁴ John Pierce was appointed paymaster general on January 17, 1781. *JCC*, 19:65.

⁵ Duane, perhaps assuming momentarily that this was a letter to his family, inadvertently wrote "children" rather than "general."

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philada January 2. 1781
I have been favoured with your Despatches of the 7th of December and laid them before Congress.¹

They will do every thing in their Power to supply the Wants of the southern Army.

Enclosed you will receive resolves of Congress of the 28th & 29th Ulto by which you will be informed they approve of your Appointment of Colonel Carrington to be Deputy Quarter Master General.²

I have also enclosed for your Information the Extract of a Letter of the 27th Ulto from his Excellency General Washington respecting an Embarkation at New York.³ I have received no farther Intelligence of their Sailing or Destination.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Greene's December 7 letter to Congress "with sundry papers enclosed," see *JCC*, 18:1199-1200; and PCC, item 155, 1:471-96.

² Huntington's reference to a resolve of the "29th" appears to be an error, but for Congress' December 28 endorsement of Greene's appointment of Edward Carrington, see *JCC*, 18:1201. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve this day to Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering, *PCC*, item 15, fol. 196.

³ See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 1, 1781, note 4.

Samuel Huntington to the Comte de Vergennes

Sir, Philadelphia January 2. 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

I have the Honor to introduce to your Excellency the Honorable John Laurens Esquire a Lieutenant Colonel in the American Army.¹

This gentleman is the Son of his Excellency Henry Laurens Esquire late President of Congress, hath distinguished himself in the Service of his Country in the present Contest, is a Person of amiable Endowments, and comes charged with a Special Commission to the Court of Versailles.

I am convinced your Excellency will receive him in a Manner Suited to his Merit and Character.

I have the Honor to be, with Sentiments of the highest Respect & Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient & very humble Servant,
Samel. Huntington

Tr (Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, vol. 11).

¹ See Huntington to Laurens, January 1, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 2. 1781

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, an Act of Congress of the 29th Ulto relative to the Exchange of Prisoners.¹

I have also enclosed an Act of the 1st Instant, with an Extract of a Letter from the Honorable John Adams Esquire of the 23d of August.²

Your Excellency will please to observe on this Subject your Opinion is desired on the Expediency of ordering the Forces of his most Christian Majesty now at New Port in Rhode Island, to take Post in Virginia.

From the Plan for future Operations which it is presumed you have concerted in Conjunction with the Count de Rochambeau, as also many other Circumstances incident to your Station, you are best able to determine the Expediency of the proposed Measure; and I need not inform you that as Congress have thought proper to make the Proposal, your Opinion will give them entire Satisfaction on the Subject.

The enclosed resolve respecting Lt Colonel Wm Smith it is to be hoped may prove agreeable to your Wishes, and from his particular Circumstances create no Disatisfaction in the Army.³

Your Excellency will note the last resolve respecting the Officers lately exchanged or now in Captivity, how far it may be carried in to Execution I am unable to determine.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. I have been honored with your Despatches under the 20th, 22d & 27th Ultio.⁴

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The enclosed resolution essentially authorized Washington to proceed with negotiations for a partial exchange of prisoners, ignoring the restriction that unsettled accounts for provisioning prisoners be provided for in the agreement. This extension of his authority had been agreed to after he had suggested "the expediency" of proceeding with negotiations with Sir Henry Clinton for a partial prisoner exchange, "leaving the liquidation of all accounts of prisoners [*for subsistence*] from the commencement of the War, to future discussion." See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:443-44; and *JCC*, 18:1156, 1201, 1203-4. See also Huntington to Washington, November 12, 1780.

² The enclosed extract from John Adams' August 23 letter to Congress contained the warning that recent British peace initiatives (i.e., "the errand of Mr. Cumberland to Madrid") were "a mere finesse of the British ministry" to disguise plans already in motion "to prosecute the war with vigor in North Carolina and Virginia the ensuing fall, winter, and spring." In light of this warning of "probable operations of the enemy against the southern states," Washington was requested to explore the "expediency" of arranging the transfer of the French forces at Rhode Island to Virginia. See *JCC*, 19:2-3; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:41.

³ See James Duane to Washington, this date, note 2.

⁴ *JCC*, 18:1203, 19:1. These letters are in PCC, item 152, 9:404-15, 421-22; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:501-5, 21:1-2, 22.

James Lovell to John Adams

Dear Sir

Janry. 2d. 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

Your Favor of Sept. 20th reached me at Christmas.¹ I inclose you a Resolve² but am not able to give you a Copy of what I officially wrote to cover it by Col. Palfrey and by Way of Boston.³ You will oblige me by returning a Copy of that Letter which ought to appear on the Books of the Comtee. for for. affairs, those Books being soon I hope to be placed in some regularly established office.

Col. Laurens being on his Way to France via Boston will be able if he sees you to communicate more in one Evening than I could in many Sheets. I can only say that we are {bankrupt with a mutinous army} ⁴ The latter owing very much to the {delay of cloathing}. I

hope you will remark that so long ago as Oct 26. 1779 the Powers you *now* have were voted to Mr. Laurens,⁵ and would have been earlier, but from fear of embarrassing those whose Friendship we wished for. You will hear from yr. Family minutely I presume by Col. J Laurens.

Affectionately yours,

JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Endorsed by John Adams: "Mr Lovel, Jany. 2. 1781, Col. John Laurens."

¹ The FC of Adams' September 20, 1780, letter to Lovell is in the Adams Papers, MHi.

² Perhaps Congress' December 12 resolve praising Adams' "industrious attention" to American affairs. *JCC*, 19:1147.

³ See the letters to Adams from the Committee for Foreign Affairs and from Lovell of December 12 and 14, 1780, respectively.

⁴ The words printed in braces in this text were written by Lovell in a cipher based on the first two letters of the key word "Cranch."

⁵ The powers vested in Henry Laurens in 1779 to negotiate a treaty and loan in the United Provinces had been granted to Adams on December 29, 1780. See Samuel Huntington to Adams, January 1 and 9, 1781.

Lovell's interest in Adams' authority to negotiate a Dutch loan can also be seen in the following document, which is in Lovell's hand although located among a group of undated manuscripts in the Samuel Adams Papers. Whether it was actually drafted by Lovell or perhaps by the committee appointed to instruct Adams is not known, but it contains significant information on the terms Congress expected to negotiate and details of how such a transaction might be arranged.

"Plan of a Negotiation, to Amt. of one Million Guilders,
at the Charge of the United States of America.

"His Excellcy. John Adams Esqr. Minister. Plenipo[tentiary] of the sd. United States &c. &c. &c specially authorised to make a Loan, will distribute one thousand obligations, each for one thousand Guilders at the Interest of five pr. Ct. pr. An. to be paid on Coupons of 25 every six months.

"The Reimbursement shall take place at the End of the tenth year, and at every of the first four Years following, each a fifth part, on two hundred obligations, by Way of Lottery to be made thereof in Time.

"For the punctual payment of the Interest and Restitution of the Principal, the sd. States will be engaged jointly & each of them in Solidum for the whole.

"The Obligations & Coupons will be signed by his Excellcy. John Adams Esqr. & countersigned by Messrs. John De Nieuville & Son, and prothocoll'd by the Notary Anthony Myluis where the authentic Translation of the Power will be to be seen And the Ratification will be deposited. The Subscription will be at the House of the aforementioned Messrs. John DeNieuville & Son on the first of March 1781 which will be the Date of the Obligations." Samuel Adams Papers, NN.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Sir

Janry. 2d. 1781.

Some days ago I got Sight of one of my Letters to Mr. Gerry published by Jemmy Rivington, but tho' I wrote to you on the same Novr. 20th.¹ I do not find thro' the same Channel what was the nature of the Scrawl. I have, at some time, told you that I should aim to

persuade my Colleagues to keep back the last Rule laid down by the Assembly for the Government of the Delegates of Mass. in Congress because from the very wording of the Resolve as well as from your Letter of a Date which I cannot now recollect, I am convinced that the intent was to *oblige not more than 3* to attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*.² I have so far prevailed as to get the Gentlemen to wait for some Explanation, but we have agreed to be *all* together punctual in attending to give our Voice, that we may not become culpable if such was the real intent of the Resolve; but this very day proves what I before wrote, that I could be much more usefully employed in my Chamber than here in Congress, a packet boat being under absolute order for Sailing to France.

The Paper of Dunlap is not a *news* Paper Today.

Yours affectionately

J.L.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 224.

¹ Not found.

² See Lovell to Holten, December 19, 1780, note 1.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Jany 2d. 1781.

Yesterday's post was the first that has failed to bring me a line from you since our correspondence commenced. I hope it has not been owing to any cause which concerns your health.

We had it yesterday from under Genl Washington[']s hand, that another embarkation is actually departed from N. York, amoun[ting . . .] to abt. 2500 troops. There is little d[oubt] that they will steer the same course with the preceding detachments.¹ Congress are under great anxiety for the States agst. which this accumulating force is to be directed, and the more so as the principal means of their defence is so little in their power. It is not so much the want of men as the want of subsistence, arms & cloathing, which results from the want of money that gives the greatest alarm. A disposition appears to do every thing practicable for their relief and defence.

Mr. Harrison writes from Cadiz that the Combined fleets in that port, including 18 Ships from the W. Indies under Guichen, amounted to 68 Ships of the line. He offers no conjecture as to the manner in which they will be employed.²

I am Dr Sir Yrs Sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:272.

¹ See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 1, 1781, note 4.

² In a letter dated October 23, 1780, merchant Richard Harrison notified the Committee for Foreign Affairs that "M. De Guichen with all his Convoy is now entering this Bay," without specifying the number of ships. PCC, item 92, fol. 383.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General, Philadelphia January 2d 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

The only apology I can make for not answering Sooner your Excellencys favor of the 17th Ult^o¹ is that I wished to forward my Letter by Colo Laurens who has been unexpectedly Delayed from Setting off for Head Quarters. Since Rivingtons Publication I feel Some reluctance at venturing my Letter by the Post.

Your Excellencys Letter of the 27th ult^o. was yesterday read in Congress & Referrd to General Varnum myself & I think Colo Bland.² I shall call the Committee together as Soon as I receive the papers and Endeavor to have Some Rule adopted respecting promotions which will avoid the Difficulties Your Excy has been pleased to mention. I will Endeavor to Avail myself of your Sentiments upon the Subject.

I am much mortified that I could do nothing respecting the Jersey Line. The Jealousy of the States prevented any thing being done though often attempted by Mr. Clark & myself. I could not avail myself of your Exceys Sentiments upon the matter as I had no right to Communicate any part of a Confidential Letter which your Excey had honored me with. I had much Difficulty to Save Colo Smith who I know your Exy would reluctantly part with.³ Mr Duane was Indisposed & did not tend Congress yesterday but a resolution for his being Continued was obtained by a very great Majority. A Motion was made this Day and Warmly urged for reconsideration but did not prevail So a valuable officer is Saved to the Army.

I am not Certain but Dayton may yet be Saved by our Report on your Excys Letter of the 27th.⁴

I have no news Except that the Enemy have Landed under Lesley at Bald Head in North Carolina. I really fear much for the Southern States. I beg yr. Excy will be so oblidging as to present my most respectful Compliments to Mrs Washington & that you will believe me to be most Sincerely Dr General your Excellys most obedt Servt,

Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ Washington's December 17 letter to Sullivan is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:488-91.

² Sullivan is actually referring to Washington's letter of December 20, which was read and assigned to a committee consisting of Sullivan, Theodorick Bland, and James M. Varnum on January 1. A letter from Washington of December 27 was also read in Congress on the 1st, but was not assigned to a committee. *JCC*, 19:1.

³ See James Duane to Washington, this date, note 2.

⁴ For the promotion of Col. Elias Dayton, see Abraham Clark to Dayton, December 19, 1780.

Virginia Delegates to Samuel Nightingale, Jr.

Sir

Philada. Jany. 2d. 1781

We have been honored with yours of the 6th Ultio. and in behalf of the State we represent are greatly obliged by the attention you have been pleased to pay to their interest in the Comitè and her Cargo,¹ a continuance of which we must request. We conceived when we last wrote that a Speedy and Safe conveyance of the arms, ammunnition, cloathing & other Articles might be obtained by land. To that end we obtained an order of Congress to the Board of War directing them to order the Quarter Master General or his Deputy to send them on as expeditiously as possible and also a requisition of Congress to the State of Rhode Island, to cause the residue of the arms that were adjudged to the recaptors, to be purchased and sent on. We have now hopes of as certain and a more Speedy conveyance for them & therefore have to request you that (if they are not already Sent forward by the first intended mode of conveyance) they may be delivered to our order; which you will probably receive soon after the receipt of this.² You will oblige us by taking triplicate receipts for the Articles you may deliver, one of which to be sent to the Governor of Virginia, another to us & the third to be kept by yourself. We are in behalf of the State we represent,

Yr. Most Obt. & humble servants,

James Madison Junr

Theok. Bland

RC (RHi: Nightingale-Jenks Papers). Written by Madison and signed by Madison and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:271-72.

¹ For Nightingale's letter of December 6 concerning "the Comitè and her Cargo," see Virginia Delegates to Nightingale, December 30, note 1.

² The Virginia delegates had obtained resolutions of Congress on October 2 ordering the Board of War to forward Virginia's portion of *Le Comitè's* cargo by land "as expeditiously as possible" and requesting Rhode Island to forward the state's portion of the sale of the recaptured arms. See *JCC*, 18:890. This they had explained to Nightingale when they "last wrote" on October 14, a letter which has not been found and which Nightingale only partially understood. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:227-28. In the meantime, the delegates opted for "a more speedy conveyance" by sea, and had so informed Nightingale on December 30.

Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Ellsworth

Sir,

Philadela. 2d. Jany. 1781

Probably you have heard that Mr. Dana is Appointed Minister to the Court of Russia—Mr. J Adams M P.¹ to that of Holland, Col J Laurens Minister for special Purposes, Viz to obtain Supplies

&c. to that of France. Instead of this last Appointment it was the Opinion of a Number of Gentlemen that our Minister at the French Court ought to have been furnished with the Aid of an active, intelligent Secretary, which would not Occasion such disagreeable Apprehensions which a Measure of this kind would probably excite.

Mr. Williams has wrote that the Reason why the Cloathing has not been Sent has been owing to a Quarrel between Capt. Landais and some of our other officers. This Acco. is not at present Satisfactory. Mr. Williams Says that the Supplies to the full Amo. expected will be soon here.

Mr. Vergennes Wrote to Mr J Adams in Regard to the Act of Congress of the 18^t of March, and seemed to apprehend that the Act could not be justified, and supposed that the Subjects of France Possessors of Bills ought not to be affected by the Act. Mr. Adams made a particular answer to this Letter and Very justly Stated the Grounds upon which Congress proceeded. We have not since heard any more of this matter and probably never shall.

The present French Minister at the Head of the Maratime Department is said to be a Gentleman Active and Very friendly to the American Interest. A Mr. Cumberland Secretary to Ld. G. Germain has lately been at Madrid. This is supposed to be a Manuvre only on both sides for different Purposes and No great Uneasiness is excited thereby. The spanish Finances are at present a little deranged, So that no more Bills at present will [be] drawn upon Mr. Jay. Not any Very particular Information has been lately recd. from him.

Sr Harry Clinton has Wrote for Ten Thousand additional Troops to be sent over, this the B Court it is said have agreed to. The object of future Military Operations will be the Southern States. G Britain may not think it probable that she will be able to prosecute the War much longer, and may hope if she shall be Successful at the Southward to Settle the Terms of Peace upon an Uti Posedetis—But this will no[t] do. The Terms upon which the War is to be carried on or Peace established Stand as they did.

It is said that Sr Harry Clinton will go again this Winter to the Southward with what Troops he can spare from N York, and that the late Embarkation was for this Purpose an Event perhaps not improbable.

We have no certain Acco. how the late parliamentary Election turned out. It is said and probably enough I think that the B. Ministry have got a Parliament to their Mind. This will I suppose indicate to the Warring Nations a Determination on the Part of G Britain to prosecute the War, The Consequence of that I suppose must be a more Vigorous Exertion to Curb that persevering Spirit which they must be convinced that the Opposition of Party nor the State of her Finances will Restrain. Perhaps the Temper of Neutral Powers will

more cheerfully Acquiesce in the Most Vigorous Exertions finding that Nothing else will produce such a Peace, as they Wish for. The B Court having an obsequious Parliament can with less trouble settle a Peace when they Shall chuse it. Wheither therefore their success in the Election will be unfavourable for us, cannot now be ascertained—if I was to Venture a Conjecture I should say that it would not.

As to the Condition of the Money here the Apparent Discount is 75 for 1—According to the Town Agreement. This Convention Occasioned an immediate Rise upon the hard money Price—the practical Discount is one hundred for one. This has been principally produced by the Vast Influx of Money from the Southward. This State has not only made their State late Emission which had been reluctantly recd of 40 for 1 a Tender equal in Value to Specie, but have put the New Bills issued according to Act of Congress upon the same footing. None of the New Bills have yet been issued by this State—and they are not yet current here. The New Bills have been brought from the Jerseys who have also made them a Tender as Pensylvania have done. But the Bills have not or but in a sparing Manner been recd. here. No New Bills have been issued at the Southward from hence that I know of. NC have not adopted the Money System. They have issued a large Quantity of State Bills which pass Cent per Cent below the old Continental Bills Altho these are at a great Discount. There is None of the 4/10s of the New Bills been recd by the Treasurer. Pensylvania are now collecting in the old Bills with a tolerable Degree of Industry.

Bills upon France drawn by Congress sell at 75 per Cent in Currency according to the Stated Rate of Depretiation. They do not undersel under any Apprehension that they will not be answered. Congress have had it in Contemplation upon a Report of a Committee which was long since Appointed, to provide some means extra to what has been already done for Supplying the Treasury. The Principal Expedient proposed is an Impost, to be Obtained of the States for Twelve years. The Dutys previously to be ascertained by Congress. Nothing on this Head is yet done and it is easy to See that Should Congress and the States adopt the Measure, it would be for a long Time unproductive of any Thing considerable. It must give a considerate Whig deep Chagrin to know that a Country So fertile, as to furnish the Philadelphia Market Weekly with Provisions collected within a small District sufficient to support G Washington Army upon their full establishment—and possessing almost endless Resources—Shall not adopt Measures Adequate to supply our Wants. But I will make no observations my Letter is already too long. I will only say that We are imbarassed with a Currency not of more Value than half a Million Sterling which it seems as tho We could neither Use nor get rid of. Will it not be Necessary to put a Period to the

of seeing you has not in the Smallest degree abated those warm Sentiments or the Sincere esteem and affection with which I ever Shall be, Yr. Excellency's Most obedt. & Humb. Sert.

Theok Bland

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ Although Washington's "favor" to Bland has not been found, the "letter enclosed for Govr. Jefferson" was apparently that of December 27 conjecturing that the British transports which had fallen down to Sandy Hook on December 19 may already have put to sea. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:21.

Committee of Congress to Nathanael Greene

Sr, Philadelphia Jany. 4th. 1781

The inclosed extracts, from Genl. Washington's letter of the 13th & 27th Ult. and from Mr. Houston's of the 30 Ult. & news papers will give you all the information, from this quarter, worth communicating,¹ except that, the fleet from New York, is sailed; what it's destination is, we are at present uninformed, 'tis said Portsmouth in Virginia.

There are now 1500 coats, some vests, & overalls, making up for the southern army, and blankets are also procured for them: all of which will be forwarded without loss of time. And we hope with more care than has hitherto been done so as they may arrive safe.

The resolve of Congress of the 1st inst.² is only the foundation of what is to be done for your department. The result, we will as early as possible inform you of.

We are sir with much Esteem & Regard, yr. most obedt. servts.
By Order of the Committee, Jno. Mathews Chairman

P.S. We will thank you for a copy of our last letter, having forgot to keep one.³

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers)

¹ For Washington's letters, which were read in Congress on December 18 and January 1, see *JCC*, 18:1156, 19:1; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:468-69, 2:22. "Mr. Houston's of the 30 Ult." and the enclosed newspapers have not been identified.

² For which see Samuel Huntington to Washington, January 2, 1781, note 2.

³ Presumably the committee's letter of December 12, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, Philadelphia January 4. 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

Agreeable to the Act of Congress of the 21 Ult. herewith enclosed, I am to desire you to apply to the Court at which you reside, to use

Means for obtaining the Exchange of the Honorable Henry Laurens Esquire.¹

From your own Inclination, as well as in Compliance with the Desire of Congress, I am perswaded you will make use of every Means in your Power to have that Gentleman liberated from his present Confinement and exchanged as soon as possible. Similar Directions are also given to the Honorable John Jay Esquire.²

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect,
sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,
Saml. Huntington President

RC (PU: Franklin Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See JCC, 18:1179.

² Huntington's nearly identical letter of this date to Jay is in the Jay Papers, NNC.

Samuel Huntington to Jean de Neufville & Son

Gentlemen,¹

Philada January 4. 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

I have herewith enclosed for your Information the Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 21st Ulto respecting two Bills of Exchange therein mentioned.²

It is proper you should be further informed that Baron de Wulffen had no Demands on Congress,³ or any right to expect they would answer his Drafts.

But in Consideration of the Desires you have repeatedly manifested to serve these United States, Congress immediately ordered those Bills to be taken up and the Amount thereof paid for the Honor of the Indorsers; although they thought proper to have the Bills protested.

I have received your Letters of the 10th of March & 28th of September,⁴ and several others which are not now before me.

I am Gentlemen &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Jean de Neufville & Son, an Amsterdam firm seeking to expand its American business, had originally developed contacts with the United States through C.W.F. Dumas, Benjamin Franklin, and William Lee, and had explicitly offered its services to Congress in July 1779. It subsequently negotiated bills of exchange drawn on Congress, aided John Paul Jones in outfitting American vessels in Dutch ports, and worked to promote the missions of agents such as Jacob Diriks, Henry Laurens, and John Adams to obtain Dutch loans. Its extensive correspondence concerning American affairs is located primarily in PCC, item 145, and in "Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs" of the Miscellaneous Papers of the Continental Congress (microcopy 332, reel 4), DNA.

² JCC, 18:1121, 1179-81.

³ Although the Board of Treasury had been authorized to honor the bills of baron

de Wulffen, Congress wished to make it clear that he had acted improperly and that the bills would be paid only out of concern for its own honor and that of Neufville & Son. For the little that is known of de Wulffen's efforts in America to obtain a Continental commission, see the letter of Richard Peters to the committee to which this case had been referred, filed with the committee report to Congress in PCC, item 26, fols. 241-43.

⁴ Actually letters of May 10 (not March 10) and September 28. The former was erroneously endorsed by Charles Thomson and entered on the journals as one of "March 10 1780" when it was received on November 20. See *JCC*, 18:1072, 1094; and PCC, item 145, fols. 23-25, 41-44.

Samuel Huntington to John Hancock

Sir, Philadelphia January 5. 1781

I have been honored with your Excellency's Favour of ¹ wherein you mention that my Letter of the 10th of September last, covering Despatches respecting the western Lands had not come to hand.

This Failure I cannot account for, as the Letter was circular and has been received by the other States. It was addressed to the President of the Council of Massachusetts, and possibly may have been mislaid & by that Means not come to your Knowledge.²

Agreeable to your Desire I have herewith enclosed duplicates of that Letter and the Desptaches it covered.

And am with the highest respect and consideration your Excellency's most Obedt. & most Humble. Servant.

Saml Huntington President

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters).

¹ Hancock's letter was dated December 20, 1780. PCC, item 65, 1:472-75.

² Huntington's assertion that this circular letter "has been received by the other States" was in error, because the copy directed to New Hampshire had been intercepted by the British, for which see Huntington to the States, September 10, 1780, note 2. However, his surmise that the letter for Massachusetts "may have been mislaid" was apparently correct, for both of Huntington's letters are in the Revolutionary War Letters, 203:76-77, 105-6, M-Ar.

Samuel Huntington to James Reed

Sir, Philada. January 5. 1781

While I sympathize with you the Misfortune you have sustained in the Service of your Country & especially the Loss of your Sight; it gives me Pleasure to inform you that Congress have not been unmindful of your past Services & present Situation. By their resolve of the third Instant, a Copy of which is enclosed, you are entitled for the future to receive all the Emoluments of Officers retiring from Service by Virtue of the resolves of Congress on that Subject.¹

And it is recommended to the Executive of the State of New Hampshire to make up to you the Depreciation of your Pay from the Time of your Appointment to the Date of this resolve.²

And in future to pay you on Account of the United States the Sums you are entitled to receive in Virtue of this Act of Congress.

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Brig. Gen. James Reed of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment had lost his sight after contracting smallpox in the autumn of 1776, and had returned home, though without being retired, in January 1777. Although he had continued to draw his pay, he had not received rations or subsistence and had gradually been reduced to poverty through the continued depreciation of the Continental dollar. He had also recently learned that he would not be eligible for some of the benefits extended to general officers by Congress in August 1780, and that without specific additional action by New Hampshire he would not receive the depreciation allowance due Continental officers. He had presented his case in a letter to John Sullivan of October 3, 1780, that was referred to the Board of War on December 14, and at the board's recommendation Congress adopted the enclosed resolve to provide him relief. See *JCC*, 18:1150, 19:17; and PCC, item 78, 19:327-30.

² See the following entry. Notwithstanding this action, Reed was unable to obtain the redress from New Hampshire hereby recommended, and in November his case was again brought to the attention of Congress, which accordingly adopted another, similar resolution on December 14, 1781, repeating this recommendation that the state "make up" the depreciation of Reed's pay. See *JCC*, 21:1092, 1167-68; and PCC, item 78, 21:121-31.

Samuel Huntington to Meshech Weare

Sir,

Philada January 5. 1781

You will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 3d Instant, by which you will be informed that Brigadier General J. Reid is entitled to receive the Emoluments of Officers retiring from Service by virtue of the resolutions of Congress on that Subject And to pay him in future on Account of the United States the Sums he is entitled to receive from Time to Time by Virtue of the resolves of Congress.¹

The Misfortunes of this Officer, sustained in the Service of his Country, and his present Circumstances seem to render his Case peculiar.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

P.S. I have received your letters of November 20th & Decemr 19.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See the preceding entry.

² For Weare's letters, which were read in Congress on December 11 and January 1 respectively, see *JCC*, 18:1140, 19:1; and PCC, item 64, fols. 152-55, 162-65.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed

Sir, Bristol,¹ January 6, 1781.

The Committee of Congress² being informed that the troops are about to march to Trenton this night have concluded to remain at this place until they receive some intelligence from your Excellency; should you think it best we will set off immediately on the return of this express, or should it appear most adviseable we will remain here till we receive further information from his Excellency.

I have the honour to be most respectfully, Your Excellency's most obed. serv., By order of the Committee, Jno. Sullivan.

MS not found; reprinted from Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:166.

¹ During the evening of January 1, 1781, the 11 regiments of the Pennsylvania line under the command of Gen. Anthony Wayne in winter encampment near Morristown, N.J., mutinied and began marching toward Philadelphia. On the third, the mutineers entered and took control of Princeton, sent a delegation to confer with Wayne who had been following at a distance, and prepared to await the responses of Congress and Pennsylvania to their grievances. President Reed and a congressional committee appointed to confer with him on the crisis decided to set off toward Princeton, the committee agreeing to pause at Bristol, Pa., while Reed continued on to Trenton to coordinate negotiations. The entire story of the mutiny and the response of Continental and Pennsylvania officials to the crisis has been told in rich detail by Carl Van Doren, *Mutiny in January* (New York: Viking Press, 1943). Aspects of the work of this congressional committee can be traced in greater detail in the 19 documents originated by the committee and printed in this volume, and in its final report to Congress submitted on January 24. *JCC*, 19:79-83; and *PCC*, item 20, 2:101-6.

² This committee was appointed on the evening of January 3 to confer with Reed and the Pennsylvania Council immediately after Congress learned of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line. Consisting of John Sullivan, John Witherspoon, and John Mathews, it was enlarged on the 5th with the appointment of Samuel J. Atlee and Theodorick Bland and empowered "to take such measures as may appear necessary to quiet the disturbance in the Pennsylvania line." *JCC*, 19:20, 25. During a meeting of the committee with the Council on the 5th, it was agreed that Reed and councilman James Potter would leave immediately for New Jersey and that the committee would follow the next morning, although Mathews remained in Philadelphia. *Pa. Council Minutes*, 12:593. The report that "the troops are about to march to Trenton this night" proved to be erroneous, for the committee continued on to Trenton this same day, apparently on the advice of Reed in response to this brief letter.

President Reed's response to the Pennsylvania mutiny has been analyzed in John F. Roche, *Joseph Reed. A Moderate in the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 182-87. Many of the surviving documents pertaining to the crisis, including Reed's correspondence with General Wayne and the leaders of the mutineers, and some of the committee's correspondence found nowhere else, were published in three older sources: Samuel Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2 (September-October 1828): 158-60, 164-68, 188-90, 204-6, 218-19; Theodorick Bland, *The Bland Papers*, ed. Charles Campbell, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund & Julian C. Ruffin, 1840), 2:44-52; and William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847), 2:312-34.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia January 6. 1781

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, the Copy of a report of Committee and consequent resolve of Congress; with Copies of Letters from Mr Abraham Skinner & Mr David Sproat, and Memorial from George Lyman & others Prisoners in the Provost at New York.¹

By these Despatches you will see the cruel Treatment exercised by the Enemy towards the Prisoners in their Hands, and that in the Opinion of Congress an Exercise of the Law of retaliation is become necessary.

Driven by Necessity from the unwarrantable & inhuman Practices of the Enemy, Congress have adopted the Measures directed in the foregoing resolve, which your Excellency will please to observe so far forth as they relate to your Province.

I have also enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 2d & 3d Instant; by the former your Excellency will be informed of the Mode in which Colonel Armand may be permitted to recruit his Corps, and by the latter of the resignation of Doctor Shippen.²

I have the Honor to be, with the highest regard, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ These enclosures, all of which are in the Washington Papers, consisted of Congress' January 5 resolves on prisoner treatment, a December 26 letter from commissary of prisoners Abraham Skinner to Thomas Bradford, a December 30 letter from commissary of naval prisoners David Sproat to a Captain Griffin, and a December 28 memorial to Congress from George Lyman and six other captive "Masters of Whale Boats." See *JCC*, 19:24, 27-28; and *PCC*, item 53, fols. 141-44, 149-54.

² See *JCC*, 19:9, 15. News of the acceptance of Shippen's resignation as director general of hospitals had been communicated to the doctor by Huntington in a brief letter of transmittal on January 5. *PCC*, item 15, fol. 201.

James Lovell to John Adams

Dear Sir

Jan 6th. 1780 [1781]

I hope the Papers which you will receive by this opportunity will give you personal Satisfaction as well as facilitate the Purposes of yr. Commissions. I have already sent several Copies of the Doings of Congress of Decr. 12th. 1780 as follows.¹

"Congress took into Consideration the Report of the Comtee. to whom was referred the Letter of June 26 from the honble. John Adams, whereupon, Ordered That the sd. Letter be referred to the

Committee of forgn. affrs., and that they be instructed to inform Mr. Adams of the Satisfaction which Congress receives from his industrious Attention to the Interest and Honor of these United States abroad especially in the Transactions communicated to them by that Letter."

I have no Copy of what I wrote in the Name of the Comtee. which I am sorry for as I hope soon to have an opportunity to discharge myself of all the Books and Papers, upon the Establishment of a proper Office.

I really am in a Disposition to wish that your Letter of July 27 had {no being}.² I am so much pleased with the motive of it apparent in the 5th Paragraph that I doubly {am grieved at the event}. Infinite Pains are taken in France and here to prove that the unspeakable Disadvantages of the Delay in sending the *Cloathing* to America has been *wholly* owing to the Manner of the Departure of the Alliance. Mr. Lee advised Landais to take the Command of her as of a Ship given to him by Congress. Mr. Lee's bitter Enemies are compleatly satisfied with this Solution of our immense Injuries; but his Friends and all candid Examiners say what could the Alliance bring in Addition to the military Stores actually on board. Powder above water? What *Cloathing* was the Ariel about to bring when she was dismasted? I will add no more except that there are ten thousand warm Execrations issuing dayly forth from the mouths of the injured intended for the real Cause of their Sufferings.

Janry 7th. *This very noon* two small Vessels arrive and bring us all the Comfort of Mr. Williams's Copies of Letters from March 3d *quite up to* July 25. J P Jones writes to Mr. R. Morris in Novr. 17 that the lower masts of the Ariel were then getting in and as Capt Barry has the Alliance it is judged Congress mean to give him the Seventy four but not a Lisp about the *Cloathing*.

Good God!

Oh my dear Sir, develop Hearts, Principles, Connections. Ship Masters have declared that they were willing to take Part of the public Stores; others have declared that Vessels were offered on Charter. Who are the owners of the Vessels on which the Goods have at times been put or are finally to be put? Affectionately, JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ See Lovell's letters to Adams of December 14 and January 2, and Committee for Foreign Affairs to Adams, December 12, 1780.

² Words printed in braces in this text were written by Lovell in a cipher based on the first two letters of the key word "Cranch."

James Lovell to Francis Dana

Dear Sir

Jany. 6th. 1781

I unfortunately missed a public pacquette Boat three days ago tho' I had been warned of her departure, but I confided in the bad weather. Gazettes & Journals were prepared to go by her but were put on board the *Duke of Leinster* and some *duplicates* are to go by this occasion of a *Lugger*.

I have acknowledged your favor of Augt. 23d¹ received on xmasday, with several from Mr. Adams, according to the List enclosed. Colo. Palfrey and several others in one Vessel, and Colo. Laurens by way of Boston, if they arrive safely will be able to give you full information of our affairs. The several Governments, and the People at large give effectual support {to no measures}² so that we have a most happy prospect for the coming Campaign. I think we are entitled to promise ourselves {much mutiny} from one of the most virtuous armies that ever fought {unpaid, unclothed, unfed} in a degree that will be explained to you by Mr. Laurens. The Enemy will puff away, about a Mutiny in the Line of Pennsylvania, but you may be assured that we {fear more}. Such things are very easily remedied where there is at command {what is due from} the United States {unable to pay} or at least {not willing}. I think this happy situation of things must make France and Holland exert themselves to cooperate with our Plans now transmitted. It is of importance that Mr. Adams shou'd know what I write to you; and you can easily explain my figures by taking 3 regular alphabets of 27 Letters *j* after *i*—*v* after *u*—and *&* making 27 with the 24. But you begin your Alphabets by the 3 first Letters of the name of that family in Charlestown, whose Nephew rode in Company with you from this City to Boston.³ I mean to close this Letter to night, but I will add any agreeable things that may be in my power before the vessel sails, in another Letter.

Mr. Ellery & my Colleagues Adams & Ward are well. I do not find the Enemy have printed any intercepted Letters except from public Man to public Man—neither Mr. A——s to his Wife, enclosed by me, nor mine to my Wife and Children have yet appeared.⁴

I hope you will soon have Intelligence from some regular Office for foreign Affairs. It is a most necessary establishment.

I will prove to you in a private way, that I have much esteem for you, and desire to promote your reputation in your Commission either the old or the new.

Adieu my dear Sir,

JL

ENCLOSURE

Recd.	Dated	
Novr. 20	Augt. 22.	} Adams
	23.	
27.	June 12.	
	12.	
	16.	
	17.	
	17.	
	29.	
	Septr. 24.	
	25.	
30	June 26.	} Dana Adams
Decr. 4	Aug. 24.	
	Sep. 4	
26.	Aug. 24	
	Sept. 24 ⁵	
	July 7. 14. 15. 15. ⁶ 19. 19. 22. 23.	
	Aug. 14.	
	Sept. 16. 19.	
	Octr. 11. 8 enclosed ⁷	

The other Receipts appear on the Journals.
Copy

Tr (MHi: Adams Papers). In the hand of Francis Dana. Enclosed with a letter to John Adams from Dana of March 6, 1781.

¹ Dana's August 23, 1780, letter to Lovell, complaining of a lack of information from Congress, is in the Lloyd W. Smith Collection, NjMoHP.

² Words printed in braces in this text were written by Lovell in a cipher based on the first three letters of the key word "Brattle."

³ Notwithstanding Lovell's instructions, Dana experienced difficulty with Lovell's cipher, both because Lovell had made errors enciphering the letter and because Dana could not at first remember "the name of that family in Charlestown." The deciphering of the letter has been explained in Ralph E. Weber, *United States Diplomatic Codes and Ciphers, 1775-1938* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 33-34, 590.

⁴ For Lovell's letters that were captured by the British in November, see Lovell to Abigail Adams and to Samuel Holten, December 19, 1780.

⁵ Actually, September "20." See *JCC*, 18:1194, and PCC, item 89, fols. 568-69.

⁶ Congress in fact received three letters of July 15 from Adams on this date. See *JCC*, 18:1194; and PCC, item 84, 2:185-200.

⁷ That is, the packet of letters from Adams and Dana that Congress read on December 26 included a series of eight exchanged between Adams and the comte de Vergennes during July 1780. See *JCC*, 18:1194.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir

Trenton Jany 7. 1781 10 oClock

The Committee arrived here last night & met with Mr President Reed who had been near Princeton & sent a Letter to General Wayne by two of his light horse. They were Suffered to proceed to the Genl. with the Letter unopened tho at the Request of the Sergeants showed it to them and it was to be read to the whole, this morning. There were Symptoms that they would be content with the Proposals & make the Matter up. It appears from all Accounts that they have behaved with surprising Regularity in all Respects (their Revolt excepted) and seemed disappointed that Mr Reed did not proceed & trust himself to them. He is this morning gone back & we are happy to inform you that Dr Shields is just come in and says that a Person from Gen. Clinton with another for his Guide had come to their Encampment & made them the Proposals of which the inclosed is a Copy.¹ They received it with so much firmness and Indignation that they not only rejected the Proposals but seized the two Agents & delivered them to General Wayne who sent them under a Guard and delivered them to Blair McLanachan and Alexr Nisbet two of the Light Horse who have them now in Custody. The Committee are immediately to write to Gen. Reed² & expect a speedy & happy Issue of this Affair. I am in name of the Committee, Genl Sullivan being absent, Sir your most obedt. humble Servant,

Jno Witherspoon

P.S. That you may not think the above is only Report Genl. Reed saw & read the Paper & sent it on to us & kept the Prisoners with himself. Dr Shields saw them in Custody.

E N C L O S U R E

It having been reported at New york that the Pensylvania troops and others having been deprived by Congress of their pay, Cloathing and Provisions, and assembled for a redress of their grievances and also that not withstanding the terms of their enlistments are expired they have been forcibly detained in the Service where they have Sufferd every kind of Misery and oppression.

They are now offerd to be taken under the Protection of the British Government to have their rights restored, a free pardon for all former offences and that pay due to them from Congress faithfully paid to them without any Expectation of Military Service except it may be voluntary upon laying down their Arms and returning to their Allegiance, for which purpose if they will Send Commissioners to Amboy they will there be met by People empowered to treat with

them, and faith shall be pledged for their security.

It is recommended to them for their own Safety to move behind South River, and whenever they request it a Body of British troops shall protect them. It is needless to point out the Inability as well as want of Inclination in Congress to relieve them or to tell them the Severities that will be used by the Rebel leaders towards them should they think of Returning to their former Servitude. It will be proved to the Commissioners they Choose to Send that the Authority from whence this Comes is Sufficient to Ensure the Performance of the above proposals.

To the Person appointed by the Pennsylvania Troops to lead them in the Present struggle for their liberties and Rights.

By order of the Committee of Congress,

(Copy)

Jno Witherspoon

RC and enclosure (DNA: PCC, item 152). In the hand of John Witherspoon.

¹ For Henry Clinton's efforts to exploit the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops, and the misfortunes of the two British emissaries (John Mason and James Ogden) who carried the enclosed "Proposals" to the mutineers inviting them to seek "the Protection of the British Government," see Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 115-19, 150-59; and Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, pp. 167-68, 188-90, 205.

² See the committee's letter to Joseph Reed, this date.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to the Commander at Brunswick or Elizabethtown

Sr.¹

Trenton Jany. 7th 1781

The Committe of Congress now at Trenton have received authentic information that Commissioners² are sent to *Amboy* from N York to treat with the Pennsylvania troops (we Suppose tis South Amboy that is meant but it would be prudent to have both the Amboys in View). The Committe are of opinion you shd take such measures as appear most prudent and practicable, to get possession of those Commissioners. We are, Sr. Yr. most obedt. svts.

In be half of the Committe,

Jno Witherspoon

P.S. The above is submitted to your Judgement accordg to the Situation of Affairs & the other Intelligence you may have received.³

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection). Written by Theodorick Bland with postscript and signature by John Witherspoon.

¹ This letter is addressed to "The Commanding Officer at Brunswick or Elizabethtown" in Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:188.

² Witherspoon's meaning is unclear, but he is probably referring to unidentified additional emissaries sent out by the British to treat with the Pennsylvania troops rather than the two seized this day who are the subject of the preceding entry. See, for example, Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, p. 119.

³ Actually New Jersey had already taken steps "to surround Princeton and control the mutiny if possible," stationing Continental troops at Morristown, Pompton, and Chatham, and positioning the militia at Brunswick, Elizabethtown, and South Amboy and along various roads to New York. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed

Sir, Trenton Jany. 7th. 1781
The Committee of Congress are obliged to your Excellencys Communications by Col. Shields,¹ we esteem it a happy prelude to a return of the Troops to their Allegience.

We doubt not your Excellencys improving so favourable a Symptom to bring the Matter to as speedy, safe and honorable an Issue as possible. The Committee will wait here for your further Communications of the progress you make and prepare themselves for every Event, to aid your Endeavours and to give them all the success, that the Powers vested in them by Congress can enable them to do.

In name of the Committee in Genl Sullivan's Absence,²
Jno Witherspoon

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection). Written and signed by Witherspoon.

¹ If Reed's "Communications" by Hugh Shiell were in writing, they have not been found. Reed wrote to the committee on January 6 at "3 o'clock," but apparently sent the letter to Thomas Barclay with the notation: "This letter was designed for the committee, but as they came over the river, I send it to you to save repetition." Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:164-65.

² The cause of John Sullivan's "absence" is not known, but he did sign the committee's letter of this date to Washington, which was also written at Trenton, and for which see the following entry.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to George Washington

Sir, Trenton January 7th. 1781
The Committee appointed by Congress to quiet the disturbances of the Pennsylvania Line &ca. think it proper to inform your Excellency that they arrived at this Place last night after dark; And that President Reed who acts in concert with us has proceeded to the neighbourhood of Princetown at which place those Troops are now posted. We Are happy to inform your Excellency that some favourable appearances of a speedy and honorable, as well as a safe Accommodation has appeared in their Conduct this Morning, as they have given an earnest of their Sincerity and intentions by no means

equivocal by seizing a Negociator sent to them from New York, together with his Conductor, both of whom they delivered up to Genl. Wayne, and have sent them out under a Guard with their Papers, they are actually now in the Hands of Pesident Reed, and we do ourselves the Honor of sending your Excellency a Copy of the Terms offered them in writing by those Emissaries.¹ Shou'd your Excellency have any Communications to make Congress relative to the present State and Temper of the Army, we request that you will be pleased to make them through us, and direct them to this place.²

We are with the highest and the most sincere esteem and regard,
Your Excellencys Most obt. Hble. Servts. by order of the Committee.
Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written by Samuel Atlee, and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ For these "Terms," see the enclosure of the committee's letter to Samuel Huntington, this date.

² Washington declined to respond directly to the committee, preferring to communicate through Gen. Arthur St. Clair, to whom he explained that: "I do not think it prudent to write to the Committee of Congress; to Governor Reed, or to General Wayne, lest my letters should be stopped." See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:92, 112.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Trenton, Jany. 8th, 1781.

By Direction of the Committee, I have the Honor to Inform your Excellency That we waited at this place Yesterday in Expectation of hearing from President Read but received no Intelligence till This Day at noon, when he Informed us by Letter,¹ that upon his going into Town The Troops of the Pensylvanian Line Treated him with Every mark of Respect, That after a Long conference with the Board of Sergeants he offered them Such proposals as he thought Reasonable & about Midnight returned to Maidenhead, that he had been Informed by Straglers this morning that his proposals were in general agreeable to the Troops—he respected the opinion of your Committee respecting the Terms which was immediately communicated and we flatter ourselves the Dispute will Soon be happily Terminated. The British Emissaries mentioned in our Letter of Yesterday were Delivered on Condition of being returned upon their Demand. This was a Circumstance not known to us when we wrote yesterday. They Demanded them Last evening but agreed that they should be forth Coming to the order of President Read. The Emissaries are now in Close Confinement. Another Invitation from the British was this

morning found before the Colledge wrapt in Sheet Lead which they immediately Delivered to General Waine.

They have in Every Instance Shown a Disposition to return to Duty upon receiving Compensation for their past Services & Justice being done to them respecting the terms of their Inlistments and by no means to Join the British but upon a Conviction that Justice could not be obtained.

But from the Positions they have taken, their Demanding a return of the Emisaries and many other Circumstances it is evident they mean this as a Dernier Resort in case of their not obtaining Reasonable Terms.

The Jersey Brigade & a Large number of the Jersey Militia are posted so as to prevent their Joining the Enemy in case Lenient Measures should not have the desired Effect.

Since writing the above we have rec'd further Dispatches from president Read² Copies of which are Inclosed which with General Waines Letter & the papers Inclosed will give you Every Information which we can give.

I have the Honor to be by order of the Committee Most respectfully
Yr. Exc'ys most obedt. Servt. Jno. Sullivan

RC (DNA: PCC, item 152). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ This was actually the first of three letters that President Reed wrote to the committee this day, for which see the committee's second letter to Reed, this date, below.

² Ibid.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed

Sir,

Phila.¹ Jan. 8, 1781.

The Committee of Congress not having heard from your Excellency since yesterday noon—dispatches an express to obtain intelligence where you are and what success you have had. They wish to know whether any thing appears necessary for them to do respecting the affair as they wish to do every thing in their power to bring this unhappy dispute to a favourable issue.

I have the honor to be with much respect, Your Excellency's most obed. serv't.

Jno. Sullivan.

By order of the Committee.

MS not found; reprinted from Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:189.

¹ If Sullivan wrote "Phila.," he certainly intended to write Trenton, from whence he wrote two other committee letters of this date.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed

Sir Trenton Jany 8th 1780 [1781]

The Committee of Congress have recd yr Excellencys favor of this Date¹ with its Inclosures² & Send You herewith the Result of their Deliberations upon the Terms which they are of opinion ought to be held out to the Soldiers of the Pensylvania Line.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully your Excellencys most obedient Servant,
Jno Sullivan
by order of the Committee

P.S. It is the Desire of the Committee that you make use of the foregoing Resolutions only as you Shall find them necessary to answer the purpose in view.³
by order of the Committee,
Jno Sullivan

E N C L O S U R E

In Committee of Congress, Trenton Jany 8. 1781

Resolved, That all Soldiers who have voluntarily enlisted for the War or have received the hundred Dollars Bounty ordered by Congress shall be held during the War and entitled to receive the same Bounty as the new Recruits from the respective States only deducting these from the hundred Dollars at the real Value when received; But as it may so happen that Some Soldiers may be detained in the Service who have received the hundred Dollars contrary to their Inclinations all such who can make it clearly appear to Persons appointed for that Purpose as herein after mentioned that they have been so detained shall be immediately discharged.

Resolved, That all Soldiers who are now held by Inlistments expressing the Term of Service to be for three Years or during the War and have not voluntarily reinlisted and received the hundred Dollars bounty shall be immediately discharged.

The Committee trusting in the Sincerity and Attachment of the Pennsylvania Line to the American Cause and (notwithstanding the unwarrantable Steps they have taken) from the Moderation and Conduct in the Discipline and good order they have observed and being convinced that their Assembly was for the Redress of Greivances have further resolved that on producing Lists regimentally of those non commissioned Officers and Soldiers who fall within the different Classes of Grievances complained of with Regard to the Terms of Enlistment, Pay, Bounty & Clothing, that they will immediately appoint Commissioners to examine and report thereon that full and ample Justice shall be done to the Claimants by discharging such as are entitled to their Discharge giving them Certificates of Pay & Clothing due to such as have Claims.

The foregoing Terms being accepted the Committee resolved that upon the Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line delivering up the british Emissaries sent to corrupt them and submitting to their proper Officers they will publish a free and general Pardon for all Offences committed by the non commissioned Officers & Soldiers of the said Line from the 31st of Decr. last to this Time.

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection). Written and signed by John Sullivan. Enclosure (DLC: Washington Papers). In the hand of John Witherspoon.

¹ This is a reference to the first of the three letters Reed wrote to the committee this day, which is printed in Campbell, *Bland Papers*, 2:46-48; and Reed, *Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2:327-29. The second and third letters, written at "half past 2 o'clock" and at "7 o'clock, P.M.," are also in the *Bland Papers*, 2:44-45, as well as in the *Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2:326-27.

² One of these enclosures consisted of the following "Proposals," signed by Reed and James Potter, printed here from a broadside copy in the Washington Papers, DLC.

"PROPOSALS

"Made to the non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the *Pennsylvania* Line. at Princeton, *January 7, 1781.

"His Excellency *Joseph Reed*, Esquire, President, and the Honourable Brigadier-General *Potter*, of the Council of *Pennsylvania*, having heard the Complaints of the Soldiers, as represented by the Sergeants, inform them, that they are fully authorized to redress reasonable Grievances, and they have the fullest Disposition to make them as easy as possible; for which End they propose,

"*First*. That no non-commissioned Officer or Soldier shall be detained beyond the Time for which he freely and voluntarily engaged, but where they appear to have been in any Respect compelled to enter or sign, such Enlistment to be deemed void, and the Soldier discharged.

"*Secondly*. To settle who are and who are not bound to stay, three Persons to be appointed by the President and the Council, who are to examine into the Terms of Enlistment;—where the original Enlistments cannot be found, the Soldier's Oath to be admitted to prove the Time and Terms of Enlistment, and the Soldier to be discharged upon his Oath of the Condition of the Enlistment.

"*Thirdly*. Where-ever any Soldier has enlisted for three Years or during the War, he is to be discharged, unless he shall appear afterwards to have re-enlisted voluntarily and freely.—The Gratuity of *One Hundred Dollars* given by Congress, not to be reckoned as a Bounty, or any Men detained in Consequence of that Gratuity.—The Commissioners to be appointed by the President and Council, to adjust any Difficulties which may arise on this Article also.

"*Fourthly*. The Auditors to attend as soon as possible, to settle the Depreciation with the Soldiers and give them Certificates.—Their Arrearages of Pay to be made up as soon as Circumstances will admit.

"*Fifthly*. A Pair of Shoes, Overalls and Shirt will be delivered to each Soldier in a few Days, as they are already purchased and ready to be sent forward, whenever the Line shall be settled.—Those who are discharged to receive the above Articles at *Trenton*, producing the General's Discharge.

"The President hopes that no Soldier of the *Pennsylvania* Line will break his Bargain, or go from the Contract made with the Public—and they may depend upon it, that the utmost Care will be taken to furnish them with every Necessary fitting for a Soldier.

"The President will recommend to the State to take some favourable Notice of those who engaged for the War.

"The Commissioners will attend at *Trenton*, where the Clothing and the Stores will be immediately brought, and the Regiments to be settled with in their Order. A Field-Officer of each Regiment to attend during the Settlement of his Regiment.

"Pursuant to General *Wayne's* Orders of the 2d Instant, no Man to be brought to any Trial or Censure for what has happened on or since New-Year's Day, but all Matters to be buried in Oblivion.

Jos. Reed
James Potter."

*In the printed broadside from which this text is taken, "Princeton" was inserted to correct "Trenton." Similarly, in the two paragraphs following the fifth article, "President" was penned in to replace "Governor."

³ The committee's proposals, printed here as an enclosure, arrived too late to have an impact on this day's negotiations, which resulted in a tentative settlement. The copy of the committee's proposals in Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:138, bears an endorsement by Reed: "Received after my proposals were made and accepted and therefore not offered."

Reed's response to this letter is in Campbell, *Bland Papers*, 2:49-50.

*In the printed broadside from which this text is taken, "Princeton" was inserted to correct "Trenton." Similarly, in the two paragraphs following the fifth article, "President" was penned in to replace "Governor."

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Georgia Delegates' "Observations"

[January 8, 1781]¹

OBSERVATIONS by the DELEGATES of GEORGIA.

From the most recent accounts that have been received from Europe, there is the greatest reason to expect that a new commission will issue from the court of London, for the purpose of again sounding the temper of America, upon the subject of a pacification; in which the state of Georgia, and perhaps that of South-Carolina, will not be regarded as part of the American Union, but excluded as having been again colonized to England by new conquest.

The *uti possidetis* also has been much talked of in Europe, as a probable basis for the peace; and this report, although rejected with marks of abhorrence by all descriptions of men in America, circulates with terrors, as it is pretended to be drawn from the armed Neutrality.

The people who would be particularly affected by the operation of such principles, ought to fear every thing; although justice, humanity and the interests of America, and her friends, forbid them to dread any thing. They united in the one cause, and have sacrificed their blood and fortunes in it's support; and therefore it would be unjust and

inhuman, for the other parts of the Union, separately to embrace the result of the common efforts, and leave them under the yoke of a bankrupt and enraged tyrant. To preserve the States entire, is the object of the alliance with France, and it cannot be the interest of the other great branch of the family compact, that we should again make a part of the British empire.

We will not, however, enter into any farther discussion of this subject, than will be sufficient to shew the importance of the question as it respects our own State, leaving to others to speak of their interests.

In point of commerce, no part of North-America has given such presages of importance, as the colony and state of Georgia. From the conclusion of the last war, when it could scarcely be called a province of England, to the commencement of the present, the rapid increase of it's exports is scarcely to be equalled in any part of the world, as appears by Brown's aggregate, [see page 11]² and other authentic documents.

The principal articles of exportation before the war, were rice, indigo, and skins, to Europe, and lumber, horses, and provisions to the West-Indies: but since, the necessities of the citizens, and the liberty left to every man to pursue his own schemes, have been the source of new discoveries.

Tobacco has been cultivated with the most astonishing success, by men who have emigrated from Virginia. Upon trial, it has been found, that both the climate and the soil are better adapted to the cultivation of this plant than those of Virginia: the vegetation being more rapid, and the season longer, the planter is enabled to produce two good crops in the year; whereas one only can be obtained in Virginia and Maryland. The face of the earth is less broken, and, therefore, the soil is richer, although of the same species: nor is the quality otherwise than superior. About the beginning of this war, Mr. Hammond made several hogsheads from a field at the Walnut Hills near Augusta, which, being sent to London, sold for a farthing per pound more than the best from Virginia and Maryland; although he had not all the conveniences (it being the first attempt) necessary for the well-curing the plant. It is a fact, that, had the State remained uninterrupted by the enemy's army, two thirds of the planters, in the year 1779, would have turned their attention almost wholly upon tobacco, it being in more demand than rice or indigo.

Upon several other trials also, it has been found, that hemp and cotton grow in the greatest luxuriance, and may be cultivated to much advantage: and the interior country abounds in iron ore.

Advantages such as these, apply of themselves: but when we consider the amazing variety, and extensive usefulness of the productions of this State, the parties in this war against England must see, in a still stronger point of view, the necessity of keeping it out of her hands.

This is not all: an object of still greater importance must be considered. The coast of Georgia is approached by a gradual ascent from the gulph

of Florida, which runs nearly parallel with it; and her bars and inlets are superior to any on the southern part of the Continent. She has besides, the best timbers in the world for building ships of war: her islands and seaboard abound in live-oak trees; the wood of which is the firmest and most resisting against assaults, and the least prone to decay, of any which has yet been discovered. Some time before this contest, the British merchants in Georgia were encouraged by government, to build large merchant vessels of this timber, with a view to convert them into frigates, in case of a war which was then near taking place with France. The scheme, however, was not pursued far, on account of the dispute with America.

Congress too, since the war, have been so sensible of the utility of getting ships of this wood, that, in the latter end of the year 1776, they directed the Marine Committee to send persons to Georgia to cut timbers for a seventy-four gun ship, and four frigates. Moulds were made in Philadelphia, and Mr. Donaldson was employed, and went and cut the timbers, and planned a continental yard upon Sutherland's Bluff, along side of which a seventy-four gun ship, it is said, can ride with perfect safety, and near which place the timbers now lie. This gentleman, upon his return to Philadelphia, reported to the marine office, that the best of timbers of every kind, for building any number and sizes of ships, might be had in Georgia. However, this plan of augmenting the American marine could not be prosecuted, the enemy having got possession of the coast in the latter part of the year 1778.

An extract of an official letter to the Marine Committee, now in the admiralty-office at Philadelphia, from Mr. Wereat, the Agent of Congress in that State, and who had resided upon different parts of the Sea-board upwards of twenty years, will give some idea of the importance of this object. He says: "The live-oak timber in this State is exceeding good and plenty: it is to be found for large ships, in the greatest quantity, upon the sea-islands. The largest I have observed is on the island of Black-beard, which is not far from the middle of our coast. Sappelo inlet is the best water of any on this part of the continent: from the best information, there is about five fathom at high water, and a fine bold channel from thence up to Sutherland's Bluff, on the main land, distant about twelve miles, on and near which place there is good timber.

"There is likewise to be got near this spot, fine pine timber for plank, which may be cut from thirty to fifty feet long, and upwards.

"There is another place about forty miles to the southward of the former, very proper for the same purpose, called Brunswick, which has a communication by St. Simon's inlet, at the south end of the island of that name. It has a good bar, and a forty gun ship has been in there at the first settlement of the country by General Oglethorpe. If I recollect right, there is twenty-five feet upon the bar at high water, and a good channel.

“There are some other considerations, which may be worthy the notice of your board, which are the inexhaustible resources we have for naval stores; and our fine winters, in which season snow is not seen once in several years; and near the sea-side not much frost. The above circumstances taken together, in my opinion, make this State the most proper for building ships of war, of any of the thirteen.”

Besides the capacious inlets mentioned in the foregoing letter, and upon which the most commodious yards and docks might be erected, those to Savannah, Ogeechee, and Sunbury, are well known for their safety and convenience. To which may be added, those of New-port, Little Satilla, Great Satilla, Turtle River, and Saint Mary's, each of corresponding utility to the State, but which, from it's infancy, have not yet been much used: all, however, capable of being made useful ports for trade, and which most certainly will be the case, as the country back of them becomes settled.

From all these considerations, it inevitably follows, that the State of Georgia is a material part of the Union, and cannot be given up without affecting it's essential interests, if not endangering it's existence. It seems to be almost universally acknowledged, that it is not only the interest of France and Spain, but of all Europe, Great-Britain only excepted, that the bulk of North-America should constitute an Independent Power:—Upon this ground, therefore, and notwithstanding little mutinies, which have happened in all States in the same circumstances, we presume, unquestionably, that there will remain a free confederacy of republics, maugre all the redoubled efforts of the enemy. But we will venture to pronounce, that, should both the Carolinas, or the farther one and Georgia, be left in the power of England at the conclusion of a peace, she will dare to repeat her haughty pretensions to a superior commerce, and the dominion of the ocean.

She would be able to refit and rebuild her ships by the timber in those States; to extend her settlements, in a short time, back to the Mississippi, by emigrants from Great-Britain and Ireland, the refugees, and all the tories of America, whom she would surely invite thither; and, by such means, restore her commerce.³

The Southern Colonies, by the treaty of Paris, were bounded by the river Mississippi: but that treaty being now done away by reciprocal hostilities, if any of those States should be recovered and kept by the enemy, no doubt the ancient pretensions to the South-Sea will be revived. Be this as it may, there is sufficient scope within the lines of Georgia, east of the Mississippi, for the most enterprising possessor. The main branch of Savannah river, by which it is bounded on the north, running a north-west course to it's source, widens the country exceedingly, and presents an unappropriated tract of about five hundred miles in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, of land the most to be preferred of any in North-America, on account

of the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the facilities of the most extensive navigation.

And here it should be recollected, that there are several valuable rivers which have their source in the interior parts of Georgia, and which running southerly through the narrow parts of West-Florida, empty themselves into the bay of Mexico; the lands upon which, being intermediate between the Bay and the Atlantic, are most invitingly fertile and healthy: and should England have possession of this State, can there be a doubt but her subjects would presently settle upon those lands, and claim the navigation into and through the Bay? The genius and character of that people answer the question. Would not then the Spanish settlements be liable to encroachment, and the whole kingdom consequently exposed to a new war?

But farther with respect to Spain—Should England have it in her power to keep a fleet in the harbours of South-Carolina and Georgia, with the resulting advantages of having always fresh supplies of men and provisions, would not the Spanish trade, to and from South-America, be greatly exposed? At the same time that the strength of the nation is admitted, the length of these voyages should be considered, as well as the intermediate position of the country about which we are speaking. Should England, therefore, by these means, be able to controul the trade of Spain, is it not probable, that, having lost ground, among the hardy sons of the North, she would ere long conceive the project of augmenting her dominions in the South?

On the contrary, however, should the freedom of these States be preserved; and be in amity with Spain, the greatest safety will not only result to her trade, but particular advantages arise from their situation and produce: such as friendly ports in distress, supplies of fresh provisions, &c.

With regard to France, there is so fixed a confidence in it's great Monarch, who has honoured us with his alliance, and whose court is so illustrious for wisdom and policy, that we have a perfect reliance upon his persevering in the war, until the freedom and independence of all the States of the Union to which he is allied, shall be established. From that period, she will begin to experience the rewards of her generous services to America—Her commerce in general will be encreased, and her islands easily supplied; and most extensively and conveniently from the two Southern States. In that of Georgia alone, sufficient lumber might be had to rebuild all the towns of the West-Indies, and pitch and tar enough for the fleets of the world—We will not believe that she will ever consent, that such great resources should remain in the power of her unceasing Enemy.

As to America, no part of it could expect to be free long, while England retains both ends of the Continent. In possession of the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, with a fleet upon the Atlantic, she would seize a moment to encircle the whole. It should

not, therefore, be expected, that any propositions, touching the surrender of those States, will ever be made or acceded to in America.

But Great-Britain says that she has already got possession: so she had of Boston, Rhode-Island, Philadelphia, &c.

We conclude these remarks, by repeating as our opinion, what has been said all over Europe and America, that the two Southern States, being the feeble part of the Continent, in point of numbers and compactness of settlement, can be recovered only by a naval superiority: to which object, therefore, we could wish to fix the attention of all those whom it concerns.

Done at Philadelphia, the Eighth Day of January, 1781, and in the Fifth Year of our Independence.

Geo. Walton.

W. Few.

R. Howly.

Tr. *Observations Upon the Effects of Certain Late Political Suggestions. By the Delegates of Georgia* (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1781). MS (NN: Emmet 1662). In the hand of Walton and signed by Walton, Few, and Howly.

¹ Although the Tr was issued by Robert Aitken on January 8, the MS draft of the "Observations" is dated January 1. It had apparently been prepared for public presentation in case Congress failed to take up on January 5 as scheduled the resolves the delegates had presented the preceding November, for which see the Georgia Delegates' Proposed Resolutions, November 18, 1780, note.

² The eleventh page of this pamphlet is an enumerated table of Georgia exports from 1754 through 1772 with an estimate of their total value and the number of vessels employed in the Georgia trade. The table was compiled by William Brown, Savannah comptroller of customs; its accuracy was attested to before Chief Justice Anthony Stokes on March 1, 1773. It was published in Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York: Printed for the Author, 1775), pp. 104-5.

³ The following paragraph was not included in the MS.

Samuel Huntington to Theodorick Bland

Monday Morning [January 8, 1781]¹

The President of Congress returns his most respectful Compliments to the Honble Mr Bland,² and informs him, that his Son has been delayed by the President in hopes that he might transmit Mr Bland the Answer of the President & Council [of this] State—But they are still in a State [. . .] the com[mittee . . .] reported. [. . . last] Night the Serjeants solicited the officers [to] retake, the Command of the Men, but were refused. The President will send an [copy] of the Answer of the Council to Mr Bland[']s Quarters, as soon as recd.

RC (ViHi: Bland Papers). In the hand of Samuel Huntington though not signed.

¹ This document is dated only "Monday Morning," but as it clearly concerns



Theodorick Bland, Jr.

the work of the committee on the Pennsylvania mutiny to which Bland was appointed on Friday, January 5, it could only have been written on January 8, 1781.

² Bland's letter to Huntington has not been found.

Samuel Huntington to Theodorick Bland

Monday 6 oClock P.M. [January 8, 1781]¹

The President informs Mr Bland, that a large number of Members have met & recd. the Report of the Committee which was that nothing is to be expected from the Council. The Members present have determined to let things remain as they do, and to take their ulterior determination to morrow Morning. All things remarkably still at the Barracks.

RC (ViHi: Bland Papers). In the hand of Samuel Huntington though not signed.

¹ For this date, see the preceding entry.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Philada. Jan. 8th. 1781

Yes—I will try it. To one of the most sensible, virtuous & consequently most lovely of the Loveliest Sex it will drop its Ink in Paragraphs of calmer Stile than for the last fifteen minutes. My Penknife formed it at first for the Purposes of Friendship; whence then such a Flow of Bitterness and Execration? All this too to the Husband of Portia! Will he become a Distributor of such Evil? No, He is more philosophic, more benevolent & wise. He can exquisitely feel an Injustice done to his Country, but he will not suffer himself to be transported beyond the Language of *grave* Censure. It must, however, be acknowledged that the Provocation was great. Let an appeal be made to the Throne of Complacency. Listen then, Portia. I had according to your wish superscribed your Letter to Mr. Adams¹ to go by the Brig Duke of Leinster that will sail for Europe probably Tomorrow. To wish him every Happiness myself while I conveyed a real Portion of it from you was the main Intent of my adding a new Cover.² Fresh Ideas sprang. Facts came forward on my memory. The Pensylvania Line are mutinous, yet have they given up two Spies of Clinton's who were tempting them with most seductive Promises. Should such virtuous Soldiers be barebacked & barefooted Subjects of Temptation? By a Vessel which left France late in November I yesterday received Copies of Letters dated in March and April last year telling of Cloathes going from Nantes to Brest, to Rochelle, here there, to & fro to be shipped for America, Satan knows when.³ Tis plain not before January 1781. This Thought was too much for my

Pen; away it flew over the Paper Gall here, Gall there, Gall & Bitterness every where. I doubted whether it would again ever become fit for civil Purposes. I took it therefore a second Time in Hand just now, with Hesitancy, to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of Decr. 25th.⁴

Why did you strive to make me vile in my own Eyes? I “renounce all Connexion with your Sex”!!! Then should I be vile indeed. I entreat you, charming Lady, to consider that the Letter of *Recommendation* which you say I had not noticed is the very one in which you ask “Can he suffer Letters repeatedly to reach him and not deign a Line in Reply”? And was also the identical one of September 3d to which I had Reference in mine of November 27th, and which I had also acknowledged on the 21st as Jammy Rivington well knows,⁵ tho he does not tell it in print. I cannot say when I inclosed the Bills of Exchange but I do not find my memoranda in my Almanack cancelled by the mark of your Acknowledgement, June 13, July 17 & 21 and Sepr. 26.⁶ Perhaps those were only a few Lines of Cover to news papers.

It was only last Week that I had the Pleasure of seing Mr. Brown whom I acquainted with your Kind mention of his name & Person to me, as I had before done in regard to Doctr. Lee. I am out with both those Gentlemen, for tho they expressed their Admiration of you yet they did it not with that extraordinary fervor which accords with my own Sentiments, and which I think an Hour’s Conversation with you demands.

Col. Palfrey sailed some time ago. J. P. Jones was at L’Orient Novr. 17th. Should he arrive here, depend upon my Attention to what he may bring for you. Mr. Dana is appointed to proceed as minister to Russia; but I am almost decided in Mind that he will not incline to accept the Mission. Col. J Laurens will be in Boston by the Time this reaches you, and, if he does not ride to Braintree, you can not fail to hear of him by Gen. Warren.

This Evening four Years I passed with you at yr. Brother Cranche’s.⁷ Did I imagine on the Noon of that day I was thus long to be seperated from a most amiable Wife? No indeed; nor can I boast of the Patriotism that would have mounted me then on Horseback under such Ideas, with a chearful Resolution. Yrs. affectly.,

JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:61–63.

¹ Probably Abigail’s December 25, 1780, letter to John Adams. Ibid., pp. 50–52.

² See the following entry.

³ These were letters of Jonathan Williams, for which see the following entry.

⁴ Abigail’s December 25, 1780, letter to Lovell, which has not been printed, is misfiled under the date 1781 in the Adams Papers, MHi.

⁵ That is, Lovell’s November 21 letter to Abigail had been intercepted.

⁶ Lovell’s letters of July 17 and September 26 have not been found.

⁷ For the meaning of this sentence, see Lovell to Abigail, December 19, 1780, note 2.

James Lovell to John Adams

Dear Sir,

Jan. 8th. 1781

Herewith goes a Letter which I this day recd. from Mrs. Adams¹ with a request that I would superscribe it and deliver it to the Care of Colonel Palfrey, or of some other, he being gone.

The Discontent in the Pensylvania Line of the Army can give the Enemy no solid Satisfaction; for, an evident Proof that it does not rise from Disaffection to our Cause has been given by a Discovery & Delivery made by them of two Spies from Clinton, sent to make them the most tempting offers. Perhaps the Gazette Tomorrow may be minute on this Point.

I was yesterday vexed by a Packet of Mr. Jona. Williams's Letters Sextuples I imagine of Dates March, Apr & July tho the Vessels left France in November. It is poor Comfort to our Soldiers this Janry. to know that last March and April Cloathing was sent from Nantes to Brest & Rochelle. The Execrations of Thousands are sent out to fall upon the right Pate, be it where it may.

I am not willing to give a decided Opinion upon the strange Appearances in the Conduct of our Affairs in France till I shall see each Man's Story from his own Pen, but it is almost too much to be obliged to wait from May 21st last year till now for such Information.

I hope the Powers made out for you by Congress similar to those for Mr. Laurens of Novr. 1st. 1779 may prove usefull according to your expressed Fancy;² It is even now, as heretofore, our misfortune to be months behind hand in our measures; had Mr. Searle carried what now goes, we ought have been reaping the first Fruits of the Trial, to our great Satisfaction.

If we go into the Choice of a Minister or Secretary of Finance there will be some Chance of Secrecy in Measures by which the Currency might be reduced before Speculators were aware of it, and the Public might make Savings for the People in Spight of *their own Plots against Themselves*: For, I cannot help using an Expression justified by what is every day before my Eyes. The Interest on the new Bills must be paid; if they are issued at 40 and expended at that, while Exchange is wickedly called eighty. He that with 80 old purchases two new gets ten per Ct. Interest, to be raised out of the Labour of the Land hereafter. Pensylvania & Jersey make Tendry Laws, Mass. lets exchange take its Course hence a new Speculation. We must obtain some permanent Fund from the States on which to build Plans of Finance before we can have a fair Prospect of borrowing from

Strangers. Faith, Words will not answer to our own monied chaps much less to Foreigners.

The States are 179 mills. of old Dollars behind upon our past Calls and such has been the Depreciation since the Estimates founding those Calls that the whole if now in hand would be but a pittance very inadequate to present Necessities. If Maryland was fully in Confederation, I do not see that our Capacity for the necessary Vigor of a Time of War would be much bettered. I am at this moment much under the Influence of those Ideas which founded the Stadtholderate according to your History of it; but the Stadtholder does not manage the Finances. Therein the People must look out for, and be true to themselves.

The Enemy have met with many Disasters at the Southward, but yet they will be immensely troublesome to us in that Part unless we can get their Facility of Transportation.

Major Rogers was yesterday brought Prisoner in a little Schooner taken by Capt. Reid from France just off Penobscot River. The Major looks much out of Place.

Norton Braylesford from Boston tells me Monsr. Ternay died of the hyde Park Fever caught from the fr. General.

Yrs. affectionately,

JL

[P.S.] I hope the Enemy have no Letters from you to yr. Lady. I do not remember forwarding more than two.

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ Lovell apparently enclosed Abigail Adams' December 25, 1780, letter to John. See the preceding entry, note 1.

² See Samuel Huntington to Adams, January 1 and 9, 1781.

James Lovell to Timothy Pickering

Dear Sir

Jan. 8th. 1781.

The inclosed¹ was left at my Lodgings by I know not who. While I take this Occasion to forward it, with my most affectionate Wishes for the Health and Happiness of your Family, I will become an Intercessor for, not a poor, but a very importunate Widow. And I feel much desirous to be able to have the Conveyance to her of your favorable Decision.

Mrs. Kenniday of *Yellow Springs* thinks it grievous that the Manure arising from the Gleanings of her Meadows should not be spent on the Farm. There has been a Sort of a Sale of it to one Evans for a pittiful Sum² which She would readily pay if required. She has intimidated the Man from taking it away by telling him She has good Reason to hope for your Protection. I really do think that where Farms

have been hurt by any Branches of our Operations, all Endeavor should be made to lighten the Harm. But I need not address [. . .] to your Kind Feelings towards sufferers, I will only say on this as Tully did on most Occasions "I recommend her Case, and wish she may find my Recommendation to have been useful."

I missed by a few Moments the Opportunity of bidding your very amiable Wife³ a tender Adieu. I would not have *told* her, as I do you, that I love and esteem her greatly, but really my Friend I would have tried to *imprint* it on her Cheek.

I see Jemmy Rivington has catched you. He is a Telltale Scoundrel, is he not? You would smile to hear what Work Interpreters make here of my References to some Salt Mackrel which Gerry promised to send to Mrs. Clymar. And they make my Abreviation of Massachusetts relate to romish Mass. Genl. Warren's Account with the Commercial Comtee. is mistaken for Something against Religion because his name was gutted Genl. W——.⁴

The Draughts you made are nearly discharged by the Treasurer, and I have recd. the last Payment from Mr. Hodgden for the Goods sold to him.

I do not recollect whether I have not before desired to know whether any Thing is so decided [. . .] for yr. Deputies: as to enable me to form a Judgment about my Son's Situation⁵ with Col. Hatch.⁶ I hope he is enabled to feed and cloath himself.

Your Friend and humble Servt.

James Lovell

[P.S.] Majr. Rogers was yesterday brought Prisoner, taken near Penobscot R.

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ Not identified.

² Lovell wrote in the margin at this point: "30 dollrs."

³ That is, Rebecca White Pickering.

⁴ For the meaning of this cryptic reference, see Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, November 20, 1780, notes 3 and 6.

⁵ Which of Lovell's several sons is referred to here is unclear, but the eldest, James, was an adjutant in Henry Lee's Corps then serving in the Carolinas.

⁶ That is, Col. Jabez Hatch, deputy quartermaster general for Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

Jesse Root to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Please your Excellency

Philadelphia Jany. 8th 1781

About 8 oClock last Monday night the Pensylvania line mutinied the 1st & 5th Regiments remained on the ground, but were forced by the others to Join, Two Captains were killed, Several Subalterns & privates wounded in attempting to Suppress them—they marched in a body to Prince Town, in Spite of every Effort their officers to

reduce them to order—where they remain under the Command of the Sergeants with guards posted, Genl Waine, Cols. Stewart & Buttler are at Prince Town, to whom the Mutineers have Sent a guard. President Reed went to Princetown last Friday & a Committee from Congress are at Trentown.

Their Greivances are 1st: that many of them enlisted for three years or during the war—& are held in Service over the three years by vertue of Such enlistment. 2nd: that they have not received their pay or Cloathing—but what had great influence in raising the mutiny was—recruiting Officers Coming among them with hard money to enlist the Seven months men who had received large Sums for the Seven months Service. This was too much for them to bear. Last Saturday a Spy with a guide from Genl Clinton Came into their Camp with proposals a Copy of which is enclosed. They took them both & Sent them with the proposals to Genl Wayne—who Sent them to Trenton where they are Safely lodged in goal.

Two vessels arrived yesterday from France but bring no public despatches. They were but partly freighted Saw the public Cloathing at LOreant Could have Brot. Some of them but no body appeared to Ship them altho, they advertised their want of freight—however they Say that a large east India man is Coming round to LOreant to take them in—they say that 9 Ships of the line & 4,000 Troops are at Nants ready to Sail Supposed to be for America.

No New material from the Southward Since my last—the embarkation that lately took place at Newyork under Arnold, Genl. Washington Informs Consisted of about 1600 men and Are supposed to be gone to the Southward. The Time for paying the army is arrived—the plan of the 18th of March last is productive of very little Money yet—& appears more & more dubious. I think there must be a total reform of the system. Congress must exercise the proper powers & Establish all the necessary Executive boards & offices—and as the Wealth of a nation is the aggregate wealth of its Citizens—the spring of industry and economy the prospect of advantage, which, prospect, will be more or less Opporative according to the Opinion the people have of the Justice of the government under which they live, the Security it affords to property & the liberty it gives to every one to make the most of what they have to put off in an honest way—to remove therefore all fetters & our embarassments on Trade, except with the Enemy, omit to force upon any person paper bills for money—& to take measures to encourage Industry & Œconomy, & to revive the Confidence of the people in the Justice of their rulers. I think is the only natural & wise method to extricate Ourselves from our present embarrassments into which we are brot. in Some measure by unnatural Expedients.

This will lay a foundation to enable the Citizens to pay largely for the public use of & give government firmness & Support—but

every Expedient must be attempted before we will Consent to Adopt those plain, easy & natural methods which are the only paths to wealth, peace & safety.

Jany. 9th by letters from Fredericksburg¹—48 Sail appeared in Chesepeak bay last Saturday Supposed to be the detachment which lately Sailed from Newyork under Arnold. Col. Tarlten received another Stroke from Cols. Marian & Clark on the 10th ult. in which the former lost upwards of one hundred Men killed. The famous Major Rogers was taken prisoner Coming from Penobscot by one of our Privateers & brot. to Philadelphia.

Congress have passed a Resolution directing retaliation to be made on the british Troops in our hands for the Barbaritties Exercised by them towards our people.²

Also have Called upon the States to raise by the 1st of March next 80,000 dollars in Specie for the Support of the prisoners—the quota assigned to Connecticut is 9855 Dos.³

This was done upon a representation that they were much in debt & Suffered exceedingly for want of money. The Journals of Novr. are not out.

With the greatest esteem & respect, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedt. humble Servt, Jesse Root

P.S. Govr Nash writes that he is informed that the Georgians have taken arms against Mr Wright their new british Governor.⁴

Accounts from Virginia which may be depended on Say that the Cherokees have begun hostilities on the back settlements of Virginia & N Carolina.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ The unidentified "letters from Fredericksburg" were not recorded in the journals, but an extract from them was printed in the January 10 issue of the *Philadelpia Journal*.

² See Samuel Huntington to the States, January 9, 1781.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Gov. Abner Nash's December 14, 1780, letter was read in Congress on January 9, 1781, and is in PCC, item 72, fols. 115-16. *JCC*, 19:39.

James M. Varnum to William Greene

Sir, Philadelphia 8th January 1781
Was I to give you my Sentiments at large upon the political Situation of the United States, it would lead me into a Labyrinth of Deductions, too tedious for my present Leisure, and too complicate for your Amusement. Without entering therefore into the Infinity of Circumstances which at present form the Embarrassments of our Systems, it will be sufficient to observe, that the Want of Money

and Credit involve Congress in Perplexities, which cannot be fully removed 'till the Operations of New Plans shall be equally felt throughout the Union. The Want of a fixed Confederation frustrates almost every Measure, and the dull, inergetic Mode of Proceedure, resulting from the long Habits of insipid Formality, render our Efforts too feeble and dilatory to effect the greatest Objects. Party Intrigues have some Share in our Councils, but they are far from influencing in Matters of General Utility. Whenever they are attempted, they appear rather under the Garb of expiring Struggles, than in the Expectation of Success.

The Army have been without Pay for a Long Time, which, added to some other Causes, produced on the first Instant, a general Mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line. Two Officers were killed & two wounded, About six Privates were Slain, and the Insurrection is not yet quelled. Sir Henry Clinton Sent an Emissary among the MalContents With mighty Promises of Money, Protection &c. &c. But the Lads, so far from being disaffected with the American Cause, received his Offers with Indignation, and sent the Spy with his Conductor, & a Copy of the Proposals to Gen: Waine. The President of this State is with them, and a Committee from Congress in the Vicinity. The Militia of Jersey are in the Field, & I trust the Matter will terminate happily in a short Time. We have Accounts this Day that Arnold, with about sixteen hundred Men, is in Chesapeake Bay, & that the Inhabitants of Georgia have returned to their Allegiance, by opposing the British Government, under Governor Wright. We have been very successful to the Southward under Genl. Sumpter & others, but our Situation in that Quarter is far from promising much to our Advantage. This Winter is big with serious Events. Our Resources are great; we must exercise much Wisdom and Resolution to manage them with Propriety. General Cornell is elected into the Board of War, & therefore will not return this Winter.¹ Your Tickets &c. are safe.

I have the Honor of being Sir, with great Respect, your Excellency's most obdt. Servt.

J M Varnum

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Ezekiel Cornell to William Greene, December 30, 1780.

Committee of Congress to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia Jany. 9th. 1780 [i.e. 1781].

We are desired by Congress to transmit you the inclosed resolutions.¹

Nothing new has transpired since we last wrote,² informing you of the departure of the British fleet from New York, except that in less than forty eight hours after their sailing, there was a most violent

storm, which we have the best reason to imagine they had to encounter. This circumstance we flatter ourselves, will be attended with many advantages, as it will necessarily cause delay on their part, & give the longer time for your reinforcements coming in. And further, that our Express, will reach you before they can, & although the notice of their approach may be short, yet it will be of consequence.

We are Sir, with much Esteem & regard, yr. most Obedt. servts.
In behalf of the Committee, Jno Mathews Chairman

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written and signed by John Mathews.

¹ Not identified, but perhaps copies of the resolutions concerning prisoners of war that President Huntington sent to Greene and to the states this date.

² See the Committee to Greene, January 4, 1781.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Trenton, Jan'y 9th 1781

Since our Last Dispatch by Mr. Duer forwarded this morning¹ we have received further Intelligence from President Read² Informing that the Pennsylvania Line had *<agreed>* in consequence of a requisition for that purpose & the Terms offered them to March to this Town. They are now viz 2 o'Clock within two miles of Town & Some of them are already Arrived. We flatter ourselves that they will here receive their officers and that The unhappy Dispute will be brought to a favorable Issue. Should we be Disappointed in our hopes Yet the bringing forward, the Troops to this place will be gaining a great point in Case other than Lenient Measures Should become necessary.

I have the honor to be with much Esteem yr. Excys most obedt. Servt, by order of the Committee, Jno. Sullivan

RC (DNA: PCC, item 152). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ Apparently the committee's January 8 letter to Huntington.

² Undoubtedly the second and third letters from Joseph Reed of January 8, for which see the Committee to Reed, January 8 (2d letter), note 1.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to William Livingston

Sir, Trenton Jany. 9th. 1781
In Committee of Congress

The Committee of Congress think it absolutely necessary as they have received information from his Excellency Govr. Reid that the

Troops are paraded and in motion for this Place¹ after having received and accepted the Terms offered them, to request your Excellency to give all the aid in your power to the Quarter Master and Commissary departments in providing for the Troops. The Committee return their Thanks to your Excellency and the Honble Council for your exertions in ordered provisions to be procured and the wise Measures taken by this State in this unhappy Affair. By order of the Committee

Jno Sullivan

RC (NN: Livingston Papers). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ The committee had undoubtedly received Joseph Reed's January 9 letter to them reporting that the Pennsylvania troops were on the move for Trenton and that preparations should be made to quarter at least 1,500 men. "I beg leave to offer it as my opinion," Reed also went on to explain, "that for the sake of conveniency, as well as dignity, the Committee retire a little distance from them." This advice they accepted, and moved immediately across the Delaware River to Summer Seat, the house of Thomas Barclay at Morrisville, Pa. See Reed, *Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2:329-30; and Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 150-52.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed

Sir

Trenton Jany 9th 1781

The Committee was Last Eveng. Honored with your Excellencys favor and its Inclosures Dated at Maidenhead 7 of Clock p.m.—Copies of which have been Transmitted to Congress.¹ We now Dispatch a Light Horseman to know the present appearance of affairs at Princeton and whether the Troops are About to March for Trenton this Morng.

We do not understand The proposition of the Sergts to be that any of their Body were to Sit with the Commissioners But they request a voice in the appointment only;² to This we have no objections.

We wish matters May be brought to an Issue as Soon as possible & That your Excellency will Inform us by return of this Express what prospects you have of bringing them to a Conclusion from present appearances.

I have the Honor to be in behalf of the Committee, yr. Excys most obedt Servt,

Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Woodbury Collection). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ A copy of this January 8 letter from Reed to the committee is in PCC, item 152, 9:459-60, and has been printed in Reed, *Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2:327.

² This January 8 "proposition of the Sergts" is reprinted here from Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:188-89.

"His Excellency's proposals being communicated to the different regiments at Troop beating this morning, Jan. 8, 1781.

"They do voluntarily agree in conjunction that all soldiers that were enlisted

for the term of three years or during the war, excepting those whose terms of enlistments are not expired, ought to be discharged immediately with as little delay as circumstances will allow, except such soldiers who have voluntarily re-enlisted—in case that any soldier should dispute his enlistment, it is to be settled by a committee, and the soldier's oath. The remainder of his Excellency's & the Honbl. Board of Committees proposal is founded upon honour and justice, but in regard to the Hon'ble Board setting forth that there will be appointed three persons to sit as a Committee to redress our grievances, it is therefore, the general demand of the line, and the Board of Serjeants, that we shall appoint as many members as of the opposite to sit as a Committee to determine justly upon our unhappy affairs, as the path we tread is justice and our footsteps founded upon honor.

"Therefore we unanimously do agree that there should be something done towards a speedy redress of our present circumstances.

"Signed by order of the Board, Wm. Bouzar, Sec'y."

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to George Washington

Dear General,

Trenton Jany 9th 1781

I have the Honor to Inclose your Excy. by Direction of the Committee a Copy of a Letter from Govr Read¹ with Copy of the proposals made by the Committee to the Mutineers² of the Pennsylvania Line by which first it appears That they are Determined to Accept of the Terms offered & we flatter ourselves That this unhappy Dispute will Soon be brought to a favorable Issue.

I have the Honor to be, Most Respectfully yr. Excys most obedt Servt,
Jno. Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ This January 8 letter has been printed in Campbell, *Bland Papers*, 2:46-48; and Reed, *Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, 2:327-29.

² See the enclosure to the committee's second letter to Joseph Reed, January 8, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to John Adams

Sir,

Philadelphia January 9. 1781

You will receive herewith enclosed a Duplicate of my Letter of the first Instant and the several Papers it covered; to which are now added and herewith transmitted two Letters of Credence under Cover, the one addressed to the Prince Stadtholder, and the other to their high Mightinesses the States General, with Copies of both for your Information.¹

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington's letters to Adams and to William V, January 1, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to John Adams

Sir, Philadelphia January 9. 1781

Enclosed are two letters of Credence, mentioned in my other Letter of this Date; the one addressed to the Stadtholder; the other to their high Mightiness the States General &c.

You will please to observe the Cover of each is unsealed, that you may take them off and superscribe the Address on each of the enclosed Letters that are sealed, in the proper Stile & Titles on each of them respectively, with any needfull Correction differing from the present Address on the loose Covers.

Give me leave also to observe, that in my Letter of the first Instant, accompanying your Commission to the United Provinces, I have mentioned your Appointment as *Minister plenipotentiary*, which differs from the Stile of the Commission, viz, *our Commissioner giving him full Powers &c.* You will please to notice the Error in my Letter and excuse the Inadvertency.

I have the Honor to be, with very high respect & Esteem, Sir, your most obedient Servant, Sam. Huntington President

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia January 9. 1781

You will receive enclosed an Act of the first Instant expressing the Sense of Congress that in the new Arrangement of the Army the Officers of the Continental Line who have been exchanged since the said Arrangement or are now in Captivity ought to be considered and arranged according to their respective ranks in the same Manner with those who have not been Prisoners.¹

I have also enclosed for your Information and Government, so far as it respects your Province, an Act of Congress of the 5th Instant, representing the cruel & unwarrantable Treatment practised by the Enemy towards our People who have the Misfortune to be Prisoners in their Hands; and that in the Opinion of Congress Retaliation is become necessary as directed in the Act enclosed.²

I have the Honor to be, with very great respect & Esteem, sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 19:1.

² See *JCC*, 19:27-28; and Huntington to Washington, January 6, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular, Philada January 9. 1780 [*i.e.*, 1781]

You will receive herewith enclosed, Copies of two Acts of Congress of the 5th & 8th Instant.

By the former you will be informed that from the unwarrantable & cruel Treatment which our People who are Prisoners with the Enemy have of late received from them, in the Opinion of Congress an Exercise of the Law of Retaliation has become necessary, and it is specially recommended to the Executive of the States respectively to take effectual Measures for carrying into Execution the Acts of Congress of the 13th of January 1780 respecting Prisoners taken by the Citizens, Troops or Ships of particular States.¹

By the other Act (of the 8th Instant) it is earnestly recommended to the several States from New Hampshire to North Carolina inclusive to procure for the Use of the Officers in Captivity at New York & on Long Island their respective Quotas therein mentioned in Specie or Bills of Exchange on New York.²

It is presumed the Necessities of those Officers, the Distresses they have already suffered, and the more disagreeable Situation they must yet be reduced to for Want of the Means of Subsistence, unless those Supplies are obtained will be sufficient to induce a Compliance with this Resolution as speedy as possible. I have the Honor to be, &c.,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Endorsed: "To Govr Jefferson: I have been favored with your Letter of the 25 of November. Govr Nash's Letter of the 14 of December is acknowledged."

¹ See *JCC*, 19:27-28; and Huntington to Washington, January 6, 1781.

² *JCC*, 19:38.

James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Sir Philada. Jany 9th. 1781

The inclosed extract of a letter from General Washington No. 1 will give your Excellency a more particular account of the late embarkation from N. York than has been before obtained.¹

On Thursday last Congress were informed by General Potter & Col. Johnston who came expresses for the purpose that a general mutiny of the Pennsylvania line stationed near Morris Town apart

from the rest of the Army had broken out on the morning of New Year's day.² Every effort was used by the Officers to stifle it on its first appearance but without effect. Several of them fell victims to the fury of the Mutineers. The next information came from Genl Wayne who wrote from Princeton whither the troops had marched in regular order on their way to Philada. as they gave out, with a determination not to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience till their grievances should be redressed. They did not suffer any of their Officers to remain with them except Genl Wayne and Colns. Steuart & Butler and these they kept under a close guard, but in every other respect treated with the utmost decorum. The greivences complained of were principally a detention of many in service beyond the term of enlistment & the sufferings of all from a deficient supply of Cloathing & subsistance & long arrearage of pay. Several propositions & replies on the subject of redress passed between a deputation of Sergeants on the part of the Troops & General Wayne, but without any certain tendency to a favorable issue. The Affair at length took a very serious aspect and as a great proportion of that line are foreigners and not a few deserters from the British Army, and as they shewed a disposition to continue at Princeton from whence a refuge with the Enemy who it was said were coming out in force to avail themselves of the situation of things, was very practicable, it was thought necessary to depute a Committee of Congress with powers to employ every expedient for putting a speedy end to it. The President of the State with a number of Gentlemen from this place also went up to interpose their influence. The inclosed copy of a Letter from the Committee No. 2 with the paper No. 3 referred to in it are the last accounts received of the matter.³ The manner in which the offers of emissary of Clinton were received & treated is a very auspicious circumstance & will probably in its impression on the enemy fully balance the joy & encouragement which this event tended to give them.

Col. Bland being one of the Committee does not join me in this.

I have the honor to be with great respect & esteem Yr. Excellcy's
obt. & hum. serv, James Madison Jnr.

RC (Vi: Executive Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:279-80.

¹ Madison included three enclosures with this letter, "No. 1" being the third paragraph of Washington's January 2 letter to Congress, which was read on the 8th, relating to the number of men and detachments in Arnolds expeditionary force to Virginia. See *JCC*, 19:33; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:51. Washington also wrote directly to Jefferson on January 2 with the same information. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

² For the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, see Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Joseph Reed, January 6, 1781, note, news of which reached Congress on Wednesday, January 3, rather than "Thursday" as stated here.

³ For these two enclosures, see the letter from the Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington of January 7, 1781, and its "enclosure."

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dr. Sr.

Philada. Jany 9th. 1781

I have again the pleasure to begin with acknowledg. the receipt of a favor from you, that of the 1st inst. having come to hand yesterday.¹

On Thursday last Congress were informed by Genl. Potter & Col Johnston who came Expresses for the purposes that a general mutiny had broken out on the morning of New year's day in the Pennsylvania line which was cantoned near Morris Town apart from the rest of the Army. Every effort was used by the Officers to stifle it in its infancy but without effect. Several of them fell victims to the fury of the Mutineers. The next information came from Genl Wayne who wrote from Princeton whither the troops had marched in regular order on their way to Philada. as they gave out with a determination not to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience till a redress of grievances should be obtained. They suffered none of their officers to be among them except Genl Wayne & Colns. Steuart & Butler and these they kept under close guard, but in every other respect treated with the utmost decorum. The grievances complained of were principally a detention of many in service beyond the Term of Enlistment & the sufferings of all from a deficient supply of cloathing and subsistence and the long arrearage of pay. Several propositions & replies on the subject of redress passed between a deputation of Sergeants in behalf of the Troops & Genl Wayne but without any certain tendency to a favorable issue. The affair at length began to take a very serious countenance and as a great proportion of that line are foreigners & not a few deserters from the British Army and as they shewed a disposition to continue at Princeton from whence a refuge with the Enemy who it was said were coming out in force for the purpose, was at any moment practicable, it was thought necessary, notwithstanding the humiliation of the step to depute a Committee of Congress with powers to employ every expedient for putting a speedy end to the discontents. The President of the State with a number of Gentlemen from this place also went up to interpose their influence. By a letter from the Committee who had proceeded as far as Trenton recd. the evening before last, it appears that the President who was ahead & had written in to Genl Wayne was likely to have a confidential reception. The Committee also write that an Emissary of Clinton who had appeared among the Soldiers with a paper setting forth the folly & danger of adhering to a cause which had already brought so much misery upon them, promising a protection under the British Govt, a body of troops to cover their escape, & payment of all arrears due from Congress, was siezed & given up to Genl Way[n]e Who handed him with his guide over to

the President of this State, who placed them under the custody of his lighthorse. This circumstance not only presages a fortunate issue to the Mutiny, but is such a proof of attachment to the Country in the most trying situation as must effectually repress the joy & encouragement which the Enemy had taken from this threatening event.¹ The late detachmt from N. York which a letter from Fredg.² says is in Chesapeak is abt. 1600 strong & commanded by Arnold.

I am Yrs Sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:282-83.

¹ Ibid., p. 268.

² An extract of a letter from an unnamed correspondent in Fredricksburg, Va., reporting the arrival of Arnold's expeditionary force in the Chesapeake "Saturday evening last," appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on January 10.

Oliver Wolcott to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelpa 9th Jany. 1781

I Enclose to your Excellency an Order of Congress for printing the civil Constitutions of the Several States.¹ As the Charter of the former Colony would be improper to put amongst these Publications—A Correct Account therefore of the governing Principles of that Charter and the fundamental Laws of the State relative thereto, seems to be what is necessary—Unless in the Account of the Constitution We derive it's Origin from an earlier Period than the Charter, which I suppose May be done if it shall be tho't best, and in that Veiw consider the Charter only as a Confirmation of that Constitution which was derived from the Voluntary Convention of the Ancient Settlers of the former Colony. As the Publication of the Constitution of the State of Connecticut under this order of Congress, ought to be quite Correct and will be considered as Authentick and perhaps will be required to be attested as such, I therefore do not think it proper for Me, immersed in the Vanity of daily Business here, to give a formal Account of our Constitution, when perhaps some Error or Omission might be productive of Consequences which cannot now be easily foreseen. I think it therefore my Duty to Request that your Excellency, would please to transmit An Account of the Constitution of our State, for the Publication intended—I will observe to your Excellency that this present Measure has been at this Time Adopted upon the Recommendation of Mr. J Adams, for foreign Information—And that most of the Constitutions of the States are now ready for Publication and that therefore unless the Acco. of the Constitution of Connecticut is soon had, it will Occasion a Delay.

The Condition of the Money here continues much as it was when I did myself the Honour to Write last to your Excellency. None of

the New Bills of the 18th of March have been yet issued in this State. By Act of Government the Bills which shall issue upon the Credit of this State are made a Tender of 75 for one. The Old Currency which has yet been brought into the Treasury of this State has issued to procure Supplies. The New Bills cannot be Said to have a Currency in this City. A Clothier from Jersy, a few Days ago brought a large Sum of the New Bills of that State here to lay them out to procure Supplies, but could not Purchase with them the Supplies wanted. A Very few of the New Bills have issued in Maryland—That State gave Liberty to any Person to Exchange the old Bills for the New at 33 1/3 for one. This Act is said Now to be altered and the Exchange is at 40 for one. I shall Make No observations upon these Facts, only observe that unless the united States as such can Establish a Fund, and possess the sole Power of regulating whatever can be called Money within all the United States, I do not See how any kind of publick Credit can be supported. A Superintending Power destitute of any Estate, any Funds, any Power to establish Such, or to controul or regulate the Money of a Country, is perhaps a Novelty in the History of Mankind. Congress have been frequently Considering the Subject of their Finances. They have Adverted lately to the Subject, and this perplexing Affair will be probably be farther reviewed. To obtain a Cession from the State to regulate all foraign Commerce, to impose Such Dutys on Trade as Congress shall think proper pro Bono publico—to call upon the States for their Plate—and an unequivocal Cession of their unlocated Territory, will probably be the principal Objects of Deliberation—And in the Mean Time to devise some expedient for the Immediate Pay of the Army. At present We have no certain Prospect of being able to answer this last most pressing Demand, Soon as We Wish for As the Calls of the Army are Very Urgent.

Col Root informs Me that he has Wrote to your Excellency.² I should not therefore have troubled you by the present Post, were it not to have Obtained the Constitution of the State. He has doubtless transmitted Such Intelligence as We have.

I am with the greatest Regard, your Excellencys Most Obedient
 Servant, Oliver Wolcott

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ Wolcott was a member of the committee appointed on December 29, 1780, to oversee the printing of this work, which was published under the title *The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation between the said States; the Treaties between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1781). See JCC, 18:1217, 21:1200-1201; Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 17,390; and Wolcott to Trumbull, March 24, 1781.

² See Jesse Root to Jonathan Trumbull, January 8, 1781.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny Draft Proclamation

[January 10, 1781]

By the Committee of Congress appointed to Quiet the Disturbances
in the Pennsylvania Line &c
A Proclamation¹

Whereas Certain Propositions have been Made to the Troops of the Pennsylvania Line by the President of the State of Pennsylvania & assented to by the Committee of Congress Empowered to Act in Conjunction with the Supreme Executive Council of that [Sta]te for Quieting the Disturbances aforesaid. A[nd W]hereas The Committee of Congress willing To do Justice [and] Extend mercy [ev]en to those who have violated the Laws of these united States and Induce them by Lenient m[easur]es to return to Their Duty [and] Allegiance do hereby in behalf of the united States ratify & Confirm the [. . .] aforesaid and are ready to p[roceed] to the Execution of the promises held forth [to the] Troops of the Pennsylvania Line.

And w[e immedi]ately Authorize Commissioners to Settle any [and all?] Claims [and] redress the Grievances [complained] of by sa[id] Troops And we do by This [Pro]clamation Publish & Declare a Free Pard[on to a]ll Such non Commissioned officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line as shall immediately Return to Their Duty and Submit themselves to their proper officers and will fully Indemnify them from Punishment for any offence Committed by them or Either of them from the 31st Day of December Last to the Date hereof given at Barclays House near Trenton, the 10th Day of Jany 1781.

MS (ViHi: Bland Papers). In the hand of John Sullivan.

¹ It is not known whether this proclamation was actually adopted and distributed by the committee. Only this damaged draft, which was retained by Theodorick Bland, has been found.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir

Barcleys House Jany 10th 1781

I have the Honor to Inform Your Excy by Direction of the Committee That the Insurgents marched into Trenton Yesterday and are now in Conference with President Read who has the proposals of Your Committee to Communicate, And there Seems Some Prospect of bringing this Dispute to a happy Issue. Every measure

has been pursued by the Committee to Accomplish the Business Intrusted in them.

I have the Honor to be, with the most perfect Esteem, Yr. Excys
Most obedt Servt, Jno. Sullivan

RC (DNA: PCC, item 152). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir

Barcleys House Jany 10th 1781

I have now the honor of Inclosing your Excellency by Direction of the Committee, The answer of the Pennsylvania Troops to Certain Requisitions made by us by which it appears that they are Sincerely Disposed to Settle the Dispute upon Reasonable Terms¹ and we doubt not of having the matter brought to a Speedy Issue. General Clinton has Sent another Emissary with additional proposals of a more advantageous & alluring nature. The Messenger came to General Wayne & Revealed the purpose of his Mission & now remains with him.² We also Inclose your Excellency Copy of the Last Intelligence received from the Jersey Shore. Messrs Barclay and McClanaghan Inform us that they have a vessel ready to Sail for France from Philadelphia & have generously offered to Detain her untill this unhappy Dispute is Terminated Lest Some unfavorable impression Should be made in Europe respecting our affairs. This Generous offer we have Embraced & will give you the Earliest Notice of the Accommodations that the vessel may not be Detained Longer than is necessary and that Congress may have an opportunity of Transmitting by that vessel a True State of the Affair.

I have the honor to be most respectfully yr Excys most obedt Servt,
Jno Sullivan

RC (DNA: PCC, item 20). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ This enclosure was apparently the following note of this date to Pres. Joseph Reed from Daniel Connell on behalf of the board of sergeants. "Pursuant to your Excellency's demand concerning the two Emissaries from the British the Board of Committee—Resolved that those Men shou'd be delivered up to the Supreme Authority in order to shew that we wou'd remove every Doubt of Suspicion and Jealousy. Also that the Men may disperse upon being discharged—they delivering up their Arms, &c." See PCC, item 20, 2:107-8; and Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, 2:205.

² The identity of this "Messenger" is not known, but for the story of the additional emissaries sent out by Sir Henry Clinton at this time, i.e., in addition to John Mason and James Ogden, see Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 168-76.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to George Washington

Barclays House (near Trenton) Jany. 10th 1781
8 o Clock Eveng

Dr. Sr.

We are Happy to inform Your Excellency that the terms offerd to the Pennsylvania troops are at length finally and as we believe cordially and Satisfactorily agreed on; and tomorrow we expect the Pennsylvania line will be arranged in its former order, Constitutionally, no Concession has been granted them that the critical Situation of our affairs did not Warrant and Justice dictate.

As an earnest of their Sincerity they have this night Sent to us under a Strong guard the two Spies Sent out by Sr. Harry Clinton with offers of terms to them, who are now in this House under a Guard of the Philadelphia Light Horse, and a Court Consisting of Genls. Wayne & Irwin, Cols. Butler, Steward & Majr. Fishbun at this Moment determining their fate.¹ Several other Emmissaries have been Sent out by Sr. Harry, who have more prudently deliverd their Credentials to us, whether more Honestly time will determine. In Short the whole progress of this affair except the first Tumult has been conducted on their part with a consistency, firmness and a degree of Policy mixd with candor that must astonish every theorist on the nature of the American Soldiery; and cover Sr. Harry with Shame and Confusion, if not Stigmatize him with the appellation of the Prince of Blunderers, for having so illy Succeeded in essays of this kind.

Commissioners appointed by the Committee of Congress Consisting of Col. Atlee, Genl. Potter, Mr. Blair McClanaghan, and Capt Morris of the Philadelphia Lt Horse will proceed tomorrow to adjust their Claims.²

Jany 11th, 8 of Clock AM. The British Emissaries are Condemned & will be Executed this morning at nine. The Commissioners are now Sitting to Determine which of the Troops ought to be Discharged and which to remain & we Trust this Day will Compleat the Business. I have the Honor to be most respectfully Dr Genl Your Excellencys most obedt Servt,

Jno Sullivan, Chairman
by order of the Committee

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written by Theodorick Bland, with postscript and signature by Sullivan.

¹ For the trial and execution of John Mason and James Ogden, see Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 154–58.

² Blair McClanachan and Samuel Morris were selected to the commission for settling the claims of the mutineers because of their general popularity with

Pennsylvania troops; James Potter represented the Pennsylvania Council, and delegate Samuel J. Atlee, formerly lieutenant colonel commandant of a Pennsylvania musket battalion, represented Congress. For the work of the commission, see *ibid.*, pp. 194-203. See also Atlee to Joseph Reed, January 16, 1781.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Barclay's House Jan'y 11th 1781

I have the Honor to inform Your Excellency by Direction of the Committee That the Two British Emissaries who were yesterday Delivered up by the Pensylvania Troops have been Tryed and Condemned by a Board of officers & will be Executed This morning. This Cuts off all Prospects of a reconciliation between the Troops and Sir Henry Clinton. The Commissioners appointed to Determine who ought to be Discharged are now Sitting.¹ Genl. Waine has gone to Penny Town² to bring in the Commanding officers of the Respective Regiments to Take their Command & we flatter ourselves that This Day will Terminate the affair. They have not as yet Dissolved their Board of Serjeants Though it is probable they will do it upon the Arival of their officers.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem Your Excellys
most obedient Servant, Jno. Sullivan

RC (DNA: PCC, item 152). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ See the preceding entry, note 2.

² That is, Pennington, N.J., about ten miles west of Princeton, where the displaced officers of the Pennsylvania line had collected following the mutiny to await their reinstatement. The committee's prediction that the officers were about to resume their commands was premature, since the estrangement of the mutineers from their officers was one of the sticking points in reaching a settlement. For the continued "stubborn resentment" of the men with their officers, and the unhappiness of the Pennsylvania officers over the subordinate position to which they had been relegated during the mutiny, see Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 196-200.

Charles Thomson to Richard Peters

Sir, Jan'y 11. 1781

Baron d'Arendt preferred a memorial to Congress, desiring to have an act passed approving the reasons of his absenting himself over the time allowed by his furlough.¹ This was referred to the board of War. He now complains that the board has not reported on that matter and he desires to know whether Congress will continue him in service and employ him in negotiating between the United States & the court of Prussia or in the line of the Army or in both. As to

the matter of negotiatg. the Baron having no letters of credence nor other documents to prove that he is authorised to act in behalf of his court I believe Congress will not deign to take any notice of his pretentions. As to his Staying over his time & being imployed in the Army they expect a report from your board. He claims to be paid for the time he was absent in silver or bills of exchange. You can easily judge whether the situation of our affairs & the justice due to the officers who have been exposing their lives in the service while he was absent will admit of a compliance with this demand.

In short he appears to be a man who by importunity & bold pretensions wishes to make himself a man of Consequence & to get what he can from the U.S. The board therefore will judge whither it may not be best as the army is arranged & he cannot be employed &c, to give him his dismissal.

RC (PHi: Anthony Wayne Papers). In Thomson's hand though not signed. Endorsed by Richard Peters: "11th Jany 1781. Chas Thomson—about Baron Arendts Application for Continuance in the Army & pretended Mission from."

¹ For the claim of baron d'Arendt, see Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 1, 1781, note 3.

Samuel Huntington to Daniel Brodhead

Sir,

Philada January 12 1781

You will receive inclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 8th Instant, by which you will be informed that it will be agreeable to them to receive the Visit proposed to be made by some of the friendly Delaware Indians in the Spring as mentioned in your Letter of the 7th Ulto to the Board of War¹

And that Congress will support, as far as their Abilities will permit, such of the Indians of the Delaware Tribe as shall voluntarily engage in the Service of the United States against the Common Enemy.

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ The December 7 letter to the Board of War from Colonel Brodhead, the commander at Ft. Pitt, has not survived, but for the board's report and Congress' resolve on Brodhead's proposal, see PCC, item 147, 6:59–62; and *JCC*, 19:33.

The prospects for such a visit by the Indians were poor, however, and by the time Brodhead responded to Huntington on March 10, he had become apprehensive "that we may now expect a general war with the Savages." PCC, item 78, 4:133–34.

Samuel Huntington to John Hancock

Sir,

Philada January 12. 1781

Your Excellency will be informed by the enclosed Copy of the 26th

Ulto, that Congress request the Assistance of the Executive of Massachusetts, if necessary, in manning and fitting for Sea the Alliance without Loss of Time. It was supposed the Board of Admiralty had forwarded a Copy of the enclosed soon after the Date, which I find probably not to have been the Case.¹

It is proper to acquaint your Excellency (though it should not be made public at present) that Col. Laurens is going to France in the Alliance; and his Mission is of such Importance & requires such Despatch that the Frigate ought to sail for that Purpose as soon as possible.

I have taken the Liberty to trouble your Excellency with the enclosed Packet addressed to Mr Laurens.² It is expected he will be in Boston (Via New Port) by the Time, or soon after this reaches you.

I have the Honor to be &c, &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Huntington's excuse for failing to send Hancock the enclosed resolve promptly seems odd in view of the fact that Congress had explicitly ordered "That the President write" to the Massachusetts executive. *JCC*, 18:1193.

² See the following entry.

Samuel Huntington to John Laurens

Sir,

Philadelphia January 12. 1781

You will receive enclosed a Letter under flying Seal addressed to the Count de Vergennes on your Behalf, which was prepared before you left this City.¹

I have also herewith enclosed two Packets, the one for Mr. Adams, the other for Mr. Dana, which I must beg may be made your peculiar Charge. It is needless to remind you these Despatches should be placed in a Situation to be sunk in Case of Capture.

I have written to Governor Hancock to afford any Assistance that may be necessary in fitting the Alliance Frigate for her Voyage without Loss of Time.

I have the Honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedt & hbble Servant,

Sam Huntington

RC (ScHi: Laurens Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to Vergennes, January 2, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed

Sir,

Philada January 12. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 9th Instant, recommending a Prosecution against Messrs Mease

& West for their Misconduct as represented in your Letter of the 6th of December last.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Reed's December 6 letter, which charged that former Clothier General James Mease and his deputy William West, in collusion with Benedict Arnold, had in 1778 taken from citizens of Philadelphia "great quantities of Merchandize not necessary for the Army, which were converted to their private emolument," see PCC, item 69, 2:306-10; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 8:639. For the enclosed resolve recommending that Pennsylvania proceed with the prosecution of Mease and West, "in the name of the United States," see *JCC*, 18:1129-30, 1149, 1164, 19:40-41; and PCC, item 20, 2:137-38.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia January 12, 1781

Your Excellency will be informed by the enclosed Copies No 1 & 2 of the 8th Inst., that Brigadier General Hand is appointed Adjutant General¹—And also of the Measures Congress have adopted to procure Specie for the Use of the Prisoners in New York & its Vicinity.²

I have also enclosed the Deposition of George Bateman No. 3, giving an Account of the Manner in which our People, Prisoners with the Enemy are treated.³

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect & Esteem, sir, your most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 19:39. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve to Gen. Edward Hand this day. Hand Papers, PHi.

² See *JCC*, 19:38; and Huntington to the States, January 9, 1781.

³ Copies of the enclosed December 19 deposition of George Batterman concerning the mistreatment he had endured because of his resistance to British recruiters after he had been captured as a passenger on a voyage to Rhode Island from the West Indies, are in the Washington Papers, DLC; and PCC, item 53, fols. 145-48. The deposition was one of a number of documents submitted to the congressional committee on prisoner mistreatment whose recommendations had been adopted and sent to Washington the previous week, for which see Huntington to Washington, January 6, 1781, note 1. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, January 16, 1781.

Charles Thomson to John Hancock

Sir,

Philadelphia Jany. 12th. 1781.

I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write on the 21st December and have given directions that greater

care & punctuality be observed for the future in putting up the commissions, bonds and Instructions.¹

As Mr. Ward² informs me he has received advice from the Secy of the State that more Commissions are wanted, I have without waiting for farther advice from Your Excellency, forwarded forty commissions, bonds and Instructions.

You will please to give orders for returning the bonds when executed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Your Excellency's Most obedient humble servt. Cha Thomson secy.

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters).

¹ Thomson had written to Hancock on December 5, 1780, enclosing "Twenty blank Commissions, with blank bonds and Instructions for private armed vessels," and in his December 21 response Hancock reported that he had actually received "Nineteen Blank Bonds and *Twenty one* sett of Instructions." Thomson's letter is in Revolutionary War Letters, 203:186, M-Ar; Hancock's in PCC, item 65, 1:476-79.

² Massachusetts delegate Artemas Ward.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to George Washington

Sir

Trenton Jany 13th 1781

I have only time to Inform Your Excy. by Colo Smith that the British Spies have been Executed. The Commissioners are now Busy in adjusting the Claims & redressing the Grievances of the Pennsylvania Troops and we Trust That Every Danger of Defection is past.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully your Excys most obedt Servt,

by order of the Comte,

Jno Sullivan, Cmn.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written and signed by John Sullivan.

Samuel Huntington to George Clinton

Sir,

Philadelphia January 13. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, the Copy of an Act of Congress of the 8th Instant respecting Colonel Malcolm, expressing their Sentiments that he cannot be considered as entitled to Pay & Subsistence as a Colonel in the Service of the United States, longer than he held the actual Command of his regiment, and recommending

him as a meritorious Officer who from the Impracticability of employing him in the Army is to be deemed a Supernumerary under the resolution of Congress of the 24th of November 1778, and referring it to the Executive of New York to settle & adjust his Pay for his Services after leaving his regiment and charge the same to the United States.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (N: Clinton Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Col. William Malcom had written to Governor Clinton in October to explain that he was about to become a supernumerary as a result of the merger of his regiment with Col. Oliver Spencer's Additional Continental Regiment, and Clinton had presented his case to Congress in a November 15 letter that was referred to the Board of War on December 4. PCC, item 67, 2:332-35, 338; and *JCC*, 18:1119. For the board's report and enclosed congressional resolve concerning Malcom's retirement, see PCC, item 147, 6:69-72; and *JCC*, 19:36-38.

Huntington also sent a copy of the enclosed resolve this day to Colonel Malcom with a brief cover letter expressing regret over the necessity for his retirement and explaining that New York had been requested "to settle & adjust" his pay. PCC, item 15, fol. 213. See also James Duane to Malcom, March 22, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir,

Philada January 13. 1781

You will receive enclosed, an Act of Congress of the 13th Instant, expressing their high Approbation of the Conduct of Brigadier General Sumpter and the Militia under his Command—and directing that the same be published in general Orders & transmitted to him.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Congress' commendation of Gen. Thomas Sumter and his militiamen for a number of victories over the British and loyalists in the Carolinas from August to November 1780, see *JCC*, 19:56-57.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir,

Circular.

Philada January 13. 1781

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed the Copy of a Resolve of Congress¹ regulating the additional Pay of Aids de Camp, Brigade Majors, Adjutants, & Regimental Paymasters²—also Regimental Paymaster & Clothier.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Endorsed: "N.B. A similar Letter to Genl Greene."

¹ For this January 12 resolve, see *JCC*, 19:51.

² Huntington's clerk erred in substituting "Paymasters" for "Quartermasters" at this point. *Ibid.*

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 13. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed an Act of Congress of the 12th Instant,¹ ascertaining the Pay & Appointments of the Officers in the Department of Commissary General of Military Stores—the Officers & Men of the Regiment of Artillery Artificers—the field Commissary of Military Stores and his Subordinate Officers; the Commanding Officer of Artillery—the Surveyor of Ordnance—the additional Pay of Aids de Camp—Brigade Majors, Adjutants & Regimental Pay Masters²—and Regimental Pay Master & Clothier.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedt & most hbble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P. S. I have been Honourd with your Excellency's dispatches of the 2d & 6th instant.³

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand with signature and postscript by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 19:49–51.

² Huntington's clerk erred in substituting "Pay Masters" for "Quartermasters" at this point. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ These letters are in PCC, item 152, 9:425–34; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:50–51, 64–66. They were read in Congress on January 8 and 15 respectively. *JCC*, 19:33, 57.

James Madison to Nathanael Greene

Jan. 13, 1781

I¹ enclose you an extract of a letter from General Washington of the 2d instant,² giving a more precise account of the embarkation from New York on the 20th ulto. than has been before obtained. On the night of the 1st instant a mutinous spirit which had been for some time working in the Pennsylvania Line of the Army broke out with such violence that the utmost efforts of the Officers were insufficient to suppress it. Two of them unhappily fell victims to the fury of the Mutineers, after completely shaking off all military authority they proceeded in an entire body and in regular order to Princeton with an intention as they gave out to come on to this city

and with a determination neither to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience until their grievances should be redressed. These consisted principally in the detention of many in service beyond the term of enlistment, and the sufferings of all from deficient supplies of cloathing and provisions, and the long arrearage of pay, contrary to their first plan they declined coming to this place and established their encampment at Princeton, where they entered into negotiations with Genl. Wayne, Lt. Cols. Stuart & Butler (the only officers they suffered to remain among them and whom they kept under close confinement, although in every other respect they treated them with the utmost decorum) on the subject of redress. The nature of some of their demands and the manner of their proceeding gave at length a very serious countenance to the affairs, and as the proximity of Princeton to a place of junction with the Enemy was surmised to be the probable motive of their stopping at that place, as it was confidently alleged that the Enemy were coming out in force to avail themselves of the event, and as many of the troops were foreigners & not a few deserters from the British Army it was thought best to appoint a Committee with full powers to take the necessary steps for quieting the disturbance as speedily as possible. In consequence of the appointment the Committee judged it advisable to proceed immediately to meet the Troops. The President of the State with several other Gentlemen from this place had set out for the same purpose a little time before then. The information since received both from the forces & the latter is, that the President had met with a confidential reception from the troops, that they had given up to him & Genl. Wayne, an emissary and guide from Clinton with a flattering invitation to them to take sanctuary from their miseries & the resentment of those who had usurped the public authority, under the British Government, that they had been prevailed on to come forward as far as Trenton where an accommodation of principles of equity was pretty far advanced & in a sure train of being soon completed, & that the emissary & guide were under sentence of death, and would be executed yesterday morning.

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:283–84, from an extract printed in *Stan V. Henkels Catalogue*, no. 988 (1909).

¹ Madison appears to have written this letter as a personal communication to Greene, who later acknowledged it as such, rather than as a member of the committee to correspond with the commanding officer of the southern department. Madison's editors were in error in believing otherwise, mistakenly assuming that the committee's chairman, John Mathews, was in Trenton at this time with the committee on the Pennsylvania mutiny. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:285n.2. Mathews had, however, remained in Philadelphia, and indeed wrote a letter to Greene in behalf of the corresponding committee on January 9, which is printed above.

² See Madison to Thomas Jefferson, January 9, 1781, note 1.

John Sullivan to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir,

Trenton Jany. 13th 1781

The dispute with the Pennsylvania line being happily terminated, I take the liberty of giving your Excellency a short account, of the rise and progress, of this unexpected and surprizing revolt.¹

Many of the Men were held by inlistments which expressed the term of service to be for three years, or during the war. As three years began to expire about the first of Jany. they enquired of their Officers, whether they were to expect their discharges at the end of that Period. The Officers in general supposed the term of inlistment was not to expire but with the war. This construction gave them much uneasiness, which was increased by some arrearages of pay (which they were to have received from the State) not being furnished. And though the State had taken measures for paying those arrears, unfortunately the intelligence had not reached them previous to the first of Jany. These were the real sources of the mutiny; for though there were some other greivances common to the American, as well as other Armies, they have never mentioned these as having any weight, in their proceedings. The two first affected a great part of the divisions: who used every art to induce others to support them in their intended revolt; which they were the more encouraged to attempt as they were sixty miles distant from the main Army.

The affair was conducted with so much secrecy that the Officers had not the most distant suspicion of it till the evening of the first of Jany. when hearing that the Troops were in Arms they repaired to the parade and not supposing it was general exerted themselves to quell the mutiny. The Soldiers in general shew no disposition to injure their Officers though some who were intoxicated with Liquor discharged their Muskets, killd one Officer and wounded three or four. Part of the division moved a few miles that evening, and the remainder followed them the next morning when the whole assumed a military order under the command of their Sergeants and marched without offering the least insult to the inhabitants except in one instance for which the Culprit was immediately apprehended and delivered over to the civil power. The inhabitants say that on their march they never suffered the soldiers to enter their houses even for water, nor was any article taken from them during their march. Upon their taking post, at Princeton, it began to be suspected that their intentions were to join the enemy but they persevered in their declaring, their detestation of the British and their attachment to the cause of their Country. They said they were only seeking a redress of grievances, which when obtained they would cheerfully return to their duty. And if the enemy appeared in the interim they would fight them with desperation. This however was not fully credited;

untill they seized and brought to Genl. Waine, who with Col. Butler and Stewart remained among them, without command two British emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton with a written invitation promising them great rewards if they would march to South River about 20 miles distant from Princeton where he would cover them with a body of British Troops. The Spies were delivered over to Genl Waine and after Governor Reeds arrival to him, but afterwards by their request returned to them. The board of Sergeants who had assumed the command issued orders next morning; stating the facts and declaring that the Pensylvania line dispised a treachery and meanness like that of Benedict Arnold, that their views were honorable and their attachment to the cause of their Country unalterable, and they were only seeking redress of grievances from men of Honor. When Governor Reed came to Princeton they received him with every mark of respect and esteem. They mentioned to him the grounds of their complaints which were principally the two first mentioned. He made them some proposals and communicated from the Committee of Congress which were readily accepted. They were then requested to march to Trenton which they agreed to, and delivered to the Committee of Congress the two spies sent from Sir Henry Clinton; who were tried by a board of Officers—Condemned and executed on the 11th Inst. The Committee of Congress have appointed Commissioners to determine respecting their inlistments, to discharge such as are intituled thereto, and to give them the necessary Certificates. This seems to be perfectly satisfactory to them, many of those discharged are now offering to reinlist upon having a furlough for a short time. Thus Sir has this surprizing affair been brought to a happy issue. Perhaps History does not furnish an Instance of so large a body of troops revolting from the Command of their Officers; marching in such exact order, without doing the least Injury to Individuals, and remaining in this situation for such a length of time, without divisions or confusion among themselves, and then returning to their duty as soon as their reasonable demands were complied with. This Conduct ought to convince the British how much they mistake the disposition of the Americans at large when they assert that they would willingly join them if not overawed by their tyrannic Rulers. Here was a large body composed as well of foreigners as natives having no Officer to command them and no force to prevent their joining the enemy for which they had repeated invitations, yet though they well knew they were liable to the severest punishment for their revolt they disdained the British Offers, with a firmness that would have done honor to the antient Romans and through the whole have shown the greatest respect to the Committee of Congress, to the Governor and members of the Council for the State of Pensylvania, and expressed the highest confidence in the justice of their civil Rulers and have not through the whole deviated from that

order and regularity which upon other occasions must have done honor to military discipline.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem your Excellency
most Obed Servt,
John Sullivan

P.S. One circumstance ought not to be omitted which in my opinion does the Insurgents much honor. When they delivered up the British Emissaries Governor Reed offered them a Hundred golden Guineas which they refused saying that what they did was only a duty they owed that Country And that they neither received nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that Country for which they had so often fought and bleed.

Tr (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers). In a clerical hand. Enclosed in Sullivan to Meshech Weare, January 21, 1781.

¹ Sullivan's optimistic account of the mutiny and its settlement was immediately reflected in the chevalier de La Luzerne's reports to Vergennes. In his January 18 dispatch to the minister of foreign affairs, for example, La Luzerne praised Congress' response to the mutiny and its determination to extract greater financial support from the states to prevent the spread of unrest. And three days later, undoubtedly to Sullivan's even greater satisfaction, he urged the necessity for direct financial aid to the United States, which he viewed as "indispensables" to keep the Continental Army in the field. Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 15:26, 29.

Samuel Adams to Richard Henry Lee

My dear Sir

Philada Jany 15th. 1781

Your second Letter came to hand in due Season. My much esteemed Friend Mr Arthur Lee will take the Charge of this. I will say to you as I have said to my Boston Friends, who are solicitous to know what Treatment he meets with here. The more I have conversd with him, the more I have been confirmd in a good opinion of him, and lamented the Mistakes and Prejudices of some Men & the Wickedness of others. His Enemies, I think, dare not openly attack his Reputation or Conduct. But the Whispers of envy & Malice, have some times Influence enough to prevent the Justice due to the virtuous Citizen. When this is the Case, it affords a Symptom of the Decay of publick Spirit, more threatening to the Liberties of a Commonwealth than Hosts of foreign Enemies. Monarchs have their Favorites who serve as Pimps on their honest Subjects. But Republicks should examine the Conduct of their Servants with an impartial Eye; and it discovers the Want of publick Virtue, as much, to withhold their Smiles from the wise and good as to bestow them on the wicked & unfaithful. Mr. Lee has as yet had neither Smiles nor Frowns. I am still in hopes he will meet with the Rewards which I am sure he would

have receivd if he had returnd a few years ago. He will have them when the Trustees of the Publick shall have Fortitude enough to be uninfluencd by great Names & Characters given to Men of base & depravd Minds. You will ask, when that will be. Perhaps not in this Age. But the Historian will in some future time draw forth the Proofs of his Patriotism, & unprejudicd Posterity will acknowledge that Arthur Lee has borne a great share in defending & establishing the Liberties of America. I say Posterity; for I believe that a wiser Generation will enjoy the Fruits of the Toil of Patriots & Heroes in the present Day.

My Friend, we must not suffer any thing to discourage us in this great Conflict. Let us recur to first Principles without Delay. It is our Duty, to make every proper Exertion in our respective States to revive the old patriotick Feelings among the People at large and to get the publick Departments, especially the most important of them, filled with Men of understanding & inflexible Virtue. It would be indeed alarming, if the United States should ever entrust the Ship in which our all is at Stake, with inexperienc'd or unprincipled Pilots. Our Cause is surely too interesting to Mankind, to be put under the Direction of Men, vain, avaricious or conceald under the Hypocritical Guise of Patriotism, without a Spark of publick or private Virtue. We may possibly be more in Danger of this, than many of our honest Citizens may imagine. Is there not Reason to apprehend, that even those who are inimical to our Cause may steal into Places of the highest Trust? I need not remind *you* that Men of this Character have had Seats in Congress from the beginning. Where is Galloway, Low, Allen & Alexander?¹ If it was so in those Times of Vigilance & Zeal, how much more is it to be expected, when the Love of many is waxin cold, & their Minds are distracted with the Pursuit of Pleasure & exorbitant Riches. We cannot be perswaded to believe that bad Men have been sent by their States with a View of giving a fatal Stab to our Cause in its Infancy; but is it unreasonable to suppose that their Elections were secretly influenced by artful Men; with this Design. Our most dangerous Enemies may be in our Bosoms.

Mr. Lee will inform you how Matters go on here. I must let you know that when your Kinsman Mr William Lee² was in Boston in Sept 1779 he borrowed five hundred Dollars of Moses Gill Esqr, and drew his Bill on his Brother Mr George Lee of Westmoreland County. I wish it may be paid on Sight, for it was advancd on my Application.

My Regards to Mrs. Lee &c. Adieu & believe me to be, your Friend.

RC (PPAmP: Lee Papers). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

¹ That is, Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, Isaac Low of New York, Andrew Allen of Pennsylvania, and Robert Alexander of Maryland, all of whom had openly

avowed their loyalty to Britain after serving briefly in Congress during the early months of the revolution.

² That is, William Lee, cousin and ward of Richard Henry Lee, who later informed Adams that Arthur Lee would pay "the money that you kindly procured for Mr. Wm. Lee." Lee, *Letters* (Ballagh), 2:219.

Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to George Washington

Sr.

Trenton Jany. 15th 1781

We have hitherto given Your Excellency Intelligence from time to time of the State of things respecting the Pennsylvania line—and have now the Pleasure to Inform you, that the terms agreed on by the Committee from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania with them are now carrying into Execution, in as peaceable and Quiet a manner as could possibly be expected. Two Regts. have been already settled with—with regard to their terms of Enlistments and for want of their Enlistments and attestations being produced a great proportion of them have had Certificates to be discharged. They on their part have delivered up the Spies Sent from Sr. Harry Clinton, who have been both Executed, by the Sentence of a Board of officers composed of Genls. Wayne, Irvin, Cols. Butler, Stewart & Major Fishbourne.

We Enclose Yr. Excellency a Copy of the terms which are the Grounds on which their Claims are to be adjusted—and we have remain'd here¹ to Interpose the Authority or Judgment of Congress in case of necessity shd it have been found necessary in the Course of adjusting them—but have hitherto kept that Influence as much as possible in reserve Altho by being on the Spot we have shewn that it is the disposition of Congress to do them strict Justice. Their Board of Sergeants Still Continue to set and Issue orders—and absolutely refuse to give up their Authority to their officers untill the whole matter is finally Settled. Indeed there Seems to be an irreperable breach between the Men and their officers, and a Total want of Confidence in them.

We are Yr. Excellency's Most obedt. Svts, by order of the Committee²

Jno Sullivan

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written by Theodorick Bland and signed by John Sullivan.

¹ The committee had returned to Trenton from "Barclay's House" at Morrisville, Pa., on the 13th to complete the details of their negotiations with the Pennsylvania troops before returning to Philadelphia. Although Samuel J. Atlee remained behind in New Jersey the next couple of weeks, he did so in his capacity as one of the commissioners for settling the claims of the mutineers rather than as a member of this congressional committee. See the committee's letters to William Livingston, January 9, note, and to Washington, January 10, note 2; and Samuel J. Atlee to

Joseph Reed, January 16, 1781.

² This is the last letter by the Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny that has been found.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

Jan. 15. 1781

I take it for granted that Rivington's Publication of my Letter to you, with some explanatory notes of some virulent Refugee, will make not a little Talk.¹ I feel no Anxieties about the Consequences, but I have a Curiosity to know the Operations generated by it in your Quarter.

You can have little idea of what we suffer here from Want of Money. It is immensely more than what you knew sometimes from the Sluggishness of the Press-Handle when it worked only at single Tides.

You will be fully alarmed by the Letter of Genl. Washington to the Governor of Massa.² Heaven prosper you on your Committee of Ways & Means.

To say nothing of the Hardship of 3 attending to *give a Voice* when only 3 attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*, the Vote of the State hangs on the Health of the Laborours too much. Mr. A—is too unwell today to be abroad; and be assured that the Health of all of us is precarious indeed, if quiet minds are essential to the Soundness of our Constitutions.

I wish to hear as often from you as possible and I promise a Return alike conditionally.

Yrs.

J L

RC (MHi: Gerry Papers).

¹ For the consequences of the publication of Lovell's intercepted letter to Gerry, see Lovell to Gerry, November 20, 1780, notes 3 and 6; and Lovell to Timothy Pickering, February 5, 1781.

² See Washington's circular letter to the New England states, January 5, 1781, calling for an emergency appropriation to pay the Continental Army. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:61–63.

Samuel J. Atlee to Joseph Reed

Dr Sir,

Mount Prospect Jany. 16th. 1781.

In settling with the Third Regiment we have had more to do than with the others, from Colo. Craig's¹ having a number of Original Attestations for the War, the Soldiery upon this became very Tumultuous, and in the Evening a great Number Assembled at Capt.

Allen Schooner on board of which we had sent the Arms of those discharged and the four pieces of Artillery with orders to push off immediately after he shou'd receive them.²

A Messenger was sent to us of this Transaction, we immediately repaired to the waterside, obliged the Soldiers to return the Artillery, return to their Quarters, and promise to be in future Orderly.

This day before we entred upon Business we sent for the Board of Sergeants who waited upon us and were very submissive wishing to be dissolved; it was thought best as the Regiments wou'd not receive their officers to continue the Board meerly for the Sake of some order. After Colo Craige had left us he was exceedingly insulted by some of his Regiment who presented their Firelockes And threatned to take his life, the sergeants have promised to secure the Fellows and deliver them to us—with such small arms as they tooke out of the Schooner at the Time of the Tumult last Evening.

From the Measure of this Day we find the soldiers less Tumultuous, and more in fear of us.

Your Excellency and Councill shall hear from us, particularly if any thing Material shall occur in our Department.

I am Sir—By order of the Board—Your Excellencys Most Obt. Hble Servt. Saml J Atlee

[P.S.] The officers at Pennytown³ are in a deplorable situation for want of Cash to support them. We ardently wish that a sum could be immediately sent for their Relief or they ordered to Philada. One or the other must immediately take place.

RC (NH: Reed Papers).

¹ Col. Thomas Craig, commander of the 3d Pennsylvania Regiment.

² For Atlee's work on the commission for settling the claims of the Pennsylvania mutineers and the "Tumultuous" behavior of the troops at this time, see Van Doren, *Mutiny in January*, pp. 198–200.

³ See Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny to Samuel Huntington, January 11, 1781, note 2.

Thomas Bee to John Laurens

Dear Sir, Philadelphia 16 January 1781

I have not as yet finished my Letters for Europe which I intend troubling you with, but hope to Send them by next Post. We have for several Days been amused with Accounts of the Enemy's Landing in Virginia,¹ but yesterdays Mail brought us a confirmation, Congress have no Official Account, but many private Letters give a variety of different Accounts—the most satisfactory one I have seen is from Col. Gervais to Col Motte dated a[t] Frederickburgh the 8th Instant, the purport of which was, that Arnold commands—that he proceeded

up James River in his vess[e]ls & Landed within 15 Miles of Richmond, which Town he took possession of & remained at 24 hours, destroyed all the Public Buildings & stores he found there, collected all the Rum & Salt from the Merchants & others, threw the Salt into the River & stove the rum in the Streets. He proceeded to the Iron foundry at West Ham about miles² higher up the River & destroyed every thing at that place. Governor Jefferson & Baron Steuben retired to Manchester & had secured all the arms & military Stores. The Militia had collected in Small Parties & several Skirmishes had happened, but nothing of consequence. The last Accounts say the British were retiring to their Shipping & will probably land at different places in the Bay, as Plunder & Devastation seem to be their Object. Our last Accts. from Genl Green were on the 19th Decr. Nothing had happened there since the affair of Rugely's.³ The affair of the Pensylvania Line is not finally settled, but in a proper Train. Governor Reed returned here yesterday from Trenton, & left every thing going on Right then. The Execution of the Emissaries from New York is a sure Sign they did not mean going over to the Enemy, & the refusal of the Committee of Sergeants of one hundred Guineas offered them by the Governor as a reward for the Order & regularity Observed on their March, with His Answer, that what they had done was from principle & what they conceived their Duty is much to their honour. The Committee of Foreign Affairs received this morning a Letter from your Father by way of St Eustatia of which I inclose you a Copy.⁴ I shall be glad to hear from you whenever you have an Opportunity and am with sincere regard, Dr Sir, your most Obdt hum Servt.

Tho. Bee

RC (DLC: Laurens Papers).

¹ For the "Enemy's Landing in Virginia" at Portsmouth, the successful raid of Gen. Benedict Arnold's troops against Richmond in January, and the effective raids conducted by the British from their Portsmouth base in the following months, see Harry M. Ward and Harold E. Greer, *Richmond During the Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), pp. 73-93; and "Notes and Documents Relating to the British Invasions in 1781," in Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:256-78.

² Thus in RC.

³ That is, the capture of the Loyalist stronghold at Rugeley's Mills, S.C., on December 4, 1780.

⁴ See James Lovell to Samuel Holten, this date, note 2.

Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia 16 Janry 1781

Your Excellency will receive a circular Letter from the President of Congress, the principal Object of which is to Obtain Pay for the

Army.¹ In it also the States are requested to furnish Provisions according to the former Resolutions of Congress. The Disappointment of Pay, together with the Deficiency of the Supplies of Provision and Cloathing, accompanied with some Other unhappy Circumstances, has produced such Discontent in the Pennsylvania Line, as has finally occasioned a considerable Number of them to be discharged from the Service. Such an unhappy Event it is hoped, will not take Place with Regard to any Other Line, but We certainly Ought as speedily as possible to remove every Cause which has produced it. The Provisions for the Army are expected to be derived from the Several States according to former Requisitions. The Reason why the Cloathing has not been recd. which was to have been Sent from France, is not yet fully known, in all Probability there must have been some great Neglect in those charged with the Shipping of it. But it is Said that it may be soon expected. The Pay of the Army was expected to be made by the New Bills, and which are now most urgently called for—But shall these Bills Seasonably issue and obtain all the Credit expected from them they will probably be found Very insufficient to Defray the Expences of the next Campaign, including the large Sums Now due in Arrears, even should the usual mode of Taxation be Augmented as farr as can be reasonably expected. In this View an Application will be renewed for a foreign Loan—But the Success of this Measure to us appears too precarious to be relied upon, And indeed the Utility of the Measure We apprehend may Very justly be doubted, when We consider the Vast Resources of this Country, which might be drawn forth adequate to our Wants (except Cloathing and Military Stores which We can Obtain from Abroad) in Case our Revenue was but proportionably increased. Wheither this cannot be effected We conceive demands the most Serious Attention—And likewise to Consider wheither some Funds for the Use of the United States as such, cannot be established. The last year has given Us the most distressing Experience that there are many National Expences, which the States individually, cannot Discharge, Nor by Reason of the Uncertainty and Deficiency of the Sums paid into the continental Chest by the usual modes of Taxation, can any Confidence be placed upon their being paid. The Existence of a Power (if it can be called such) constituted for National Purposes, especially for directing the Affairs of a War, not possessing any consitutional Authority to command the Smallest Portion of Property, is scarcely conceivable. We Apprehend that over and above such Taxes as shall be collected from particular States, for general Uses, grounded upon regular Estimates, and which Taxes granted for such a Purpose ought to be Regularly paid and Strictly Appropriated, that there ought also to be a Power Vested in such as Superintend National Affairs, to raise a Revenue from such Property as cannot with Convenience nor Advantage be Subject to the Controul of any

particular State—and thereby extend the publick Credit by establishing a Revenue purely National.

We cannot Say but that Sentiments of this kind may be thot improper. But when We find Ourselves charged in our political Capacity with the Violations of Ingagments—And feel the loss of National Credit—these Sentiments Appear to us just. What has been principally talked of and expected, to obtain this End, has been a Cession to the United States of their unlocated Territory and that the States Vest Congress with exclusive Power to regulate Foreign Commerce and to lay reasonable Dutys upon Imports and Exports. This is a Measure Not yet agreed to, and We cannot Say what will be done in Regard to it.

Before We close this Letter We cannot but express our Grief that a People who generally possess the most Ardent Desires to establish their Libertys upon the fullest Conviction of their high Importance, That a Country abounding with Men and Supplies, yet from a Defect in their Constitution or Councils or both of them, should not seem to have it in their Power to call them forth with more Advantage—And altho our past Experience has proved to us that our Exertions have been Aided by the Almighty—And that our Cause is supported by Two of the Belligerent Powers of Europe and countenanced We believe by all the Rest, except our open and professed Enemys, yet We seem to be in a Condition as if We did not possess those Advantages. This Strange Situation can hardly be otherwise Accounted for, than that the National Principles from whence Union and Force are to be derived are not properly established—And it may with equal Propriety be Said—That proper Arrangments to Ascertain and check the publick Expenditures have not yet been made—And that there is a general Defect in the Establishment of the civil executive Departments Acting immediately under Congress. These Objects are likewise in Contemplation and may possibly be put upon a more Advantageous footing.

We have No Intilligence to communicate to your Excellency but what you will find in the publick Papers. We are with every Sentiment of Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedient, humble Servant,

Oliver Wolcott

Jesse Root

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Wolcott and signed by Wolcott and Root.

¹ Samuel Huntington's January 15, 1781, circular letter to the states is in *JCC*, 19:57-61.

William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Philadelphia, January 16th, 1781.

I have no doubt but that you have had an account of the Mutiny which has lately happened in the pensylvania line, We were at first under great Apprehensions that their Designs were to go over and Joyn the Enemy, and that they had given other Reasons as Austensible merely to Cover their Real Design. But they have given Convinceing proofs that their only aim was a Redress of Grievances, for General Clinton from New York Sent out two persons among them while they were at princeton, with proposals and Invitation to come over to him, the terms which he Offered were very plausible, and Generous, and was Sufficient to try the Virtue of Troops who had Suffered much less than ours. But after Reading them to the line at large, they Rejected them with indignation, Siezed the Spies who brought them, and Delivered them over to General Wane to be Dealt with as Should be proper, and who last week had an Enquiry on them and Executed them. I have not learned their names tho the one we understand was a Sergeant in the New Levies.

Congress Sent a Committee with President Reed to hear their Complaints, and to Redress their Real Grievances which I am happy to inform you they have Effected to the Satisfaction of the Soldiers who have Recd their Officers and Returned to their Duty.

By what I can understand the principle Reason that gave Rise to the mutiny was that many Soldiers of that line, who were Inlisted for three years or During the war, were Detained in Service after they had Served three Years, which they Considered as unjust, not Doubting but that they ought to be discharged at the end of either period which Should first happen. The Exact terms upon *[which]* they have Settled the matter I am not able to give you but one of them is that all those who were held under the above Circumstances are now Discharged. But I understand that This State has Collected a Sum of hard money which the president has on the Spot, and that for a Small Bounty in Specie many of them have Reinlisted.

By a Number of Letters Recd. Yesterday (tho' not Official) General Arnold has Arrived in Virginia with the Troops which went from New York under his Command. He Sailed as far up James River as he Could, landed Suddenly and march 23 miles to Richmond, the Seat of Government in that State, and Where there had been Collected a Considerable Quantity of publick Stores. The Inhabitants Removed as many as they Could upon the Short notice they had, the Remainder were Destroyed with all the publick Buildings at that place and a General plundering of the Inhabitants took place—their beginning their Retreat is the last we heard of them. Whether they will Effect or not is uncertain, as We hear the Militia were Collecting

very fast below them, I am in hopes the Virginians will Exert themselves on this occasion and Catch that Scoundrel *Arnold*.

Congress are Endeavouring to Devise Some mode to pay for the flour Seised by Virtue of your Excellencys warrant for that purpose to our State agent, and Communicated to Congress by General Washington. However desirous they may be to make Compensation for the provisions thus Obtained Yet they are put to Difficulties to know from whence the money can be obtained for that purpose.¹

By the Circular Letter from Congress which you will Receive about the time youl Receive this,² your Excellency will Discover the Embarrassd Circumstances of America—and it is to be hoped that the Delinquent States when they See the Danger which awaits them and the Continent in General, by Reason of their neglect or inattention, that they will be Induced to Exertions beyond what they have Yet made.

Congress are fully Sensible of the Exertions of the State of New York in this Contest, But as that Letter is Circular, it is proper that our State Should Receive one.

After Wishing you the Compliments of the Season I Subscribe my Self your Most Obedt. and humble Servt. Wm. Floyd

RC (N: Clinton Papers). Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:578–80. RC damaged; missing words supplied from Tr.

¹ The question of compensation for New York's flour was brought before Congress on December 29 in an extract from George Clinton's December 15 letter to George Washington, who enclosed it in his December 22, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington. The letters were referred to a five-man committee chaired by Floyd. *JCC*, 18:1203; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:1–2.

² See *JCC*, 19:57–61.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 16. 1781

I have the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Copy of a Circular Letter to the several States from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire inclusive, which will give you the needful Information of the present Measures Congress have adopted to procure the Pay of the Army &c.¹

Hope that your Excellency's Letter to the Eastern States, on the same Subject (Copy of which I have been honored with) may have a good Effect;² yet to me it seems absolutely necessary that more certain & permanent Funds should be obtained to defray the Expence of the War than hath been hitherto devised, and which ought to be the principal Object of Congress, and will, I trust, claim their continued Attention until accomplished in the best possible Measure our Circumstances will admit.

By various Accounts it seems pretty certain the late Embarkation of the Enemy from New York have been in James River, landed in Virginia & proceeded as far as Richmond, done some Mischief there and retreated. The various Accounts are vague & without Precision, and what seems rather unaccountable to me, we have received no official Intelligence respecting the Enemy since they entered the Chesapeake.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For this emergency appeal to the seven northern and middle states for money to pay the Continental Army for six months, "one half of which to be advanced without the least delay, and the remainder by the 1st of April next," see *JCC*, 19:58-61. The letter was occasioned by the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line, but Congress had been studying the army's needs and the states' delinquencies in remitting their cash quotas for some time, and the immediate crisis triggered by the Pennsylvania troops simply brought the general issue to a head. See *JCC*, 18:1142, 19:30-31, 41, 45-46.

² For this January 5 letter to the four New England states, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:61-63, 66.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

16 Janry. 1781.

We had yesterday no Post from the eastern Side of Hudson's River. I inclose a paper for Mr. Jay which you will be pleased to send to the Navy Board.¹ I am mortified by knowing from Mr. Laurens that the Letters "given to him by Mr. Lovell and the Admiralty are in the Enemy's Hands."²

J. L.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 13 (July 1876): 224.

¹ Lovell may simply have been transmitting a copy of President Huntington's letter to Jay with congressional instructions for obtaining the exchange of Henry Laurens, for which see Huntington to Benjamin Franklin, January 4, 1781, note 2.

² This information arrived in Henry Laurens' September 14, 1780, letter to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, which was read in Congress on January 16. See *JCC*, 19:62; *PCC*, item 89, fols. 201-2; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:56.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Jany. 16th: 1781

I was very glad at not being disappointed in my expectations of a favor from you by yesterday's post.¹ Several reports in quick

succession of the arrival & progress of the predatory band under Arnold had rendered us exceedingly anxious to hear the truth & particulars of the matter. Some letters by the post tell us that the Governor with Baron Steuben was wholly engaged in removing & securing the arms & ammunition. If so he was better employed than in writing to Congress on the subject, which from his usual punctuality was expected. The enterprize against Richmond at this season was certainly an audacious one, and strongly marks the character which directed it. Having been long sensible that the security of the Country as high up as tide water reaches has been owing more to the ignorance & caution of the enemy than to its own strength or inaccessibleness, I was much less astonished at the news than many others. To those who are strangers to the sparse manner in which that Country is settled & the easy penetration afforded by its long navigable rivers, the rapid and unopposed advances of the Enemy appear unaccountable & our national character suffers imputations which are by no means due to it.

Congress have yet received no official report of the result of the conciliatory measures taken with the revolted Soldiers at Trenton. From oral & circumstantial evidence There is no doubt that they have been successful. A discharge of a part from the service & a supply of cloathing & money to the rest is the price of their submission. This much considered in itself was required by justice & is consequently consistent with dignity. But considered with respect to the circumstances attending the negotiation, there is but too much ground to suspect that it will be attributed to our fears, & is therefore not a little mortifying. Happily the example, as we understand by a letter from Genl Washington recd. yesterday had not infected the other parts of the Army. As the same causes however which engendered this malignant humour in the Pennsylvania line are known to exist in the other lines, we cannot be sure that the same effects will not yet take place in the latter unless they be speedily removed. As one step towards it Congress are endeavoring to profit of the Alarm which this event must have excited in the States by calling upon them for the means of immediately furnishing some pay to the troops of their respective lines.

You ask me what I think of the Delegate Extraordinary to Congress?² I wish you had told me what you think of such an appointment. It is pretty certain I believe that people in general will not consider it as a proof of confidence in the ordinary Delegation. As Mr. Jones who I believe possesses the confidence of his Country & I am sure will have as much weight in Congress as any man that will be sent on such an occasion, will come about the same [time], & having attended the Legislature will be as well informed in every point of view I can not deny that the appointment appears to me to be at least a supernumerary one. I wish the good effects of it may shew that I am mistaken.

The trade of this City has just suffered a very severe blow. No less than seven fine Vessels have been taken out of an Outward bound fleet & carried into N. York.

I am Dr. Sir Yrs. very sincerely, James Madison Junr.

[P.S.] The Emissary from Clinton with his guide were executed on Saturday morning last.³

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:286-87.

¹ Not found.

² For the Virginia assembly's appointment of this "Delegate Extraordinary," see Madison to Joseph Jones, December 12, 1780, note 3.

³ The British emissaries had in fact been executed on Thursday, January 11.

North Carolina Delegates to John Laurens

Sir

Philadelphia Jany. 16th. 1781

A particular knowledge of the State of the country which we have the honor to represent in Congress, being so necessary for enabling you to give a just Idea of the situation of the affairs of the united States to his most Christian Majesty and his Ministers, and your own attention having been so much engaged in the business of the field, as probably to have prevented your attending to the acquiring of such knowledge, we presume our Ideas will not be entirely useless and therefore we offer them to you.¹

North Carolina, which once afforded great abundance of provisions for its own inhabitants and a considerable quantity for exportation, has, by natural casualties and the events of the war, been reduced so as to afford but a scanty supply for the inhabitants.

The events of the war have occasioned embargoes and great difficulty of exporting bulky articles, such as provisions and consequently lessened the demand; the objects of agriculture soon were confined to the support of the husbandman and his family and very little surplus was produced. Considerable drafts of the husbandmen were frequently made to oppose the Indian and British enemy who attacked the States of South Carolina and Georgia, and this also very much deranged the agriculture of the country. For near twelve months past the western country has been the theatre of the most wasteful ravage committed reciprocally by irregular bands of Whigs & Tories—by troops who were very ill supplied—by the enemy under Ferguson before the defeat at Kings Mountain and by those under Lord Cornwallis before his retreat from Charlotte.

Natural casualties have been peculiarly unfavourable. One year the crops very generally failed on the upland through extreme drought and the low lands on the rivers, which are in general exceedingly

fertile and productive were wasted by innundations which were the effect of heavy rains that succeeded the long drought. The next year a blast destroyed the wheat so generally that it became difficult to procure seed for a very small proportion of the grounds which were usually cultivated for that grain, so that the succeeding crops, tho very good, were very small in quantity. The last season was happy in affording fine crops of every thing and had not the derangements before mentioned circumscribed agriculture in general and its product near the seat of the war, provisions could be had in great plenty for a considerable army. What remains in the western part of the country must be brought very slowly and with great difficulty to the magazines from which the troops are to be supplied, because the constant waste of carriages and draught cattle had made transportation extremely difficult. The lower part of the country which is not exhausted and would furnish a good quantity of provisions, is so remote from the scene of war in the back country that in our present circumstances no aid can be derived from it by land transportation.

The resources of Virginia are very plentiful but are also at too great a distance to be relied on for extensive operations. Thus Sir, you see we are in a very ill condition to oppose an enemy who can convey their supplies up the rivers of South Carolina near to the [scene of] action, while ours are at a prodigious distance widely scattered, capable of transportation only by land, and the means of that transportation extremely difficult.

From this view you will clearly perceive how important an object it is to attack the enemy on the sea coast in such force as to oblige them to withdraw their troops from the interior country and this under the auspices of a naval superiority. The scene of war would then be removed to a country where positions could be taken with advantage and supplies furnished in abundance through the navigable rivers, bays and sounds of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

With the highest consideration, we have the honor to be, Sir, Your Most Obedient and most humble Servants, Tho Burke

Wm. Sharpe

Sam Johnston

RC (NcD: Henry Laurens Manuscripts). Written by Sharpe and signed by Sharpe, Burke, and Johnston.

¹ For other efforts to provide Laurens with current information on conditions in various states, see Thomas Burke to Laurens, December 26, and Oliver Wolcott to Laurens, December 27, 1780.

Jesse Root to Hezekiah Wyllys

Dr Sir¹

Janry 16th 1781

On the application of the Court of appeals who expect to Set at Hartford next Summer I took the Liberty to recommend you as a proper person to be appointed Regester of that Court, of which you will be duly notified.

By accts from Fredericksburgh in Virginia Arnold landed Friday before last 15 Miles below Richmond, marched & took possession of that place & destroyed great quantites of Stores—he retreated the next day. Genl. Nelson was Collecting the militia to attack him. The Pensylvania line are induced to return to their duty again, Genl Clintons insidious proposals to them, the firmness with which they rejected them & the fate of the Spies Sent on that Errand I presume you have heard before this.

My best respects to the good old Gentleman your Dada. I hope he is well & as happy as times will permit. I wish to See him, have many things to tell him—would have wrote him—but why Should I trouble him.

With much respect, your obedt, humble Servt

Jesse Root

RC (CtHi: Wyllys Papers). Addressed: "Col H. Wyllys."

¹ Hezekiah Wyllys (1747–1827), Hartford, Conn., graduated from Yale College in 1765 and served as a colonel in the Connecticut militia during the revolutionary war. Lucius B. Barbour, *Families of Early Hartford, Connecticut* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977), p. 699.

Oliver Wolcott to Tapping Reeve

Sir,¹

Philadelpa. 16 Janry 1781

The unhappy Disturbance in the Pensylvania Line is quieted. Many of them are Discharged especially Such as claimed to be dismissed as they had inlisted for three years or during the War. This Ambiguous Inlistment has been the Occasion of much Dificulty—besides this the State hired Men lately at the Incampment of the Line to Inlist during the War by a Bounty of Nine pounds in Spice [Specie]. These Circumstances Attending such as have been common to the Other Lines, Viz, the Want of Pay and proper supplies, seems to have been the principal Causes of the late Disturbance. The Line discovered their Abhorrence of entering into the British Service by their rejecting Very Alluring offers and by their delivering up to be executed the Emissarys Sent out by the British Commander to Seduce them from their Allegiance.

Every Principle of Justice as well as Prudence dictate the Necessity

of paying the Army—And Congress have called again upon the States to enable them to Effect it, To Pay and Provide for the Army ought certainly to be the primary Objects in every deliberative Council.

You will Perceive by the enclosed Paper that the Enemy have begun to Ravage Virginia. We have no Very late News Southward of that State But what you will probably See in your own Papers. The general State of Affairs in Carolina and Georgia seems to be that the Enemy are exercising the greatest Severity upon the Inhabitants—And that the People especially in the Northern parts of those States are taking every Oppertunity in which they are frequently Successful to repel the Violence.

We have No Very late Intelligence from Europe.

The New Money of this State is but just coming out—so that it cannot yet be Said, what will be the Degree of Credit which it will Obtain—But it will soon be in Circulation. Wheather the Tender Act of this State will Accelerate this Circulation, cannot now be Assertained.

I receive No Letters from Litchfield—wheather the Want of Oppertunity to Write—or the Apprehension of Letters Miscarrying prevents My having them I cannot say. Altho I think that Letters will come by the Post with tolerable Safety. My best Compliments to Mrs. Reeve who I hope enjoys better Health. I am Sir, with much Regard, your Most Obed. Servt. Oliver Wolcott

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection). Addressed: “Tapping Reeve Esqr., Litchfield, Connecticut.”

¹ Tapping Reeve (1744–1823) was the founder of the Litchfield Law School, which opened in 1784 and in the early nineteenth century came to be regarded as one of the “most important school[s] of its kind in the country.” *DAB*.

Samuel Adams to John Pitts

My dear Sir

Philad. Jany 17. 1781

Your favor of the 17th of Novr was duly receivd. It bodes very ill to Government when Men are exalted to places of high trust through their own Sollicitations. He only fills a place with Dignity, who is invited to it by his Fellow Citizens, from the Experience they have had of his adequate Abilities, & who does the Duties of it with Zeal & Fidelity. Such a Man, being conscious that neither Smiles, Intreaties, Gifts, Intrigue nor any dishonorable Practices have procured him his high Station, may rely on the People who gave him their free Suffrages, to approve of his honest Endeavors to serve them. And having Nothing in View but that the Publick may be best servd, he will chearfully resign his Place whenever the People shall make Choice of another whom they judge more capable than he.

The People are certainly the best Judges, who are most likely to render them substantial Service; & whoever interposes in their Elections, with his own Sollicitations for himself, it is to be feared, if he is of any Consequence, will in time become a dangerous Party Man. He ought therefore to be despised as an obtruder. I hope there are not many such Men in our Government. I am sorry to be informed that there are any. They should be watched; for if they have no evil Designs, their Vanity may prompt them to do Mischief. The Express waits. Adieu.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

Samuel Huntington to John Cochran

Sir, Philada January 18. 1781

It is with Pleasure & Satisfaction I perform the Trust incumbent upon me in transmitting you the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 17th Instant, by which you will be informed they have been pleased to appoint you Director of the military Hospitals.¹

You will also receive enclosed, another Act of Congress of the same Date by which some Alterations are made in the Plan for conducting the Hospital Department as established the 30th of September last; in particular the permanent Emolument allowed to the principal Officers in that Department during Life.²

The other Alterations for conducting the Department you will observe for your Government.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For Cochran's appointment and an analysis of his career in the medical department (with a previously unpublished letterbook he maintained while director of military hospitals), see *JCC*, 19:48, 65, 160; and Morris H. Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochran, 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

² *JCC*, 19:68-69.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Sim Lee

Sir, Philadelphia January 18. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed a resolve of Congress of the 17th Instant, requesting the Executive of the State of Maryland to liquidate the Account of Mr Baker Johnston for fifty two Pair of Leather Breeches which he purchased for Lt Colo. Lee's Partizan Corps on Account of the United States.¹

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir, your most
obedt & most hbble Servant,

Saml. Huntington President

RC (MdAA: Red Books). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ For the enclosed resolve and the recommendations of the Board of War upon which it was based, see *JCC*, 19:65-66; and *PCC*, item 147, 6:1-11.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 18. 1781

Your Excellency will be informed by the enclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 17th Instant that Doctor John Cockran is elected Director General in the room of Doctor Shippen resigned,¹ That Mr John Pierce is elected Paymaster,² and also that some Alterations are made in the late Plan for conducting the Hospital Department.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See Huntington to John Cochran, this date.

² See *JCC*, 19:48, 65, 72. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve this day with a brief cover letter to Pierce. *PCC*, item 15, fol. 220.

Samuel Huntington to Caesar Rodney

Sir, Philadelphia January 20. 1781

I have the Honor to transmit your Excellency the enclosed Copy of a resolve of Congress of this Day, by which you will be informed that I am directed to represent to the Executive of Delaware State the Necessity of forming Magazines of Flour contiguous to the Army.

And to request you in the strongest Terms that the Quota of Flour from your State may be sent forward by Water to Trenton without Delay.¹

You will readily conceive the Difficulty of Land Carriage for any great Distance at this Season, and from the latest Accounts respecting the State of the Magazines of Flour near the Army, should the Quota of Flour from the State of Delaware fail of being forwarded agreeable to the foregoing request the Consequence is much to be dreaded.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect, Sir, your most obedt & most hbble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (CtY: William Griswold Lane Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 19:73.

Charles Thomson to Thomas Johnson, Jr.

Sir Secretary's Office of Congress

Jany. 20th. 1781

Yesterday a letter under your signature directed to the Secy of the board of Admiralty¹ was put into my hands requesting a supply of Commissions &c for armed vessels; from which it appears that you have not yet been made acquainted with the alteration which Congress by their act of the 27 July last have been pleased to make as to the mode of issuing such commissions in future.

In a letter which I had the honor of writing to his Excellency the Governor of your State on the 28th July last² I enclosed the act of Congress above mentioned together with 15 blank commissions and informed him that it was the intention of Congress that all commissions & instructions in force on the 2nd of May last should be cancelled as soon as possible and the new ones substituted in place thereof. I have not yet been favored with an answer to my letter and as you seem to be ignorant of its contents take the liberty of enclosing a copy thereof also forty blank commissions &c for armed vessels. You will please to return the bonds when executed; when more are wanted for your State they shall on the first notice be forwarded by, Sir, your humble servant, Cha Thomson Secy.³

RC (MdAA: Red Books). In a clerical hand and signed by Thomson. Addressed: "T. Johnston Esqr. Secy of the Council of the State of Maryland."

¹ For Johnson's January 10 letter to the Board of Admiralty, see *Md. Archives*, 47:11.

² See Thomson to the States, July 28, 1780.

³ Thomson sent a similar letter to the President of the New Hampshire Council, Meshech Weare, on January 23. "Yours of the 5th Inst [PCC, item 64, fols. 66-69] with ten bonds enclosed I had the honor of receiving this morning," Thomson explained. "Agreeable to your request I now transmit for the use of your State twenty blank commissions &c for armed vessels. When more are wanted they shall on the first notice be forwarded by, Sir, Your Obedt humble servt." PCC, item 18, fols. 7-8.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir, Philadelphia Jany 21th 1781

I did myself the Honor of writing you from Trenton Last week¹ respecting the Revolt of the Pensylvania Troops & I now Take the Liberty of Inclosing you Copy of my Letter to the Minister of France which Contain a Narrative of the whole affair.² I Sent This State of Facts to him Lest a Rumour of this Mutiny Should reach Europe & make Some unfavorable Impressions respecting America. I knew he would Send a Copy of it immediately to France which would be

published & prevent any ill Effects which might arise from false or Exaggerated Accounts. I Submit to your Judgment whether altering the First Paragraph & Publishing it as a Letter from me to you will not answer a good purpose. I have no objection to my name being put to it if you think it will have more weight than an Anonymouse Letter would be Likely to have. My wish is to have the Facts Stated as they really were and this Event will not appear of that alarming kind as at first was apprehended. I have been particular in Stating facts as they really were & So as Every persons person must allow them to be without any false Coloring.

I can give you no news Except that the Traytor Arnold has Landed in Virginia, Burnt all the publick Buildings and Destroyed what publick Stores were to be found there & altho he had but 1500 men not a Shot was fired at him. This I cannot pretend to Account for at present. It however Does the Virginians no Honor, our Last Accounts are that he is Incamped opposite Williamsburgh & Baron Stuben & General Nelson are opposed to him with only Fifteen hundred men but that more were Collecting. I shall Leave this Letter open till the Post Sets off that I may give you Such further Intelligence as may come to hand. I wrote you in Several Letters for money. Congress have resolved that members Shall not Draw from the General Treasury³ and I must Live by borrowing or do worse.⁴ I have Drawn Some money from the Continental Treasury but, can Draw no more. I have used Every OEconomy in my power & can Truly Say that I never Lived So Sparingly in my Life. Yet I am ashamed of the nominal Expence—that you may form Some Judgment I will give you the price of wood which is by far the Cheapest Article I know; this Costs Six hundred & thirty Dollars per Cord. I am Convinced that three hard Dollars would in the year 1775 purchase more than a Thousand Continental Dollars will now do.

The Southern Post has this moment arived but brings no further Intelligence from the Southward.

I have the Honor to be, with the most perfect Esteem Dr Sir your most Obedt Servt,

Jno Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers).

¹ Not found.

² See Sullivan to the chevalier de La Luzerne, January 13, 1781.

³ For Congress' September 29, 1780, resolve curtailing the practice of drawing on the Continental treasury for the expenses of the delegates, see Samuel Huntington to the States, October 3, 1780.

⁴ One alternative Sullivan had turned to was the French minister to the United States, La Luzerne, from whom he first borrowed and then accepted an annual retainer, for a discussion of which see Sullivan to George Washington, November 26, 1780, note 5.

In his March 17 response, which was intercepted and published in *Rivington's New York Royal Gazette* on April 25, Weare explained that the New Hampshire

assembly had authorized Sullivan to draw upon the state for amounts not to exceed £200 new money. See Sullivan to Weare, May 8, 1781.

John Sullivan to John Wendell

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Jany 21 1781

I am honored with your favor of the 26 Ulto for which I confess myself under very great obligations Especially as you Seem to be Sensible of Some Neglect in not writing me before: for if I am not mistaken Conviction Confession & Reformation follow Each other in Regular Succession, the natural Inference Therefore is that I shall have the pleasure of receiving frequent Letters from you in future which will Exactly correspond with the Desire I have of hearing from you by Every opportunity.

I have a very great Desire of Seeing My Esteemed Friend Mr Gerry but I hope to be in New Hampshire before Spring.

I have but Small hopes of Gaining any Compensation from Congress respecting the Losses you mention.¹

Capt Simpsons affair Shall be particularly attended to.² I have the Same opinion as you have respecting the Confederation & am as much Surprized as you can be that the Defects you mention & a number of others were not Discovered previous to its passing. I wish it was Consistent with your Interest to become a member of Congress.

I am Somewhat Alarmed at that part of your Letter which respects Vermont: Chosing me their Governor would be unaccountable. But their Then Sending Allen upon Business to the British would be Still more Astonishing.³ Could They possibly have the madness to Suppose that I would have the Least Connection with wretches who while they were Confering upon me the Chief Command were Settling Terms with the most Arbitrary & unprincipled nation that Ever Disgraced human nature. It is impossible that your Information can be right; But if it is you may rely on it I will with pleasure Command Troops against them but never for them. If the former is True viz Chusing me their Governor & Commander of their Troops & the Latter False I shall give Them in Season my acknowledgements of the Honor Intended Accompanied with a refusal. But if the Latter is also True I request you to Publish this Letter to Convince them how much I Despise a People who from a mere Ideal opinion of being Injured by the Decision of Congress have pursued a Line of Conduct which must prove them Destitute of Every principle of Gratitude Patriotism as well as of moral & Political virtue—to prevent more writing I Inclose you the Last paper.

MS not found; reprinted from Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:267–69.

¹ Wendell's reference is not known, but Sullivan had submitted a memorial to

Congress on November 25, 1780, which apparently included claims extending from his seizure of powder at Fort William and Mary in 1775 to "losses" from the depreciation of his salary as a Continental general to November 1779. See *JCC*, 18:1098, 19:431. For the eventual disposition of the claim, which was not settled until August 1781, see James M. Varnum to Sullivan, August 10, 1781, note 1.

² Thomas Simpson of Portsmouth, N.H., was one of four naval captains who had memorialized Congress on October 17, 1780, for a settlement of their pay. The matter had been referred to the Board of Admiralty, but although the petitioners submitted a second memorial to Congress on February 9, no report or other action on either memorial is recorded in the journals. See *JCC*, 18:934, 19:135.

³ Although no evidence has been found that Sullivan was seriously considered as a possible governor of Vermont, Ethan and Ira Allen had indeed embarked on separate negotiations with British authorities in Canada. See Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), pp. 90-126.

James Lovell to Baron von Steuben

Dear Sir, Jany. 22d. 1781.

I am to thank you for your Favor from Richmond; Nor would I so long have omitted the acknowledgement if I could either have promised you a "Supply of Arms & Cloathing" or have told you any "interesting News." Be not betrayed by my apology for past Silence into a Hope that I have now taken up my Pen in Ability to give you Satisfaction as to either of the Points which your Letter suggested. Alas! I am still unable. But I could not refrain from expressing to you by this Opportunity how much I am affected with Pleasure by any Occurrence which redounds to your Glory. The Governor of Virginia mentions very honorably your Conduct with a small Body of militia of which you had condescended to take the Command while a traiterous Villain was aiming to make extensive Ravage on James River in that State. Your own Letters to Congress¹ have confirmed the Propriety of the Governors grateful Sentiments. I Would to God you were at the Head of a Body suitably equipped to execute the Directions which your great military Knowledge enables you to give whenever you are in a Field of Action. I regret much the Mortifications which I know your warm Zeal in our Cause must have met with, from your Inequality of Men, Artillery, and, in Short, every Means of giving a final Blow to Arnold's Schemes.

I regret more that you have no Prospect but of the Continuance of such Disadvantages. The Chapter of Contingencies has heretofore been greatly in our Favor. We ought wisely and Seasonably to avoid being betrayed into a Dependence on that alone. Some time Since the Beginning of this year we finished an Application to France which you was earnest for months ago.

Genl. McDugal took a Seat in Congress last Week. He brought me a Letter for Mr. Walker yr. Aid under a Cover Superscribed by the Same Hand but quite unknown to me.

I am much pleased at knowing from Mr. Laforest that Mr. DuPonceau is gaining Health very fast. I wish Happiness to your whole Family.

I can communicate Nothing but what Mr. Dart well knows. I therefore close with assuring you of my Strictest Affection,
James Lovell

RC (NH: Steuben Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to Steuben, January 23, 1781.

Samuel J. Atlee to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Major Trents January 23d. 1781.

A Major Burrows¹ late of the Jersey Line has just arrived at Genl. Waynes Quarters with Intelligence that the Line of Jersey have followed exactly the Footsteps of the Pennsylvanians.²

A number of them have left (he says) their Hutts, and taken post at Chatham a strong Situation in the Gorge of the Mountain, this Step may be attended with very serious Consequences unless something can be immediately done to prevent them.

We have after great difficulties settled with all the Penna. Line except three Regiments: shou'd Emissaries be sent by the Jersey Troops to those Regiments with an Invitation to join them at Chatham, knowing their Discontents, and they effect it, it wou'd add greatly to their Strength and consequently their Presumption.

Genl. Wayne is now with us to know if something cou'd not be done in conjunction with him to prevent if possible the ill consequences that must ensue shou'd the remainder of the Pennsylvanians accept the Invitation.

If the Troops at Trenton cou'd be prevaild upon to march under their Officers to suppress the present Mutiny it wou'd be fortunate, this probably might be effected if Congress wou'd engage to those Troops who shall remain for the War, and act upon this occasion the same Bounty that is giving by the State to Recruits.

The great occasion of their present discontent and uneasiness is that they have bourne the fatigue of the day for a small Bounty whilst others who shall be now recruited will receive the large Bounty now offerd by the State.

I wish immediately to know the Sence of Congress upon this matter, and shall if any other intelligence arrive dispatch it.

I am Your Excellencys Most obt. Hble Servant.

Saml. J. Atlee

10 oClock, Tuesday Evng

Wednesday Morning. No confirmation this morning.

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ Maj. John Burrowes, formerly of David Forman's and of Oliver Spencer's Additional Continental Regiments, had retired January 1, 1781. Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 110.

² This report of the mutiny of the New Jersey line was received and referred on January 25 to a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, Alexander McDougall, and John Sullivan. See *JCC*, 19:86; and PCC, item 78, 1:395-98. For the steps General Washington immediately took "to bring the Mutineers to unconditional submission and their principal leaders to instant and condign punishment," stemming from his belief that "the revolt of the New Jersey Troops [*was*] in imitation of the Pensylvania line," see Freeman, *Washington*, 5:244-50; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:135-36.

Samuel Huntington to Baron von Steuben

Sir Philadelphia January 23rd. 1781

I have been favoured with your letters of the 8th & 11th instant. The former gave me the earliest Intelligence I have received of the motions of the Enemy Since they entered the Cheesapeake.¹

I am Satisfied you have done the best your Situation would permit on this occasion & have only to lament that Circumstances would not admit of Success equal to your Inclination.

I have the Honour to be with Esteem, & Respect, your humble Servt
Sam Huntington

RC (NH: Steuben Papers).

¹ *JCC*, 19:70, 74. These two reports on the enemy's activities from Steuben's camp near Petersburg, Va., are in PCC, item 164, fols. 202-13.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir Philada. Jany 23d. 1781

I have nothing new this week for you but two *reports*: the first is that very great discontents prevail in N. York among the German Troops for causes pretty similar to those which produced the eruption in the Pennsylvania line. It is further said on this head that a party of 200 have deserted from Long Island & gone to Rhode Island. The other report is that the British Minister either has or proposes to carry a bill into Parliamt. authorising the Commanding officer in America to permit & promote a trade with us in British Goods of every kind except Linens & Woolens. This change of system is said to be the advice of some notable refugees, with a view to revive an intercourse as far as possible between the two Countries, & particularly to check the habit that is taking place in the consumption of French Manufactures. Whatever their public views may be it is certain that such a plan would open fine prospects to them in a private view.

We have recd. no fresh or certain information of the designs of F. and Spain in assembling so great a force at Cadiz. There does not appear to be any object in that Quarter except Gibraltar. Should the attempts be renewed agst. that place, it will prove that the former has not that absolute sway in the Cabinet of the latter which has been generally imagined. Nothing could have prevailed on the French to recall their fleet from the Islands at the time they did but the necessity of humouring Spain on the subject of her hobby horse.

I am glad to hear that Arnold has been at last fired at. It sounded a little unfavorably for us in the ears of people here that he was likely to get off without that proof of a hostile reception. If he ventures an irruption in any other quarter I hope he will be made sensible that his impunity on James River was owing to the suddenness of his appearance & not to the want of spirit in the people.

I am Dr. Sir Yrs sincerely,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:297.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sr.

Philadelphia Jany 23d. 1781

It is with much concern that we have learnt from Your Excellencys and the Baron de Steubens letters to Congress,¹ the Misfortunes our Country has sufferd from the Invasion under the command of the detestable Arnold, and that he has ventured with impunity even to our Capitol. We have some reason to Imagine that the same plan of operations which induced Clinton to send him there will occasion him to remain in our Bay and continue that alarm to our state and Maryland which he has so successfully begun in order to Harrass our Militia, encrease our expences, waste our resources destroy our Magazines and Stores when he finds it practicable, and by thus distracting us prevent our sending the necessary Succours to the Southern Army. This Sr. is a game we are open to at every period of our short enlistments, and in a great measure exposed to for want of a Militia organized to take the field, a few Gun boats or Galleys, and some good fortifications in the most advantageous Situations on our Rivers for defence, but this late event has renderd this so obvious, that we are fully persuaded our Country will now see the necessity of adopting arrangements very different from what have been of late trusted to. We have been anxiously expecting to hear that some steps were taken at Rhode Island in Consequence of our application to the Minister²—but it is more probable you will hear before we do. Shd. that event take place, which we have spared no pains to have accomplished; and of this we have little doubt shd.

it be found practicable; Nothing new has happend here since we last wrote.

The Judge of the Admiralty of this State has given us notice that there are three Negroes Tom, Hester & Celia confined in Goal here in consequence of a condemnation of the Vessel in which they were taken. They say they are the property of a certain Money Godwin of Norfolk in Virginia, that their Master went off with the British fleet under Leslie and gave them permission to do the same, on which they went on board the Vessel in which they were taken. If on enquiry your Excellency shall find these facts to be truly stated, we shall with pleasure execute your instructions for securing the slaves for those to whom [they] shall be adjudged.³

We have the honor to be with the utmost respect Yr Excellency's Most
Obt. & humble servants,

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:295–96, from the RC at the New York State Library written by Bland and signed by Bland and Madison.

¹ For Steuben's letters of January 8 and 11, see Samuel Huntington to Steuben, this date, note. For Governor Jefferson's letter of January 10, which was read in Congress on the 18th, see *JCC*, 19:70; and PCC, item 71, 2:1–3.

² The delegates' "application to the Minister" concerned the disposal of the cargo of the ship *Le Comité*, for which see Virginia Delegates to Samuel Nightingale, Jr., December 30, 1780, note 2.

³ Governor Jefferson attempted to ascertain the facts in this case through Col. Thomas Newton, a commissioner on the Virginia navy board, but apparently never issued instructions to the delegates. Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:521.

Samuel Huntington to Egbert Benson

Sir,¹

Philada January 24 1781

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that Congress have been pleased to appoint you Procurator during Pleasure to prosecute in their behalf for all Debts due to, or Frauds committed against the United States in the State of New York.²

I am Sir &c &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Benson (1746–1833), the attorney general of New York, later attended Congress in 1784, 1787–88. *DAB*.

² This appointment was made at the solicitation of John McKesson, clerk of the New York assembly, who pointed out that New York had provided for such an appointment by an act of March 5, 1779, in response to a recommendation of Congress (September 26, 1779, *JCC*, 12:959), which otherwise had apparently been forgotten. See *JCC*, 19:75; and PCC, item 78, 16:127–30.

Huntington also notified New York governor George Clinton of Benson's appointment to this post in a brief letter of this date. PCC, item 15, fol. 223.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 24. 1781

I have been honored with your Letter of 15th Instant

And am directed to acquaint your Excellency that the Line of Conduct you thought proper to adopt on receiving Intelligence of the late Disorders of the non Commissioned Officers & Privates in the Pennsylvania Line, and the Reasons you have assigned for remaining with the Army Stationed at & near West Point, meet with the entire Approbation of Congress.¹

Your Excellency's Sentiments relative to the Subject of removing the french Troops are such as might be expected from the Nature & Circumstances of the Case and seem to have given universal Satisfaction.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Washington's January 15 letter explaining the essentially passive role he had played during the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line, leaving the solution of the crisis largely to the congressional committee and Pennsylvania officials sent to New Jersey for that purpose, was read in Congress on January 23, but no action on it is recorded on the journals. See *JCC*, 19:75. The letter is in *PCC*, item 152, 9:511-14; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:102-5.

Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker Philadelphia Jany. 26th 1781

A Rheumatic Pain in the Shoulder which has kept me two days confined does in the Intervalls of Ease give me an opportunity of writing to you. I find it difficult in the Compass of a letter to give you an Answer to your Complicated Question concerning loan office Certificates tho I clearly understand your meaning—but shall endeavor to Satisfy you on that head as breifly as possible, but will first premise that I have not the scale of depreciation by me (altho it has been Publishd)¹ nor am I able to procure it in time [to] send by this oppy.—you shall have it as soon as I can get it. It is the Intention of Congress, to pay the Just value, both of Principal & Interest to all lenders of money, and (if the states will enable them) to establish permanent funds for so doing—you must at the first view see that it wd. be impracticable to adjust a scale of depreciation that wd. apply throughout the Continent, by the Price of any one article e.g. Tobo. at a given time—all that can be done is to have reference to a Universal standard and to make a liberal allowance in the

adjustment of what has been lent; to establish funds for the Payment of the Interest and reduction of the Principal by dividends as soon as possible. The Standard heretofore adopted has been I believe the Precious metals and their Value regulated by the exchanges. Shd. Commodities or produce of any kind be admitted—their daily fluctuation and liability to be speculated on would open a Species of fraud & Speculation which the al[ert] financier could not possibly stop, and a Torrent of depreciation which would overwhelm every thing. The Supposed depreciation of the new money is owing to the Qy. of the old still remaining in Circulation, together with the State Emissions—& the Loan office Certificates—when the first two are call'd in and the last funded—that can no longer be the case but in proportion to its being more than a necessary medium of trade—or its want of funds to rest on—the first of these will not I think be the case—and if the states do their duty the latter cannot Happen. The Present cause of depreciation is therefore a momentary one, and will cease as soon as those steps are taken which Congress is about recommending.² Your reasoning is plausibly Just if applied to Virginia alone—but if you will take a more extensive and general View of the Subject you will easily perceive how the public wd. be injured by making the Price of Tobo. at the time of the loan a Standard of depreciation, for the whole continent. From what I have said which is all that I can yet say with propriety on this intricate Subject—you may perceive the Ground you stand upon. I must repeat it—that it is the firm Intention of Congress to do strict Justice to the Holders and the Community at large, if the states will Enable them by granting them funds irrevocable, untill the debts contracted for carrying on the war are paid—by paying them solid interest in specie finally to the full amount, and Sinking by dividends untill the whole is Sunke the original real value of the loans all Speculative depreciation of the new money will be considerd as I apprehend in payments and carryed to the Credit of Principal & Interest, but no further emissions will be made to make it good (which would be only adding fuel to fire.) & by this means the Paper medium will fund its own balance, and the redemption continually going on, will in a few years be all absorbed.

Altho in Pain—I cannot put down my pen without Congratulating you and my Sister on the birth of a son, I suppose [named] St. George. I hope she is well recoverd, and if I was in a Poetical instead of a Rheumatical Vein I shd. surely write a Birthday ode or compose an Hymn to the young St. I suppose you are busy in writing a *Sanctipædia*.

Tell Fannie that I will no longer Put up with her Slight—and that even her Nursery shall be no excuse for neglecting me any longer. For half of every letter I write to you is intended for her, so she cannot say I have never wrote to her.

I am extreemely Sorry Mr Osborne has de[clined] or rather talks of declining the business—he is [a] valuable man & I think shd. not be lost if it [can] at a small expence be avoided—but if he cannot be retaind—I could wish you and my Father and Mr. Randolph would fix on a proper person to fill his place. It requires some caution and much circumspection in the Choice. If Mr. Woodson will do I have no objection tho I think it wd. not be amiss to have Mr. Osborne as a Privy Councillor. His abilities & integrity I think may be relied on. God Bless you both I must conclude this. Cursed pain tugs me by the Shoulder.

Adieu & may you never feel it is the sincere wish of Yr. affectt. Friend,
Theok Bland³

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

¹ That is, the *Table for the Payment of Principal, and Interest of Loans, Agreeable to the Resolutions of Congress, of the Twenty-Eighth Day of June, 1780* (Philadelphia: Printed by David C. Claypoole 1780), which is illustrated in these *Letters*, 15:383.

² For the “steps . . . which Congress is about recommending,” see the January 15 circular letter to the states exhorting the state treasurers to make returns to the Board of Treasury “of all the taxes which shall be brought into their respective offices, and of the issues of the new emissions,” in *JCC*, 19:58–61.

³ This day Bland also wrote a letter to three of his nephews, Richard, Theo, and John, exhorting them to improve their scholarship and handwriting. Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

John Sullivan to Hugh Shiell

Sir Copy Philadelphia Jany 26th 1781

General McDougall has been Polite Enough to undertake the affair you mentioned & has authorized me to inform you that he will meet you at any time & Place you may think proper upon your giving him three Days previous notice.¹ I have Delivered him Such papers as were within my Power: and as you Doubtless are or will be possessed of the whole Correspondence I flatter myself you will on an Interview acquire a Joint knowledge of the Dispute and be able to point out measures Consistent with Justice & propriety.

I am very respectfully, Sir, yr. most obedt Servt, J S

Tr (NH: McDougall Papers). In the hand of John Sullivan; and enclosed in Sullivan to Alexander McDougall, January 27, 1781.

¹ Hugh Shiell, who was representing North Carolina delegate Thomas Burke in an affaire d'honneur between Sullivan and Burke, had apparently asked Sullivan to name a representative to discuss a possible resolution of the bitter dispute between the two delegates which had originated in Burke's criticism of Sullivan's conduct at the Battle of Brandywine in September 1777, and for which see Sullivan to Alexander McDougall, January 27, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to Certain States

Sir, Philada January 27. 1781
 Enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Col. Blaine Commissary General, which I am directed to transmit to the several States from Pennsylvania to the Eastward.¹

By this you will be informed of the critical Situation of the Army respecting Provisions and other Supplies.

Congress have no other Means on which to place their Dependance at present to supply the Army but a Compliance on the Part of the States in furnishing their respective Quotas agreeable to former requisitions for that Purpose.

It is therefore most earnestly requested that they use every possible Exertion in procuring the Provisions & Supplies requested of them respectively.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Addressed: "To The supreme Executives from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire inclusive."

¹ *JCC*, 19:92. Commissary General Ephraim Blaine's January 19 letter explaining the hardships Continental troops would be forced to endure if the states did not soon meet their provisions quotas, which were greatly in arrears, is in PCC, item 165, fols. 389-91; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 8:705.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia January 27. 1781
 Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, a Petition from George Wright & others, with an Act of Congress of this Day referring the Petition to your Excellency to take such Measures thereon as you may think proper.¹

By the enclosed Copy of the 23d Instant you will be informed that Congress approve of the Proposals made by Colonel Armand for equipping his Legion, and have granted him leave to proceed to France for that Purpose²—That the Remains of his Legion for the Purpose of Discipline [be stationed]³ at such Place as you shall direct. Colonel Armand hath also requested that Lieut. Colonel Ternant may be appointed Lieut Colonel of his Legion: the Board of War having reported in favour of his Request, Congress have thought it expedient to refer the same to your Excellency.

I have also enclosed for your Information a resolve of the 26th Instant correcting some Anachronisms respecting the Time fixed with Regard to the Officers therein mentioned, when their additional Pay shall commence in the new Emissions and for retained Rations &c;

fixing the Time to the first of August last conformable to the Pay in the Line of the Army.⁴

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

P.S. I have been Honour'd with your favour of the 23d instant.⁵

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ The enclosed petition from eight American prisoners, dated "Long Island, November 5, 1780," which had been read and referred to committee on December 9, is in the Washington Papers, DLC. See *JCC*, 18:1132, 19:92-93. In his February 13 response, Washington explained that he could not exchange the petitioners because the British claimed that they must be exchanged at the rank they held in their militias, which would both inflate their exchange value and encourage the enemy to conduct raids to capture militiamen simply to exchange them for British regulars. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:219.

² See *JCC*, 19:76-77.

³ These words were omitted by Huntington's clerk from the RC but appear in the presidential letterbook, PCC, item 15, fol. 225.

⁴ *JCC*, 19:90-91.

⁵ This letter, which was read in Congress January 29, is in PCC, item 152, 9:515-16; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:135-36.

John Sullivan to Alexander McDougall

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Jany 27th 1781

As you have had the Politeness to undertake in the affair between Mr Burk & myself it becomes my Duty to acquaint you with the Facts.¹ I am Convinced you would never Espouse the Cause of any Man who had been guilty of ungentlemanly Conduct or Condemn one who has not willingly Transgressed by a wanton Departure from the Rules of Propriety. As it is imposible to know how this Dispute may Terminate: a Desire to vindicate my own reputation; and to Enable you Clearly to Decide upon the Justice, & Propriety, of the Part you have been polite Enough to undertake: I take the Liberty of Laying before you the following State of Facts.

A few Days after the Battle of Brandiwyne I received a Letter from a member of Congress in these words,² "I find Some of the Southern members are Determined to ruin your reputation, one of them has accused you of the most Shameful Conduct at the Battle of Brandiwyne in which action he pretends to have had a Considerable hand & asserts that he assisted to rally your broken Troops which you had not Sufficient Skill to do yourself & that to your ill Arrangement, bad Disposition of your Troops & misconduct the Loss of the Battle Ought to be attributed: Congress have in Consequence Suspended you from the Service." As no name was mentioned I was totally at a Loss to Guess the Person. I was rather Led to believe



Alexander McDougall

it was Either Mr Penn or Mr Smith, the former of which I know corresponded with Major Taylor who was my accuser in the affair of Staten Island. With how much Justice this accusation was made you who have Sat in Judgment upon the affair can Easily Determine.³ I had been informed that Mr Penn was warm in Supporting that Accusation against me In Congress. I was Informed that both Mr Penn & Mr Smith were members of Congress & that Mr Smith was a near relation of Lieut Colo Smith who was an assistant to Major Taylor in the affair of Staten Island. I had been Informed that they were both in the Action of Brandywine. I was therefore Led to believe it was one of those Gentlemen but could [not] Determine with Certainty. I recollected to have Seen Several Gentlemen on Horseback riding in a field where General Washington was near a mile & a half from the Place of Action. I Supposed them volunteers but was Informed that there were among them Some members of Congress but who I did not then inquire, my Letter therefore of the 6th of October⁴ was Like Drawing a Bow at a venture & had Mr Burk Sent to Inquire whether I meant to Censure him for any thing he had Said against me in Congress I Should have replied that I never once heard that he had Mentioned my name. He was the first Person that gave me the Information by Letter⁵ in which you will find that he not only Tells me what he had *Said in Congress* but makes a number of assertions founded in mistake. So far then as respected Mr Burks Declarations in Congress it became my Duty to remove Every impression it had made & in my Letter to Congress Inclosing the written Declarations of General Washington & others I considered Mr Burk as a member of that Body & I think Treated him with Decency but in his Letter written to me wherein he undertakes to *Accuse me to myself* & Threatens to call me to Account as a Gentleman & Demands an Explanation of my Letter; I by no means Considered him as a member of Congress but as a Private Gentleman & as Such replied to his *assertions made to myself*, after which I considered all our Correspondence as between two private Gentlemen & that he had Either by Accident or Design *Deprived* himself of the *Robes of Authority*. I am not Clearly convinced that a member of Congress has a right to Take what Liberties he thinks proper with the Character of an officer and I think I can never be brought to believe that he can have a Privilege of *writing* to any Gentleman *Accusing* him of want of Capacity & Every thing that would make him contemptible in the Eyes of the world & the other be Barred from replying with Spirit because his Accuser was a member of Congress. I therefore considered myself at full Liberty at Least to return Acrimony for Acrimony. I am not possessed of the Correpondence, But I understand Mr Burk has all but my Last Letter from Rhode Island about which we Shall have no Difficulty as the words Said to be Exceptionable are⁶ “The Several assertions in your Letter are as far from Truth as I Deem

the assertor to be from a Gentleman of Honor or Candor.” These words or Some others of the Same purport were undoubtedly used. But then it was in return to a Letter *full of Invectives* against me repeating the Charges which were first urged by him against me. I knew that Mr Burk had Seen the written Declaration of the principal officers who were with me in the Battle of Brandiwine in which they Declare me not Guilty of the Blunders, the want of presence of mind &c of which he had Accused me, as also the Declaration of the Maryland Officers That they had the utmost Confidence in Me & the Declarations of the Commander in Chief Acquitting me of any kind of Neglect & Declaring that though the falsity of the Intelligence Transmitted through me proved unfortunate yet he Should have Deemed me Culpable if I had withheld it. I at the Same time had been Informed previous to the receipt of this Letter That Mr Burk had through the Influence of Major Taylor been violently against me in the affair of Staten Island. I could not therefore As I was unacquainted with Mr Burk but by writing Avoid Supposing that he Shew a great want of Candor in refusing to alter his opinion upon the Evidence Sent to Congress & of Honor in not acknowledging the Error. Perhaps if I had had the pleasure of being personally Acquainted with Mr Burk I might have Supposed his Conduct to have proceeded from an unbounded zeal in the Cause of his Country & the too great Credence he gave to persons in whom he then thought he might Confide but under the then Circumstances I could not Surely form any favorable opinion of him. Besides I Supposed myself at as full *Liberty* to give Mr Burk my *opinion* of him as he had to give *his opinion of me to myself* in a Letter to which mine was only an answer & further I conceived and yet do, that if any Gentleman writes me a Letter full of invectives I have a Right to return a Language of the same kind, in vindication of myself without Examining Strictly into the Truth of the assertions provided his assertions are unjust for he is in that Case the *first aggressor*. In Support of this opinion unless I Should be convinced of Error, I am ready to make the Last appeal. I would never wish it to be believed in any Event, that I *appealed* to Arms to Try the Issue, whether Mr Burk was not a man of Honor, Candor or Integrity but to vindicate my right to retaliate when I am *first* attacked without Cause. Thus Sir have I given you a faithful narrative of the whole Transaction which you will find fully Supported by the papers. This will Enable you whatever may be the Issue of this Dispute to vindicate my reputation & Justify the friendly part you have politely agreed to take.

I have the Honor to be very respectfully,
 Dr Sir, your most obedient Servt,
 Jno Sullivan

RC (NHi: McDougall Papers).

¹ General McDougall had recently accepted Sullivan's invitation to act as his

second in an affaire d'honneur between Sullivan and North Carolina delegate Thomas Burke. The controversy had originated in Burke's criticism of Sullivan's conduct at the Battle of Brandywine, but had remained in the background since the autumn of 1777 and had only recently flared up with the return of Burke to Congress in mid-December. Their hostility had apparently reached the boiling point by mid-January, and efforts were explored to reach a reasonable accommodation that would enable the two men to co-exist as congressional colleagues. Although the matter dragged on until Burke again left Congress in mid-April, and was never brought to a clear resolution, it is apparent from the surviving letters on the subject that each party hoped for a settlement short of an actual duel. Nevertheless, each was determined to avoid an appearance of surrendering any point of honor, and the seconds to the dispute, McDougall and Hugh Shiell, were sorely tested to reach a satisfactory resolution.

Sullivan provided McDougall a lengthy review of the case in the present letter, and returned to the subject in another of March 16, 1781. McDougall in turn summarized the arrangements and understandings he had reached with Shiell in a May 22, 1781, letter to Sullivan written after Burke returned to North Carolina. The affair is also the subject of Sullivan to Hugh Shiell, January 26, Burke to Shiell, February 15?; and McDougall to Shiell, February 7 and 19, 1781. For analyses focusing on the perspective of the two principals, see Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 64-65, 76-77, 173; and John S. Watterson, *Thomas Burke, Restless Revolutionary* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), pp. 83-88, 158-59.

² Not found.

³ McDougall had been a member of the court of inquiry into Sullivan's conduct as the commander of the Staten Island expedition in 1777, a sensitive issue with Sullivan and one that because of its timing conditioned his response to critics of his conduct at the Battle of Brandywine. See these *Letters*, 7:663n.2.

⁴ Not found.

⁵ See Thomas Burke to Sullivan, October 12, 1777, in these *Letters*, 8:108-10.

⁶ See Sullivan's letter to Burke of April 18, 1778, in Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 2:35.

Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson

Dr. Sr.

Philadelphia Jany 29th 1781

A French officer of the name of Dubuissou a Colo. in our Army & formerly aid to the Baron Du Kalb who was wounded in the Action near Cambden & taken Prisoner, has requested me to enclose the Contents of this to Yr. Excellency, which will fully explain his desire.¹ Yr Excellency will be pleased to do in the affair, what you think Justice, Humanity and Policy dictate, and will be so obliging as to give as speedy an answer as circumstances will permit.

I have the Honor to be, Yr. Excellency's most obedt. & very H. Sert,

Theok. Bland

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:262.

¹ Enclosed were a letter of this date from the chevalier Dubuysson des Hayes to Bland, a copy of a letter of November 25, 1780, from British commissary general of prisoners Joshua Loring to Dubuysson, and a copy of an undated letter from

Continental commissary general of prisoners Abraham Skinner, all of which are in the Executive Papers, Vi. Dubuysson, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Camden in August 1780, proposed that he be exchanged for Col. Henry Hamilton, for whom see these *Letters*, 12:509, 13:205, 407. Jefferson reluctantly refused to pursue Dubuysson's request because to do so would prejudice the prior claims of other prisoners of equal rank, the same grounds upon which Washington had declined Dubuysson's appeal the previous October. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:566-67; and Samuel Huntington to Washington, October 23, 1780. See also Huntington to Washington, March 26, 1781.

James Duane to George Washington

My dear General,

Philadelphia 29th January 1781

I had the Honour of writing to you last by our Friend the Marquiss de la Fayette intending before this to have followed it by some Information on the Subject of cloathing for the army. I have taken pains to investigate it fully and you have the best Right to the fruites of my Enquiry: It does not appear that there has been any Inattention in the Body of Congress to this essential Article: that there have been faults and probably frauds in the Execution of their orders is too Justly to be apprehended: but the principal disappointment is to be ascribed to a series of real misfortunes. I have not time to enter into a detail of Facts. If the publick business shoud permit I still propose to undertake the Task; if not it shall be reserved for a personal Interview. It will not, I flatter myself, be long before I enjoy that Satisfaction. There are some political Regulations of great Importance which I have exceedingly at heart and which are now drawn near to a Conclusion. My Anxiety to see them finished delays my Journey which General McDougald's presence here renders practicable. The principal measures to which I allude are the Establishment of Executives or Ministers in the departments of Finance, War, the Marine and foreign Affairs; the accomplishment of the Confederation; the procuring to Congress an augmentation of power and permanent Revenues for carrying on the War.

The day is at length arrived when dangers and distresses have opened the Eyes of the People and they perceive the Want of a common head to draw forth in some Just proportion the Resources of the several Branches of the federal Union. They perceive that the deliberative power exercised by States individually over the Acts of Congress must terminate in the common Ruin; and the Legislature, however reluctantly, must resign a portion of their Authority to the National Representative, or cease to be Legislatures.

The Sufferings and the discontents of the Army, in the mean time, gives us infinite disquiet. Woud to God it was in our power to provide an instant and adequate Remedy! but this as your Excellency will observe by our late address must depend on the Exertions of the

States. The Insurrection of the Pennsylvania line, however deeply to be regretted, was accompanied by Circumstances which afford some Consolation. The Enemy at New York on receiving the Information were elated beyond all bounds and gave way to the most extravagant Expectations: but when they learned that the Spies were executed, they were sunk into dejection; and sullen Silence succeeded their short lived Triumph! This Information we have by a young man who left that City a week ago. It was with Singular pleasure that we observed your Excellency's Resolution to remain at West point which entirely corresponded with the opinion and the wishes of Congress. The weighty reasons which inclined you to that determination were presupposed: but the hazarding your Authority among a Soldiery who had suffered real grievances, and were enflamed by Incendiaries, woud alone have been decisive at least untill every other means had proved ineffectual.

You will be pleased to hear that our worthy friend Mr Jones of Virginia has resumed his Seat in Congress. That State has relinquished for the common benefit All her Claim to the Westward of the Ohio,¹ and Maryland has acceded to the Confederation: At least I have read the Act or Resolution of their House of Delegates to that purpose only seven members being in the Negative; and Mr Jones was assured from good Authority that the Senate had concurred.² These are Events of infinite Importance and will put a new Face on our Affairs at Home but much more so abroad. They will refute the misrepresentations of our Enemies, and convince our Friends of our perseverance and fixed Resolution to maintain our Liberties at every Hazard. The large Cessions of Territory for the use of the federal Union which will be yielded by the respective States must with wise management lay a foundation for reestablishing publick Credit. This Subject, as it ought, employs our unremitted attention, and it is become practicable to introduce System & OEconomy since the national debt and the Expenditures of the War can be viewed on a specie Scale. The fluctuation of our paper money beggard All calculation—defeated all Estimate. I have endeavoured to make myself Master of this intricate Business. We can now form a Judgement of what we owe, and what we want, and it is my opinion that if we can draw from the States a solid and permanent Fund which will produce 2,000,000, Specie dollars annually to be appropriated to the payment of Interest on the debts we owe and ten millions of Dollars which we propose to borrow. If the States will contribute in equitable proportions their internal Resources: and there is OEconomy in the Expenditures: We may hope with the aids granted by our Ally, and expected from Spain and Holland, to carry on the War more effectually. But before these measures can operate such is the Emergency of our Affairs that on a punctual Compliance with the Requisitions from the States the very Existence of the Army

depends; and we feel with the utmost Concern the distresses which their backwardness occasions. But let us quit this painful Topic and devote this day to Joy and Congratulation since by the Accomplishment of our federal Union we are become A Nation. In a political View it is of more real Importance than a Victory over all our Enemies. We shall not fail of taking advantage of the favorable Temper of the States and recommending for ratification such additional Articles as will give vigour and Authority to Government.

Be pleased to present my most respectful Complements to Mrs. Washington and the Gentlemen of the Family; and to believe that your Glory and your Happiness are among the Objects nearest to my Heart; for I am with the warmest affection, Esteem and Attachment, my dear General, Your Excellency's most Obedient and most humble Servant,

Jas. Duane

P.S. I refer you for the Southern News to the enclosd Gazette. Arnold has retreated by Smithfield by Land to Portsmouth and plundered without remorse. Our Friend Col. Harrison has been a principal sufferer. The Militia are assembling in great Force to take Vengeance of the Banditti. You will be pleased that Col. Washington has had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in Carolina. It is said that General Ohara is arrivd at Charles Town with only 370 of the Guards and that Leslie is gone with the rest of that Detachment to Augustine.

Mr Jones and Mr Maddison entreat you to accept their respectful Compliments.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1781, note 3.

² The Maryland Senate approved the Articles of Confederation on February 2, and official notice of Maryland's ratification reached Congress on February 12, when Daniel Carroll arrived at Congress as a delegate. *JCC*, 19:138-40.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Jan. 23d [29?] 1781.¹

You will have found, on seeing Mr. Gerry that I endeavor to economize. I told him that "Mr. Dana had a Commission" for Russia, and I referred him to my "Scrawl to you" for other Points.² Maryland confederates, Virginia *seems* to give away *Something* for the good of the Union and recommends to others to do the like.³ I will aim to get the Act long enough to find Time to copy it, if Mr. Otis does not leave this City today. The Comtee of April 10th, 80 on Depreciation for the Staff was filled up Jany. 5th. 81 and the Instructions to the Delegates of Mass. were referred.⁴ Money is

exceedingly scarce here yet Exchange is from 100 to 115 old for Silver. Loaf Sugar 2s 6 or 36 dollars pr. lb. I pay 200 for Stockings and the same for Shoes. Compulsion is urged as a congressional measure by Jersey & Pensylva. but I think we are become too wise. Things appear to Mr. J. Adams Oct. 24 to indicate a malignant Continuance of War on the Part of Britain.⁵

I should have mentioned that Maryland has limited the Time beyond which she will not receive the old money. I wish I could purchase up all your new. It will most assuredly be high in Credit soon, tho' it seemed a little while ago as if the other States meant not to act in concert upon the Plan of the 18 of March.

We are determined it shall have its Chance of Success; *We*, mighty Men, totally dependent upon 13 Legislatures different in Views, for Support in our smallest Endeavors to carry on the War. Indeed, my dear Sir, we are in a Condition as to payment of our Debts that is most tormenting. All our Creditors *must* loan to us, and I suppose most of them would willingly do it if they saw their interest certain against the due Day. I wish you wd. tell me upon what Resolve it is that our Court have acted in Regard to advances to Allen the Indian Agent. I can only find Jany. 8 and May 13 1777 which my Colleagues say is not what they have supposed to be at all.⁶ I will continue my Search. Mr. Gerry had a memorandm. of the secret Resolves of all the years. We have some *cold* Weather at last, but it is more *wholesome* than the past wet warm Season. I hope you have Health. I wish you that & every Happiness.

Affectionately J. L.

MS not found; reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 13 (July 1876): 225-26. Endorsed: "Mr. Lovell's letter Jany. 23d. 1781."

¹ Although this letter was printed under the date January 23, Lovell probably wrote it on January 29 or shortly thereafter. Three subjects mentioned in the letter—Maryland's decision to ratify the Articles of Confederation, Virginia's cession of western lands, and a letter from John Adams—came before Congress on the 29th. And Lovell concludes with a comment on the arrival of "*cold*" weather, which contrasts with the observation found in James Varnum's January 29 letter to William Greene, below, that "The Weather is very mild; We have had no Snow or Frost of any Consequence since my Arrival."

² See Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, December 19, 1780.

³ For the submission to Congress of Virginia's January 2 conditional cession of claims to lands northwest of the Ohio River, see Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1781, note 3.

⁴ Massachusetts' December 4, 1780, memorial concerning the adjustment of the salaries of Continental staff officers for inflation was referred to committee on January 5, 1781. See *JCC*, 19:29; and *PCC*, item 65, 1:468. For the congressional response to this issue, one in which Holten had originally been involved, see Lovell to Holten, March 23, 1781, note 1.

⁵ John Adams' October 24, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington was one of 16 letters from Adams that were read in Congress on January 29. See *JCC*, 19:96; *PCC*, item 84, 2:309-11; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:103-4.

⁶ In addition to the January 8 and May 13, 1777, resolves noted by Lovell, Congress also adopted resolutions pertaining to Col. John Allan's work among the

Indians of the eastern department on May 21, 1778, and April 7, 1779. See *JCC*, 7:20, 348–49, 11:518, 13:428–29. For Congress' reaffirmation of Continental support for Allan's agency on February 15, see Samuel Huntington to John Hancock, February 17, 1781.

John Mathews to William Livingston

Sir, Philadelphia Jany 29th. 1781

I am honoured with the receipt of your favor of the 18 inst. covering a letter for Mr. Jay, & another for Mr. Pen. The first I have delivered to the President of Congress, to be sent with his dispatches by Collo. Armand, who sets off in a few days for France, from whence he will forward it by the first *safe* opportunity. The other I have given in charge to Mr. Sharpe one of the North Carolina delegates, who has undertaken to forward it to Mr. Pen. If at any time, I can be of service to you—sir I hope you will without the least reserve command me as I shall always esteem such an employmt. an honor conferred on me.

I most earnestly wish, my dr. sir, I had it in my power to communicate to you any intelligence, that would have the effect you desire, but I am afraid if you rely much on good news to beguile the tedious hours of your present solitary situation, it will require all your philosophy to guard you against the consequences of disappointment; for our affairs at this time wear an aspect by no means pleasing, nor can I view even at a distance any prognostic of it's brightening.

Congress have been for the last ten days seriously, & *industriously* engaged in ways & means, for establishing a permanent fund on which they might be enabled to build a future credit.¹ It seems past contracts is here a secondary consideration—perhaps you may say, a previous and equitable adjustment of this point, would have been as substantial a foundation, on which to build a credit, as any that could have been devised—this problem I leave for wiser heads than mine to solve. However, after the most mature consideration, Congress have agreed to call on the states, to grant to the United States, a duty of four Per Cent to commence on the first day of May next, on all foreign commodities imported into the states, to be estimated on the vendible price within the states respectively. Also, a like duty on the sale of all prize goods. And one eighth of a dollar per ton on all shipping from foreign ports. This impost to continue untill the debts already contracted, or that may be hereafter contracted by the United States shall be finally discharged. Thus far we have proceeded. But alas! what does all this amount to? It is computed to produce about 6 or 700,000 dollars specie per annum, when the interest alone, of the debt already contracted amounts to 2,000,000 of dollars annually. Thus you will see sir, a great deal remains to be done. As we proceed

with this subject I will take the liberty from time to time of informing you of our determinations. In the mean time, what I have already mentioned may serve to fill up some of your vacant hours, to contimplat on. The policy or impolicy of the plan, is a matter of no small moment.

In a letter lately received by Congress from Mr. Dumas (a private Agent imployed by them in Holland) he says, The British Minister at the court of Petersburg, has offered on the part of his Master to accede to the northern Convention, provided the United Provinces were excluded. This has alarmed their High Mightinesses not a little. And I fancy will induce an immediate recession in their demands of a guarantee of their East India possessions. The blundering policy of the British Ministry for the last five or six years, must open a most fertile field for a commentary by the historian of those days. Had they studied 'till dooms day for a mode to strengthen the northern league, they could not have devised a more effectual one; for this brings Holland immediately into an accession, which has been the only thing hitherto wanted, to compleat that formidable confederacy.

Be pleased to make my compliment to Mrs. Livingston, & the young ladies.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect & regard, Yr. Excys. most Obedt. Servt.

Jno. Mathews

P.S. Maryland have at length agreed to Confederate. This may be relied on.

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers).

¹ Congress was considering measures for enhancing Continental revenues proposed on December 18 by the committee on finance, on which Mathews had served. See John Sullivan's Committee Notes, November 7-23? 1780, note 1. For the five percent ad valorem import duty that Congress proposed to the states, see Samuel Huntington to the States, February 8, 1781, note 1.

Jesse Root to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Please your Excellency Philadelphia Jany. 29th 1781

Virginia has Ceded to the united States a large territory of Country lying Northwest of the Ohio, Extracts of which I enclose to you.¹ Maryland we are very Credibly Informed has acceded to the Confederation tho' no official accounts have yet arrived.²

By a letter received this day from Mr John Adams Dated in Octr.³ we have reason to beleive that as the king of great britain has got a Minister & parliament more to his mind we may lay aside thoughts of peace & prepare for war—for it is his Opinion that great Britain will never acknowledge our Independance as long as there is a british Soldier in our Country nor even till long after. He writes that there

is Some prospect of a rupture between the united Provinces & great britain. Every days Experience Convinces us of the miseries that flow from want of System in government, of proper arrangement in our finances & on almost every department, & of that ruinous policy which influenced Congress to divide out to the different States the prosecution of the war. The new money So far as it is Issued has been Issued by the States at different values. Some at 1 for 40, by others as equal to Silver, & passes underall the disadvantages of State emissions one State refusing to take the Bills of another, & the bills of Pensylvania which Were Issued equal to Silver & have a tendry law to Support them armed with dreadfull punishments suffer a discount of 25 per Cent. I wish we may grow wise by the Things we experience, natural Causes uniformly produce the Same effects & to follow where reason & nature points is the perfection of humane Policy—the greatest difficulties we have to encounter arise from measures, from having governed too much in particular matters more than from any other Cause—for many particular regulations have Certainly encreased the difficulties they were designed to prevent. Sir, my Ideas of this business differ from most people. I Consider the aggregate wealth of the Individuals as the wealth of the nation & would give full Scope to their wishes & exertions to acquire wealth in a lawfull way, Cautiously guarding against any illicit trade with the Enemy & would fix Certain modes of calling into public use So much money as they were able to pay & the public wants required, this would be the best way of establishing funds, and as the resources of our Country would be almost inexhaustable under the Smiles of heaven if properly encouraged & Cultivated in this way I think we Should Soon become formidable not only to our Enemies but to all the world. Congress are about to recommend to the States to lay duties to the amount of four per Cent on all articles of foreign growth & manufacture imported into these States for the purpose of a revenue⁴—although I like the thing I dislike the mode. I think that Congress alone Can regulate the Trade & with Success Can lay duties on imports for the purpose of raising a revenue and I think they ought to be invested with power for this purpose & the States might grant to them the avails for any limmitted term of time or for a particular purpose—as they should Judge proper to Suspend a regulation of this kind which everyone must see is the most equitable way of raising a Considerable revenue, upon the Concurrence of thirteen States is at least to Suspend it upon uncertainty. Some are for Calling in the plate in order to establish funds but this would be unequal & be attended with great loss. There are but two kinds of public funds that I at present think of; one is money in our Treasury—the other is money in the pockets of the Citizens, the means of acquiring it with established means of Calling it out when the public Exigences require it. The latter I prefer, it is the best fund in the world—give

every encouragement to industry & economy take of[f] every restraint but that of trading with the Enemy, & in the Course of one year if we are blessed with fruitfull Seasons the resources of the Country would be nearly doubled, Specie be introduced in plenty & we Should be relieved from a depreciating medium, our Credit be established & we enabled to prosecute the war with a vigor that must Strike our Enemies with terror & astonishment—whereas at present the farmer, the mechanic & the merchant are all discouraged & in Consequence the army is ready to mutiny for want of provisions & pay. It is my Opinion we are in more danger from the regulations that have been adopted & are pursuing than from all the forces of briton. Your Excellency will pardon the free manner in which I write as it is in Confidence & proceeds from an anxious mind & believe me to be with the highest Esteem & Respect your Excellencys most obedit humble Servt,

Jesse Root

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1781, note 3.

² See James Duane to George Washington, this date, note 2.

³ That is, John Adams' October 14, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington, which was one of several from Adams read in Congress this day. See *JCC*, 19:96; *PCC*, item 84, 2:305-6; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:97-98.

⁴ See the preceding entry, note.

Jesse Root to William Williams

Dr Sir

Philadelphia Jany 29th 1781

I refer you to my letter to his Excellency for Sundry matters which I Shall not repeat in yours.¹

Congress have agreed to appoint a Minister of foreign affairs—a Minister of finance—and there is a report upon the table for appointing a minister of war—& a minister of the Marine.² The two latter are to Supersede the board of war & of admiralty as the Minister of finance is the board of Treasury. The new Continental money makes its entrance into the world under many disadvantages. Massachusetts has Issued theirs 1 for 40. Pensylvania & Jersey have Issued theirs 1 for 75. The other day an application was made to Congress to exchange with the loan officer the money of other States for that of Pensylvania as the money of other States would not pass in Pensylvania—a Resolve passed accordingly in less than 24 hours. We were alarmed that all the money of Massachusetts would be brot. in for Exchange Soon if the resolve was Continued upon which it was rescinded as hastily as it passed. In Short we know not what to do. The new money of the different States is neither equal to Silver nor to itself. Maryland has opened an Exchange at the treasury & offers one dollar of the new for 40 of the old but the people will not

exchange at that rate. New York have represented to Congress that they have not the old Continental in their State to answer their quota—that the Commissary & Quartermasters Certificates to a very large amount are in the hands of their people which must be taken in taxes, that although there are quantities of flour &c in their State to Spare there is not money to purchase it. Is not this a wonderfull paradox—that there is in the States, for its so in this State, Such a plenty of money that it is worth nothing—at the Same time a vast plenty of provisions & goods & yet no money to purchase them—& the people Complaining they Cant pay their rates. These things Cannot Stand together, too much money Certainly there is here in Circulation—& that's the source of the mischeff. Call that into the Treasury—& enable the public to pay their debts & the people can then pay their rates—besides it would force people to bring what they had to market to get money to pay their taxes. In Short it would make the money valuable & the prices reasonable & of Consequence more plenty for the plenteousness of money does not depend on the nominal amount in Circulation but on the real amount in value & the proportion it bears to other things. Pardon this hasty Scroll & accept my respectfull Compliments to you & your lady & believe me to be with much respect, your most Obedt, humble Servt.

Jesse Root

RC (CtHi: Williams Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry.

² Congress had created the Department of Foreign Affairs on January 10, but according to the journals Congress did not resolve to appoint a minister of finance until February 7, at which time the creation of departments of war and marine were also approved. See *JCC*, 19:42-44, 71, 123-24, 126-28.

John Sullivan to George Washington

Dear General

Philadelphia Jany 29th 1781

After my return to this City I had the Honor of your Excellencys favor of the 16th Instant.¹ We² found that the almost total Dissolution of the Pensylvania Line by Furlough or Discharge was absolutely necessary & a re-incorporation the only remedy that could be applied for as a body they would have been Troublesome if not Dangerous. They are Trying to Inlist again and I fear too many of the Disorderly ones will get in. Should that be the Case perhaps it might be a wise measure to keep them always Seperated & Intermixed with other Troops on Detachments or in Garrison but I See I have already gone too far & I beg your Excellencys Pardon. I did not mean to Dictate but only to remind you that there are among them too many unprincipled Irish & English men ungovernable in their Nature &

who are not to be Trusted Long together. As the Jersey Line undertook to follow their Example having not the Same reasons as they had recvd both pay & Cloathing, I am happy to hear that Your Excellency adopted a mode for reducing them which with the former would have been highly impolitic & I believe impracticable. I pray That this Flame may not Extend further. I know it is a Trying time with the Americans in General but above all I Lament The Tryals you are Compelled to go Through But I am Convinced we Shall Soon be in better Circumstances. Our Political Disorder has in my opinion Come to a Crisis & the next Campaign we Shall See the Republick rising into Action with new vigor. We are now making Some Arrangements which Evidence the Recovery of our Reason. A Minister of Foreign affairs, one of Finance, a Minister of War & of Marine are to be appointed. Maryland has Acceded to the association. Virginia has granted Congress all the Lands west of the Ohio. Our Plan of Finance is nearly Through we mean to try for a Loan of Coined Specie & Plate from Individuals in which I Doubt not we Shall Succeed as we mean to Convince them that they will be repaid in Specie. By this means we Intend Establishing a Bank to Support Paper for though paper Bills may well Enough Represent Silver & Gold That really does Exist yet when they are used as a Circulating media to represent Silver & Gold which does not Exist & probably never may—this medium is but the Shadow of a Shade. If this Loan can be obtained & Colo. Laurens Should be Successful in France I am Convinced we Shall be in a very respectable Situation next year & Even if he is unsuccessful, in a much better than we have been for years Past. I promise myself much from our Present & past Distresses. I find that Congress & assemblies begin to Rouse from their Slumber & Individuals are now Alarmed for the Publick Safety who have for years past been Employed in amassing wealth. America has undoubtedly abundant Resources but we Seem to have had neither Efficient Powers or Skill to call them forth. I wish your Excellency would be So obliging (when you have Liesure to favor me with another Letter) as to give me yr opinion with respect to Colo Hamilton as a Financier.

Your Excellencys Letter with a Flying Seal was Delivered to the President & immediately read in Congress³ & I think you may rest assured that Every Exertion will be made to Prevent Similar Disturbances. I am happy to find That Amidst all the Disorders in the Pennsylvania Line they gave Such undeniable Evidence of their attachment to the Cause of their Country Even if it answered no other purpose but that of preventing unfavorable Impressions in Europe. I have the Honor to be very respectfully, Dear General Your Excellencys Most obedient Servant, Jno. Sullivan

¹ Washington's January 16 letter is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:112-13.

² That is, the Committee on the Pennsylvania Mutiny, chaired by Sullivan.

³ That is, Washington's January 23 letter to President Huntington reporting the mutiny of the New Jersey Line, which was read in Congress this day. See *JCC*, 19:94; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:135-36.

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir, Philadelphia Jany. 29th. 1781

I find that the State of Maryland has acceded to the association and when this comes officially to Congress Newhampshire can be no longer represented by one member.¹ Virginia has given to Congress sixty million Acres of land on the west side of Ohio River.

General Arnold has left the upper part of Virginia and fallen down the River. The southern Army remains in its station as does the British in that quarter. The plan of finance as also the determination of the affair of Mr. Delatour have been delayed for many reasons one of which was my being sent to quiet the disturbances in the Pensylvania line. I hope they both will be compleated in a short time.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully, Dear Sir, your most obedient Servt
Jno Sullivan

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers). In a clerical hand, and signed by Sullivan.

¹ The New Hampshire legislature had already addressed Sullivan's concern on January 19 when it added Benjamin Bellows and Samuel Livermore to the state's delegation with Sullivan, but because Bellows declined to attend and Livermore did not reach Congress until May 14, New Hampshire was unrepresented for more than two months following ratification of the Articles of Confederation on March 1, 1781. See *JCC*, 20:498-99; John Sullivan's and James Varnum's Memorial, February 28; and Thomas Rodney's Diary, March 2, 1781.

Charles Thomson to Unknown

Sir, Philada Jany 29. 1781

I recd. yesterday yr. letter of the 2d together with that of yr Brother and should have thought myself happy in having an opportunity of gratifying him & you by every act of friendship & civility in my power; but the circumstances of the present cruel war & the mode of conducting it forbid me the enjoyment of that pleasure. Besides I have to inform you that Lyensbury & Cherry valley the places you wished to visit are totally desolated & waste, and that the indiscriminate carnage & horrid cruelties perpetrated by the savage indians joined with the still more ruthless & barbarous British on men, women & children the peaceful inhabitants of those lately

flourishing & populous settlements have so embittered & inflamed the minds of their neighbours that I am well assured you could not pass thither with any degree of safety. You will therefore be so obliging as to make my compliment to yr Brother and assure him that by declining to apply for the passport you desire I am giving him a new proof of friendship.

I am Sr.

[P.S.] Will the army be content to be declared Subjects of retaliation for men who are making their fortunes by trade, and by privateering?

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

James M. Varnum to William Greene

Sir, Philadelphia 29th January 1781.

The State of Maryland have acceded to the Confederation, reserving to herself a Common Right in the wild Lands. Virginia have ceded to the United States all their Claims west of the Ohio, including nearly sixty Millions of Acres. These Events will doubtless soon introduce the Principles of the Confederation in their fullest Extent; should that be the Case, no State can be represented in Congress by one Member only, Wch. will make it expedient for the State of Rhode Island, to send another Deligate, or reinvest Genl. Cornell with their Authority to take a Seat. To prevent Misfortune, I shall take the Liberty of inviting him to join me, should it become absolutely necessary, 'till the Orders of the State shall arrive.¹ The Differences in the Pennsylvania Line are settled. Another Mutiny has taken Place in the Jersey Line, but has been quelled; The particulars I am not fully ascertained of. I have recd. your Excellency's Letter, inclosing the Acct. of Monies advanced to the Quarter Masters;² but this is but a small part of what is wanting. I have mentioned this Subject in a former Letter. Upon Examination, I find all the Accompts sent forward by Messrs. Howell and Greene, are mislaid or lost in the Chamber of Accounts. This unlucky Circumstance will make it indispensible to send Duplicates.

I hope the Measures of Virginia and Mary Land will add Vigor to our Exertions: For the public Complexion is such At present that there is Reason to apprehend every Evil but that of Conquest, which I cannot believe the Almighty will ever permit. Congress are very incessant upon the most important Objects; wch. If fully adopted and firmly executed, I hope will re-establish public Credit, and give Consistency and Vigor to our future Operations.

The Weather is very mild; We have had no Snow or Frost of any Consequence since my Arrival. The Post Riders are very uncertain

in performing their Tours, which induces me to prefer private Conveyances.

I have the Honor of being, with great Respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant, J M Varnum

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ Ezekiel Cornell, who also wrote a letter to Greene this day, which is printed in Staples, *Rhode Island*, pp. 326-28, did not return to a seat in Congress until November 19, 1781. *JCC*, 21:1123.

² Greene's January 5 letter to Cornell and Varnum is in Staples, *Rhode Island*, pp. 323-24.

Thomas Burke to William Bingham

Dr Sir

Philada. January 30th. 1781

I shall not fail to make the Enquiries Necessary for enabling me to answer the Question you ask me relative to the Minister for foreign Affairs, nor to Communicate the result to you as soon as my own mind Shall be Satisfied.

As in my Judgement you are the most proper person I can think of for that department, you May rely on my best endeavours to impress on other Gentlemen Sentiments Similar to my own.¹ Your Conduct in the departments you have hitherto filled gives every reason for relying on you in future, and has proved your abilities to be equal to the most arduous and delicate affairs. If you are appointed to this new office I shall Consider it an acquisition to the public Service and believe me, Sir, it will give me much pleasure, Since at the same time that the public will be well Served my private feelings will be gratified.

I am with Sincere regard and Esteem, your very obt Svt,
Thos Burke

[P.S.] My Compliments to Mrs. Bingham.

RC (PHi: North Carolina Manuscripts).

¹ The department of foreign affairs was created on January 10 and Robert R. Livingston and Arthur Lee were nominated secretary for foreign affairs on the 17th, but the day set for the election (January 22) passed without action. On February 7 Richard Law was added to the list of nominees and two days later Congress set aside February 12 for the election, but an election was not finally held until August 10. See *JCC*, 19:42-44, 65, 74, 125, 133. For Burke's explanation of why he had not yet nominated Bingham, see Burke to Bingham, February 6? 1781.

William Floyd to Unknown

Dear Sir

Philadelpha Jany. 30th. 1781

I Recd. yours of the 21st Instant by Mr. Barclay, as also the Letter with which he was Charged from our Legislature, we Immediately laid it before Congress and got it Referred to a Committe of five,¹ there appears a hearty Disposition in Congress to Relieve our State, from the Disagreeable Situation they are in; if it is in their power, But their Embarrassments are Such, that it will be attended with Great Difficulty, however I hope they will be able to do something, of which we Shall Duly Advise you.

The Spirit the people on the manor has Shewn I think Threatens the State with Disorder and Confusion and if that Spirit Should prevail pretty Generally through the State the most Disagreeable Consequences are to be apprehended.

I am very happy to hear that Messieurs Philips and Smith are Exchanged.²

It is with great pleasure I can Inform you that the State of Virginia has Ceeded to Congress for the use of the United States, all their Claims to that Tract of Country to the Westward of the River Ohio, And that the Legislature of Maryland has Agreed to Ratifie the Confederation—this we Consider as a most Capital Event in favour of this Country, and have Every Reason to Expect that many Good Consequences will Result from it.

I must beg leave to Refer you to the Inclosed papers for the News and particularly to the paper of this day, which Contains our latest accounts from Virginia and Carolina.

From Sir your Most Obedt. and humble Servt.

Wm. Floyd

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ The January 17, 1781, letter of Pierre Van Cortlandt, president of the New York Senate, and Evert Bancker, speaker of the assembly, asking for relief from the burden of supplying the Continental Army and New York's Indian allies, was read in Congress on January 29 and referred to a five-man committee chaired by John Sullivan. A follow-up letter of February 5, 1781, from Gov. George Clinton was referred to the same committee, which submitted a report on March 2. After debate on March 6 and 7, the report was apparently allowed to languish. It was later listed as a postponed report (PCC, item 37, fol. 371). See *JCC*, 19:95, 145, 225, 236, 241; and PCC, item 20, 1:365-69, item 67, 2:340-61.

² Undoubtedly William Philips and John Smith, who had been captured by the British on Long Island and whose exchange is discussed in Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 6:403, 514.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Madam

Jan 30. 1781

I find by your Letter of Janry. 3d¹ that you are “more reconciled to ambiguities & Cyphers now, from the Necessity of them, than formerly”; I therefore inclose an Alphabet for your use. You are “not a little thank full that the Robberies were committed now rather than a *Twelvemonth ago*”; malicious Reference! vindictive momento!²

Yesterday Letters were recd. from Mr. Adams up to Oct 24.³ He is greatly irritated at the vile Treatment which Mr. Laurens meets with in the Tower.

Oct. 14⁴ “repeated Letters from London confirm the Account of Mr. Laurens’s being in the Tower, so close a Prisoner that neither his old Correspondents, nor even his Refugee Relations are suffered to speak to him.

“There have been so many Precedents of Exchanges, Mr. Lovell as well as the Major Generals Sullivan, Sterling, Lee and others having been exchanged as Prisoners of War, that it is very extraordinary they should now treat Mr. Laurens as a Prisoner of State. It is not however merely a Proof that Passion & Caprice govern their Councils. I conceive it is intended to signify to the Tories in America whom they believe to be more numerous than they are, and to their Officers & Troops, serving in that Country, that now they have obtained an Election to their Minds they are determined to prosecute the War, with Vigor, and to bring America still to unlimited Submission. For however our Countrymen may have flattered themselves with Hopes of Peace there is nothing farther from the Thoughts of the King of England, his ministers, Parliament or Nation, for they are all *his*, than Peace, upon any Terms that America can agree to. There is no future Event more certain in my Mind than that they never will acknowledge American Independence while they have a Soldier in the united States. Nay, they would not do it even after their Troops should be all drawn from the Continent.”

Oct. 24⁵ “I have recd. several Letters from London concerning Mr. Laurens. It is certain that he has been treated with great Insolence by the Populace in his Journey from Dartmouth to London, and that he is confined to a mean Appartment in the Tower, denied Pen & Ink, and none of his Friends have been able to obtain Leave to visit him excepting his Son & Mr. Manning, and those positively limited to half an hour. He is ill of a Lax, much emaciated & very invective against the authors of his ill Usage. I saw a Letter last night from Mr. {Manning himself}⁶ so that there is no doubt of the Truth of this account. This deliberate, this studied manifestation to all the World of their Contempt & Hatred of all America, and of their final Determination to pursue this War to the last Extremity cannot be

misunderstood. The Honor, the Dignity, the essential Interests, and the absolute Safety of America require that Congress should take some Notice of this Event. I presume not to propose the Measures that might be taken because Congress are in a much better Situation to judge.”

Affectly.

JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ Abigail's January 3 letter is in Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:57-58.

² Adams and Lovell were probably referring to Lovell's playfully suggestive letters of January 6 and 13, 1780, whose publication would have greatly embarrassed them.

³ *JCC*, 19:96.

⁴ John Adams' October 14, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington is in PCC, item 84, 2:305-8.

⁵ John Adams' October 24, 1780, letter to Samuel Huntington, is in *ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

⁶ Lovell actually wrote these two words in cypher even though John Adams had written "Manning himself" in his letter to Huntington. *Ibid.*

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir,

Philadelphia. Jany 30th. 1781.

As the intelligence received yesterday possibly may not be conveyed to you through any other channel at this time; and being well assured it will afford you much satisfaction to be informed of it: I have therefore taken the liberty of communicating it to you. Tho the information does not come officially from the state, yet it comes in such a manner that it is to be depended on—That Maryland has at last agreed to Confederate. We have the resolves as they passed the lower house, which have since passed the upper house.¹ This is a most important circumstance & comes very seasonably to our relief: for C— have been disputing for a long time past, what powers were necessary to enable them to prosecute the business entrusted to them, and were at this moment, as far from agreeing about it, as when we began. I hope now we have some certain principles to act upon, we shall be steady & decisive. Tho' the powers of the confederation are very inadequate to a vigorous prosecution of the present war, yet we must endeavour to make the most of them we can, and it is better to have some authority to regulate us, than, (as for some time past has been the case,) to have none.

Virginia has agreed to a cession of their back lands, with some reservations. This is also a very important matter, our present circumstances considered. I flatter myself it will give us some credit, which we stand much in need of, and may possibly give a spring

to our affairs.

Congress have been *seriously* engaged for the last ten days in a committee of the whole, considering of ways & means for defraying the expences of the present year. They have agreed to call on the states for a duty of four Per Ct. on all goods imported—the like duty on all prize goods, and one eighth of a dollar per ton on all foreign shipping. This it is computed will produce about 6 or 700,000 specie dollars. This is but a trifle when compared with our wants, but however we are going on.

Please to make my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington. And believe me to be, My Dr. Sir, With every sentiment of respect & Esteem, Yr. Excys. most Obedt. servt,

Jno. Mathews

P.S. This has been wrote almost in the dark, & in great haste.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ The Maryland resolves are printed in *JCC*, 19:138-40.

William Sharpe to Nathanael Greene

Dear General,

Philadelphia Jany. 30th. 1780.

In one of the papers inclosed you have an account of the defection of the Pennsylvania line, about one third I am told are discharged from service. About a week ago part of the Jersey line followed their example, but was soon suppressed without any bloodshed. The Commander in chief has determined to bring all mutineers in future, if any should happen, to unconditional obedience. This is a very serious event and strikes a deep blow against the subordination of the Army. If it stops here it may have salutary effects on the councils and efforts of America.

All is quiet at New York. Genl. Clinton was much elated on hearing of the revolt in the Pennsylvania line; but on hearing of the execution of his emissary and guide he dropped into sadness. Not a word from Capt. Paul Jones—nor a word from Gibera[l]ter. The news from the paracide Arnold you will be fully acquainted with from Virginia.

With the highest esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Most Obt. Humble Servt. Wm. Sharpe

P.S. The legislature of Maryland has instructed their Delegates to Sign the confederation, and Virginia has ceded to the united States her claims of Lands west of the Ohio river on some small conditions. This opens a flattering prospect.

RC (NNC: Berol Collection).

South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir,

Philadelphia 30 January 1781

William Parker Esqr. one of the Treasurers of the State of South Carolina who will Deliver this to your Excellency goes on to Virginia for the purpose of removing the Public Papers under his charge to some place of safety as he may be under difficulties respecting Waggon or other means of Transportation, we have taken the liberty of introducing him to your Excellency, and asking such aid herein as circumstances may require & shall be in your power to furnish.¹

We are with Esteem, your Excellency's most humble Servants,

Tho. Bee

Isaac Motte

Jno. Mathews

RC (IMunS). Written by Bee and signed by Bee, Mathews, and Motte.

¹ The delegates of South Carolina and Georgia had expressed their concern to Congress on January 16 that the treasury and public papers of those states deposited in Virginia for safekeeping "may be in danger of falling into the enemy's hands." Congress thereupon allotted \$20,000 "to enable them to remove the said public papers to some place of greater security." See *JCC*, 19:63.

For Jefferson's order of April 14 to local officials to provide wagons for Parker, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 5:440-41.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir

Philada. Jany. 30th. 1781

We were honored yesterday with your Excellency's favor of the 15th inst. inclosing Mr. Anderson's explanation of his letter to Capt. Trott, and that of the 18th enclosing instructions as to the Mississippi & requesting sundry military supplies, in promoting which no exertions shall be omitted on our part.¹ Your Excellency's letter to Congress on the subject of the Convention Prisoners & the unequal apportionment of the general resources with respect to the two great Departments was also received yesterday and referred to a Committee.² The Resolutions of the General Assembly ceding the Territory N. West of the Ohio to the United States was laid before Congress at the same time.³ Although nothing has been yet done declaratory of their sense of them and although they are not precisely conformable to the recommendations of Congress on the subject, we flatter ourselves that the liberal Spirit which dictated them will be approved & that the public will not be disappointed of the advantages expected from the measure. We have pretty good though unauthenticated information that Maryland has already acceded to the federal Union.

Since the Extinguishment of the Mutiny in the Pennsylvania line,

some commotions founded on Similar complaints have taken place in that of New Jersey. But we have the pleasure to inform you that the prudent & Seasonable remedies applied have re-established order & discipline among the troops.

We have the honor to be with the most perfect esteem & regard,
Yr. Excellcy's. Most Obt. servts. Jos. Jones.

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland

RC (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Written by Madison and signed by Madison, Bland, and Jones. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:300.

¹ For Jefferson's letters to the delegates of January 15 and 18, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:376, 398-400.

² Although five letters from Gov. Jefferson were read on January 29, his second letter to Samuel Huntington of January 15, which is in *ibid.*, pp. 369-70, was referred to a committee of three, whose report was read in Congress on February 15. See *JCC*, 19:95-96, 144, 147-48.

³ Jefferson had enclosed these January 2 Virginia resolutions in his January 17 letter to Huntington, for which see *JCC*, 19:96; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:386-91, where the resolutions are printed in full and the editors provide a lengthy discussion of the difficulties that the text sent to Congress later presented. For the congressional background of these resolutions, see James Madison to Joseph Jones, September 19, 1780, note.

Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams

My dear Betsy

Philada Feb. 1st 1781

My last was by Major Clarkson.¹ He is a young officer of military Merit. I wish you would entertain him with a Dish of Tea.

Our new Era of Government, I fancy, has occasioned a Revolution in political Circles & a Change of Connections. I cannot otherwise account for the long Silence of my Friend Doctor Cooper. I used to correspond with him very confidentially. We indeed thought aloud together. But I have receivd only one Letter from him since I left Boston, which was deliverd to me by Mr A Lee. I considerd it as a Compliment to that most deserving Patriot, rather than a Letter of Friendship to me. I have written several Times to him,² & once desired particular Information, which he might have given me without offending any Man, but he has not done it. I hope the Doctor does not think his Letters troublesome to me. He has no Reason to think so. But, he chuses to close the Correspondence, & you know, that I am disposd on such Occasions, to retaliate. It sometimes affects my Feelings, but I shall never be in Debt on that Score. You may let the Dr read this Letter if he pleases, but no other Person; for when I think amiss of the private Conduct of a Friend, I let none know it, but him & you; Indeed I shall say nothing to you at present that I would not wish him to know.³

I employ no Pimps or Spies on my Fellow Citizens, & yet I hear of many things that are said & done in Boston. I may sometimes be misinformd, & I am always inclin'd to think I am, when I cannot reconcile what is said with the Honor & Integrity of Friendship. If Mr W C has "spoken very disrespectfully" of me, I am sorry for *him*.⁴ It gives me no Pain on my Account because I deserve not his reproach. I know he is apt to be sanguine in his Opinions of Men, & his Zeal in Elections has been commendable. But as I did not interest myself at all in the late Elections, he might have spared me. I have candidly declared, when I was asked in Boston, who I thought to be most endowd with those great Qualities, which should characterize the first Magistrate of so respectable a Commonwealth. This is the Right, it is the Duty of every Citizen. And had I been present, I should most certainly have voted for that Candidate. I may have been mistaken in my Judgment; and, as it becomes a Citizen, I will acquiesce in the Choice of a Majority of the People, who ought to know & prefer the fittest Person. If they do not, they are hardly worthy to be servd by any Man.

I hope we shall never fall into those Dregs of Time, when it shall be the Custom for one Citizen to treat another ill, merely because a popular Man has markd him as *his* Enemy, or because others, for servile Purposes, have reported him as such. This may afford Sport for the Enemies of our Cause, who are laying the Snare with great Art & Industry. James Rivington has publishd in his Royal Gazette, that the Acrimony between Mr. Hancock & me, was owing to his Attachment to General Washington, & my being on the Contrary, desirous of his Removal.⁵ This is an old Story which Men have believd & disbelievd, as they pleasd, without much Concern of mine. It was a pityful Contrivance to render me obnoxious to the General & our common Friends. If there has been any Difference between Mr H and me, Rivington knows not the origin of it. Mr Hancock never thought me an Enemy to Genl Washington. He never thought that I was desirous of his being removd, & therefore could never treat me with Acrimony on that Account. I never wishd for the Removal of General Washington, but if I had even attempted to effect it, it might have been an Evidence of my Deficiency in Judgment, or Rashness, but it could be no Evidence that I was his Enemy. Mr W C may think that I am an Enemy to Mr Hancock, because he may have heard that I preferd another as a Governor before him. At this Rate, I must be thought an Enemy to every Man to whom I cannot give the Preference for an exalted Station for which few of the Many can be supposd to be qualified. Ridiculous mischeivous as this is, I am told that some carry their opinions further and that it is not enough, that a Man who cannot consistently vote for a Governor is to be reckon'd his Enemy, but he is for this Reason to be excluded from every Department. Who would wish to hold a Seat

in Government on so slavish a Tenure? The People of Massachusetts under the old Government have seen enough of the mischeivous Effects of the Governors having a Power to negative Elections; & I cannot see the Difference between this & his being able to influence or prevent an Election by causing it to be believd that a Candidate is *his* Enemy. He who gives his Suffrage according to the Dictates of a well informd Judgment, is certainly a virtuous Citizen. And is it to be supposd that such a Man would withhold his Influence in favor of a wise Measure, because a Gentleman is placed in the Cha[ir] by his Fellow Citizens, whom he did not vote for. Such a Supposition savours so much of a narrow, illiberal party Spirit, that I should think no intelligent Man would countenance it. If it should prevail, it would produce evil Consequences; for some Men, if they are made to beleive their political Existence depends on their being thought the Governors Friends, will not easily prevail on themselves to risque that Existence by giving him Advice, however salutary it might be, & necessary for the Honor & Safety of the Commonwealth, if they think it will disgust *him*.

You may wonder, my Dear, that I send this Budget of Politicks to you. I see no Reason why a Man may not communicate his political opinions to his Wife, if he pleases. But to tell you the truth I consider this Epistle, after the License I have already given you, as indirectly addressd to the Friend I have mentiond. I would gladly know his opinion, Whether there is not more Parade among our Gentry than is consistent with sober republican Principles. Is it to imitate the Vanity of former times that every order of Men have been so fond of addressing the Governor? Are we to pay the same Ceremonies to the next & the next? Will not such high Strains of Panegyrick injure the Feelings of modest Men? And if there should happen to be a weak Man, will they not make him intollerably vain? Republicks should adopt the Rule of another Society. The Yea should be Yea, & the Nay, Nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of Evil.

Adieu, S A.

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

¹ Maj. Matthew Clarkson was also the subject of the following letter of introduction from Adams to an unidentified recipient in Boston, dated "Philad. 1780," of which only the draft survives.

"Major Clarkson the Bearer of this Letter is a young Gentleman of New York who in the Begining of this War took part with his Country men against the Tyranny of Britain. He still remains in our Army & has acquired military Reputation. He early joynd Arnolds Family, chiefly because he admired the great Qualities which that Man was supposd to have possessd as a Soldier. But he did not altogether esteem him as a private Man, & left him long before his Treason was detected or perhaps existed; He then joynd General Lincoln, with whom he was taken Prisoner at Charlestown. Having since been exchangd, he again becomes Lincolns Aid, & takes the opportunity, while the Army is in Winter Quarters, to make a Visit to Boston. As he will be a Stranger there, the Respect which you & your Connections may

show him will be gratefully acknowledged by, your affectionate." Adams Papers, NN.

For Clarkson's problems as an aide to Benedict Arnold, see these *Letters*, 11:523n.2.

² Only Adams' November 7, 1780, letter to Samuel Cooper, acknowledging delivery of Cooper's September 21 letter by Arthur Lee, has been found.

³ Elizabeth Adams did, indeed, pass this letter along to Samuel Cooper, and it apparently effected a reconciliation between the two men. See Adams to Cooper, April 23, 1781. For a discussion of the Adams-Cooper relationship, see Charles W. Akers, *The Divine Politician. Samuel Cooper and the American Revolution in Boston* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982), p. 311.

⁴ That is, William Cooper. See Samuel Adams to James Warren, November 20, 1780.

⁵ Published as an editorial comment to James Lovell's letters to Elbridge Gerry of November 20 and to John Hancock of November 21, which were printed in the December 20, 1780, issue of Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philadelphia Feb 1st. 1781

I have not had Leisure to write to you since the 20th of Novr. Indeed I am not willing to trust a Confidential Letter to a Post, who has shamefully been catchd in the same Snare more than once. I gladly embrace the Opportunity by Mr Otis, with whom I have had frequent & candid Conversations concerning Men & Things. He will be able to tell you some Truths which I do not think it prudent to commit to Paper.

You & I have been long struggling for the Liberty of our Country. I believe its Independence will be finally acknowledged by the World. But are not many Nations, England in particular, called independent? And do you think the People of England are free? No People, in my opinion, can long be free, who are not virtuous; and it is no Sign of Virtue, when the Councils of an enlightened Country are directed by a foreign Influence. If I were a Minister at a foreign Court, my Vanity might be flatterd, in imagining that by having Address enough to rule its Measures, I might fix myself in the Esteem & Confidence of my Country, but I should entertain a contemptible opinion of the Wisdom & Virtue of that Court, if it would suffer me to do it. The Councils of a Nation must be weak in the extreme, or it must be reducd to the greatest Degree of Dependence to submit to so servile a Condition. You will not think that I have the remotest Reference in what I now say, jealousy as I allow myself to be, to the Amphictyon¹ of the United States of America. It is presumd they will always have too high a Sense of their Dignity, to suffer themselves and their Nation to be degraded. But when Peace is happily settled, and we have a Number of foreign Ministers about our Court, it will require Men of great Knowledge of the World, and Experience in Affairs to penetrate their various Intrigues. I have been assured, that the Court

of France would be highly disgusted with any of its Ministers, if they should improperly interfere in our Councils; and indeed, when I consider the Jealousy of a rising Republick, I think Nothing could equal the Impolicy of their attempting it but the Imprudence of Congress in submitting to it. But I am unexpectedly called off, & Mr Otis is just going. I intended to have written to you largely but must defer it till another oppy. Pray inform my worthy Friend Captn Bradford, that I must also omit writing to him, as I intended, for the same Reason.

Your affectionate,

S A

[P.S.] Genl Ward Sends Compts.

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers).

¹ That is, a deputy to an association of neighboring communities protecting a common religious center.

Samuel J. Atlee to Abraham DeHuff

Sir,¹ Feby. 1st, 1781

I have been for this month past most disagreeably employed than ever I experienced in my Life in Settle with the Line of Pena. at Trenton after their late Revolt. We have however happily finished with them and last night I returned to this City greatly fatigued. At Trenton I recd. a Letter from Capt. John Hubly complaining loudly of the militia of the First Class not having recd. their pay. I[t] indeed surprized me and gave me pain to think that my Assistants in Lancaster County cou'd be so remiss in Duty as not to have collected sufficient to have satisfied those Demands. Little I know was to be collected in your own District but your Neighbouring districts were sufficiently in arrears to have paid your's and much more, do endeavour to Stimulate them, I have not time to write them Severally, so must beg of you to lett them know I am not well pleased, and assist upon, the Arrears of every sort being immediately paid in to my Brother in Lancaster² who will receive and receipt for it. I depend a great deal upon your Exertions. The City is quite Barren of News.

I am Sir your Hble Servt,

Sam J Atlee

RC (PHarH: RG 27).

¹ Capt. Abraham DeHuff (d. 1821), one of Atlee's sub-lieutenants of Lancaster County who had been assisting in settling the delinquent accounts of the county militia.

² William A. Atlee. A comprehensive compilation of the accounts Atlee is discussing here was subsequently published after settlement by the comptroller general's office under the title *State of the Accounts of the Lieutenant and Sub-Lieutenants of Lancaster County; From 20th of March 1780, to March 1781* (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1785).

James Lovell to Samuel Cooper

Dear Sir

Philada. Feb. 1. 1781

Your Favor of Decr. 20 by the Post was duly recd. and yesterday that of Decr. 31 was left at my Chamber by Count Charlus¹ whom I shall convince of the favorable Impressions, which you have made upon me respecting him, as soon as an heavy Ague in my Face will permit me to find his Lodgings.

Mr. J Adams upon Oct 14 & 24 confirms what he wrote to you on Sepr. 20. He thinks the ill Treatment which Mr. Laurens receives is an insulting Proof that nothing is farther than Peace from the Thoughts of the King of Engld., his ministers, Parliament or Nation, for they are now all *his*—Peace upon any Terms that America can agree to.

It has been pretended that Denmark had renounced the armed neutrality. This falsehood sprang from an Explanation of the Treaty of 1660. In consequence of which Explanatn. the English are to suffer to pass unmolested Danish Vessels laden with Beef which is the great article of Exportation from Denmark. All that can be concluded from it is that the Danish Minister who appears to be a Friend to England has taken this opportunity to oblige the English and at the same Time the Danish Nobility and are deeply interested in the Commerce of salted Provisions. It is their great Revenue. But this will not put it out of the Power, nor make it less the Duty of Danemark to fulfil the Engagements she has entered into with the northern Powers, in Case they are attacked on Account of the Convention agreed to between them or for having protected their merchant Vessels in their Commerce of naval Stores with France & Spain. The Fact is Danemark furnishes to foreign Countries no Timber except Pines & Norway Firs; She exports no Tar, Sail, Cloth, Masts, Cordage or Hemp, and therefore did not think it material to insist on this matter with the English.

This, Sir, is the Explanation given by a judicious Correspondent at the Hague;² who adds

The Plenipotentiaries of Holland brought back from the Empress a Convention founded on that made between the northern Courts, with two additional Articles, one having for its Object the Restitution of the Vessels taken from the Republic; the other to make Common Cause with the Republic & to defend her in Case she shd. be attacked, molested or injured on account of this Convention.

The English Envoy at Petersboug had declared to her Imperial Majesty that his Court would pay due Attention to the armed neutrality of the northern Powers, *provided Holland was excluded from it.*

It seems as if the Republic did not now retreat that she must sign in spight of the Opposition of the Temporisers who have now

no pretence for delay, without rendering themselves absolutely odious & becoming responsible for Consequences.

It is not doubted but Prussia will accede to the Convention; and probably the Emperor will do the same; for the Empress was so well pleased with his Visit that she gave him a Man of War. It is clear Portugal accedes.

To this foreign Intelligence, I may add that Virginia relinquishes her Claims northwest of the Ohio under certain Conditions; and Maryland confederates. Are we to sleep upon these Events or to rouse ourselves to one general Vigorous Exertion? Surely the latter. Yrs. affectly, J L

[P.S.] As I send to Secy. Avery³ the Virginia Act at large you will gain further Knowledge of it.

Mr. J. A. thinks that a Minister with Credentials from these United States to their High Mightynesses and to the Stadholder would be very agreeable at this Juncture; and promote *his* Business there: *He* is trebly fortified.⁴

RC (CSmH: Cooper Collection).

¹ That is, Armand-Charles-Augustin de La Croix de Castries, comte de Charlus, son of the marquis de Castries, the newly appointed French minister of marine.

² That is, by Charles W. F. Dumas, in an October 4, 1780, letter to Congress, which was read on January 24, 1781. See *JCC*, 19:78; and *PCC*, item 93, 1:472-78.

³ Lovell's letter to John Avery has not been found.

⁴ John Adams had made this statement in an October 11, 1780, letter to Congress. Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:95. For Adams' appointment to this position, see Samuel Huntington's letters to Adams, January 1 and 9, 1781.

James Lovell to Horatio Gates

Dear Sir

1 Feb 1781.

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the 3d of last month by Capt. Deveaux who appears to be a very modest discrete Gentleman, but I fear he will not find any agreeable military Post of Employment.

I am most sensibly affected with what gave you encreased Pain the nearer you approached to your Home. I wish you may find Consolation from every Source which Philosophy & Religion furnish.

A Report prevails this morning that a Speech of the King of England is circulating in which he presses for Peace, but all my foreign Information bespeaks virulent War.

Holland cannot well delay to join fully with the northern Powers, as the Plenipoes of the Provinces have sent Dispatches from Petersburg containing Articles of Compact similar to those which the other Powers have come into; and also two Articles particular,

one to promote the Recovery of the Vessels taken from the Dutch by England—the other to secure Holland by the Power of the New Confederacy from all Insult or Injury with which she may be threatned for having become a Member.

As to the Puff which Britain makes about a late Compact with Denmark it is founded in an Agreement for a free Export of salted Provision from Danemarc and a Consent on her Part not to export what She cares little about, Tar, Sail Cloth &c. &c.

But this Explanation of an old Treaty does not lessen the Obligation of the Court of Danemarc to support the Rights of the other Parties of the new Confederation, nor does that Court appear to wish to be quit of such Obligation.¹

I yesterday recd. the inclosed from Doctor Gordon.² He is a Lover of friendly Correspondence, but I really have not Time to do his attentions Justice.

Present my affectionate Regards to your Lady and be assured of my continual Regard as yr Friend, and humble Servant,

James Lovell

RC (NHi: Gates Papers).

¹ See the preceding entry.

² The enclosed letter from Dr. William Gordon, dated "Jamaica Plain Jany 17, 1781," is in the Gates Papers, NHi.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

Feb. 1. 1781

Mr. Ross having breakfasted with me this morning put the inclosed memdum. into my Hand,¹ agreeable to a Request made upon my first receiving yr. Letter. I will attend to the Arrival of the Box, and follow your former Instructions. Jones had not sailed the 14 of Novr. but was *soon* to be on his Way.

Maryland has been induced, by the *curious* Cession of Virginia, to join fully in the Confederation. This will be of much advantage to our Cause *abroad*. We are bogueing about a Fund to be obtained from the States for sinking all our Debts. We cannot show to our own People or to Foreigners any Certainty of their Interest being punctually paid, so that we can have but little prospect of Loans at present.

I have requested Something of Doctor Holten which I wish you to aid.² You know the Quibbles here. Endeavor that our State may have black & white for all their Advances on continental Account; I cannot *yet* find how they are *clearly* warranted in their Advances to Agent Allen.

I am murdered by a Toothach but I must go out, for Mr A——³

is critical about our giving the *Voice* of the State without 3 being present, tho we have *suppressed* an Instruction that looks like it till we can know whether such was the *Intent* of the Court. If it was I hope a 4th Delegate will let us know it from his own *Lips*. Yrs. affectly.
JL

[P.S.] "What does Mr. Gerry never send his compliments, does he never say any Thing about *us*? does he not about *me*?"

Mr. Gaviz quasi dixisset Gerry

Mr. Ross could not make out better with Carmichaels memdum.

RC (DLC: Gerry Papers, photostat).

¹ This memorandum has not been identified.

² See Lovell to Samuel Holten, January 29?, 1781.

³ That is, Samuel Adams. For discussion of the subject of this paragraph, Massachusetts' requirements for casting the state's vote in Congress, see Lovell to Holten, December 19, 1780, and January 2, 1781.

Charles Thomson to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Secy's Office Feby 1st. 1781.

I received yesterday from the Board of Admiralty your letter of the 19th Ult. with 43 bonds enclosed.¹ As I have reason to apprehend that Your Excellency has not received my letter of the twenty Eighth day of July last covering fifteen Commissions &c for armed Vessels, I enclose you a copy thereof together with the Act of Congress therein referred to by which You will perceive that the Commissions &c issue from this Office as formerly.²

I now take the liberty of transmitting You twenty four blank Commissions, bonds and Instructions for Armed Vessels for the use of your State; when more are wanted they shall on Application to this Office be immediately forwarded.

I am, with great respect, Your Excellency's Most obedt. humble Servt.
Cha Thomson Secy.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ Trumbull's January 19 letter to the Board of Admiralty is in PCC, item 37, fols. 351-52.

² See Thomson to the States, July 28, 1780.

Virginia Delegates' Proposed Instructions

[February 1, 1781]¹

The Delegates from Virginia have received an instruction from the General Assembly of that State² which authorises them to inform

Congress, that the zeal of their Constituents to promote the general object of the Union and to remove as far as depends on them every reasonable obstacle to the speedy conclusion of an Alliance between his Catholic Majesty & these States has so far prevailed over all considerations of a particular interest, that they have consented to withdraw the claim urged in their former instructions to their Delegates on the subject,³ to the navigation of the river Mississippi, except of such part thereof as forms their Western boundary: provided such cession shall be insisted on by Spain; and relying on Congress for their utmost endeavours to obtain for that & the other States having territory on the said river a free port or ports below such territory. In pursuance of the object of this instruction the Delegates aforesaid purpose that the following letter of instruction be immediately transmitted to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Madrid.

Sir

Congress having, since their instructions to you of the day of ⁴ relative to the claim of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi & to a free port or ports below the 31st degree of N. Latitude⁵ resumed the consideration of that subject, & being desirous to manifest to all the world & particularly to his Catholic Majesty the moderation of their views, the high value they place on the friendship of his Catholic Majesty and their disposition to remove every reasonable obstacle to his accession to the Alliance subsisting between his M. C. Majesty & the U. States, in order to unite the more closely in their measures & operations three powers who have so great a unity of Interests, & thereby compel the common Enemy to a speedy, just & honorable peace, have resolved, and you are accordingly hereby instructed to recede from the instructions above referred to, so far as they insist on the free navigation of that part of the river Mississippi which lies below the 31st degree of N. L and on a free port or ports below the same; provided such cession shall be unalterably insisted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river above the said degree of N Latitude shall be acknowledged & guaranteed by his C Majesty to the Citizens of the United States in Common with his own subjects. It is the Order of Congress at the same time that you exert every possible effort to obtain from his C. Majesty the Use of the river aforesaid with a free port or ports below the said 31st degree of N. Latitude for the Citizens of the United States, under such regulations & restrictions only as may be a necessary safeguard against illicit commerce.⁶

MS (DLC: Peter Force Collection). In the hand of James Madison. Endorsed by an unidentified hand: "Motion Respecting the Mississippi;" and by Charles Thomson: "by the delegates of Virginia, Feby. 1. 1781."

¹ Although Secretary Thomson's endorsement on the MS is the sole evidence that this document was submitted to Congress on February 1, the proposed instructions to John Jay were clearly debated and adopted on February 15. According to Jay, he received a copy of them on May 18, 1781, in a letter from James Lovell, probably that of February 20. Jay never received an authenticated copy from the president of Congress, however, and therefore did not act on these instructions for fear Congress had reconsidered or revoked them. See *JCC*, 19:103-6, 151-54; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:739-40.

² See Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1781, note 3.

³ See Theodorick Bland to Jefferson, November 22, 1780, note 2.

⁴ In the version of the instructions entered in the secret journals under February 15 these dates were filled in as "the 29th September 1779, and 4 of October, 1780," although the former date should have been September 28, not the 29th. See *JCC*, 15:1119, 18:900-901, 19:152; and PCC, item 5, 1:471.

⁵ In the margin at the beginning and end of this paragraph of proposed instructions is the word "pasd."

⁶ Joseph Jones had also discussed the negotiations with Spain over the free navigation of the Mississippi in a letter to Theodorick Bland of January 2, the day the Virginia assembly adopted new instructions on the subject, and before Jones returned to Philadelphia to resume his seat in Congress at the end of the month. The American claim "ought not to be relinquished upon any consideration but absolute necessity," Jones warned, for to cede such an essential interest in a time of "distress" would "only lay the foundation of discontent, distrust, and unavoidable quarrel in future." The letter, Emmet MS1095, NN, is printed in Burnett, *Letters*, 5:511-12.

Samuel Huntington to Timothy Pickering

Sir, Philada February 2. 1781

You will receive enclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 25th Ultio, by which you are directed to procure a sufficient Number of Horses to remount such of the Cavalry as are destitute of Horses, agreeable to Directions to be given by the Commander in Chief, for the next Campaign, and Colonel Armands Legion is to be furnished with its Proportion out of the Number so procured.¹

This resolve would have been forwarded at an earlier Day, but hath been delayed on Account of a Motion before Congress proposing an Alteration which finally did not take Effect.²

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ For the enclosed resolve, actually dated January 22 not "the 25th," see *JCC*, 19:76-77.

² For the motion Huntington was apparently referring to, which was "re-committed" on January 30, see *JCC*, 19:97.

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed

Sir, Philada February 2. 1781

In Answer to your Excellency's Letter this Day laid before Congress respecting the Officers in the Pennsylvania Line I am directed to inform the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, That Congress have not been insensible of the Sufferings of the Army for Want of Pay, that on the 15th of last Month they did in the most earnest Manner apply to the respective States from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire both inclusive for a Sum of Money for the immediate Pay of the Army composed of the Line of those States

That the whole Line is equally the Object of the Care & Attention of Congress, that as soon as the Circumstances of the public Treasury will admit, the just Claims of the Army shall be satisfied; but that Congress cannot in any Circumstances make a Distinction between the Troops of any one State & those of another.¹

I have the Honor to be &c &c, S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair appeared personally before the Pennsylvania Council on February 1 to report that without an immediate supply of money he faced the threat of massive resignations of Pennsylvania officers, whereupon the Council requested a conference with a committee of Congress to discuss the emergency. A committee consisting of Thomas McKean, John Witherspoon, and Oliver Wolcott promptly met with the council and submitted a report the following day that became the substance of the present reply to Reed, who in the meantime had submitted a second letter to Congress seeking guidance on responding to St. Clair. See *JCC*, 19:105, 108; PCC, item 69, 2:327-335; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 12:613-14, 616.

For Congress' application to the states "on the 15th of last Month" to make immediate remittances on their overdue fiscal quotas to pay Continental troops, see *JCC*, 19:58-61; and Huntington to Washington, January 16, note 1.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 2. 1781

By the enclosed resolve of the 1st Instant your Excellency will be informed that the resolution of Congress of the 4th of September 1778 allowing Officers three Dollars a Day for Expences on Business not incidental to their Office is repealed and to have no Effect from and after the first Day of March next.¹

I am desired by Mr Secretary Thomson to request your Excellency would be so obliging as to forward by the first convenient Opportunity the enclosed Letter addressed to Mr Mathew Cowper.²

With the highest respect, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Saml. Huntington President

RC (MiU-C: Huntington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ JCC, 19:104. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve on February 5 to Gen. Nathanael Greene. Greene Papers, DLC.

² Not identified.

Samuel Adams to James Bowdoin

My Dear Sir

Philadelphia Feb. 3 1781

I have receivd your Letter of the 11th of Jany and thank you, for the favor you have done me, in assigning one of the Pamphlets inclosed to me.¹ I have read it with great Pleasure & think it does Honor to its Author & the Academy. Agreeable to your Request, they are distributed to the Gentlemen mentiond, excepting Doctor Lee who is in Virginia.² I will send the remaining one to him by the first good opportunity. Please to present my Compts to your Family, and be assured that I am with great Respect, Your affectionate & very humble Servant,

Saml. Adams

RC (Joseph G. Deering, Saco, Maine, 1974).

¹ Adams was undoubtedly referring to James Bowdoin's pamphlet, *A Philosophical Discourse, Addressed to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences...* (Boston: James Edes and Sons, 1780). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 16,720.

² In the course of distributing these pamphlets, Adams also directed the following brief note, dated only "Feb. 1781," to the American Philosophical Society.

"Mr. S Adams presents his respectful Compliments to the President of the American Philosophical Society, and at the Request of Mr Bowdoin, begs his Acceptance of the inclosed Pamphlet in the Name of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." PPAmP.

James Duane to Evert Bancker and Pierre Van Cortlandt

Honorable Gentlemen,

Philad. 3d February 1781

We are duly honoured with your dispatches by Barclay and they are now under Commitment.¹ There is no difficulty of convincing Congress of the distresses of our State and if it is in their power you may depend upon Relief. The want of money is the only impediment but that is a want which presses us hard from every Quarter. The Committee have not yet made their Report tho' they have had several meetings; As soon as Congress come to a determination it shall be forwarded. In the mean time is it not possible to obtain an Account of the money due to our State on Commiss. and Quarter Master's Certificates? Our Exertions and Sufferings could in that Case be stated in detail: at present unable even to conjecture the Amount, we are under great and evident disadvantages. We shall soon have the

Honour of discussing this Subject and of stating the publick Affairs more particularly waiting the Event of your Representation to Congress. . . .

With all possible Respect and Attachment I have the Honour to be Honorable Gentlemen, Your most Obedient and very humble Servant,
Jas. Duane

Tr (DLC: Burnett Papers). Copied by Edmund C. Burnett (before the 1911 Albany fire), from "Legislative Papers, no. 598," New York State Library. Addressed: "Honorable Piere Van Cortlandt Esqr. Lieut. Governour and Honorable Evert Bancker Esqr. Speaker of the Assembly."

¹ This January 17 letter from Bancker and Van Cortlandt, describing the financial ruin of New York and the state government's need for aid, had been read and referred to a committee on January 29. A similar urgent appeal from Gov. George Clinton of February 5, reviewing the hardships New York had endured since 1776, was referred to the same committee when it was presented to Congress on February 14. For Congress' action on the committee's March 2 report, see New York Delegates to Clinton, March 11, 1781. See also *JCC*, 19:95, 145, 225; and *PCC*, item 67, 2:340-61.

James Duane to John Morin Scott

Dear Sir

Philad. 3d Feby 1781

Give me leave to congratulate you on the Cession made by the Legislature of Virginia of All their Claims to the North West of the Ohio and on the Accession of Maryland to the Confederation. We have not yet recd the Act of the latter State but from Information we do not do[u]bt but this important Event has taken place. We are proceeding to the Necessary formalities for vesting the relinquished Claims in the united States, And a Committee is appointed for that purpose. Our State which has taken the Lead in this important Transaction is called upon for her propositions.¹ On Examining the State papers you left with me I do not find the Instructions & suppose they were by Accident filed among your private papers. You will be pleasd if that has been the Case to deliver them to Barclay the Express to be forwarded without Loss of time as we shoud be mortified to appear backward on a business of so much real Importance to the Common Cause. If they are not to be found among your papers be pleasd to procure a Copy & forward it by this Express as expeditiously as possible. Every moment of delay must give us pain. All the News worth your Attention is in the publick prints having no Commuications from Europe of any Consequence since you parted with Us. We continue a Family with the Addition of Mr Johnson from North Carolina & Mr Jones our Worthy Friend from Virginia. Buckley has succeeded so far as to Sell on his Execution the few goods which belonged to Mrs. House: the rest are proceeding: & his wickedness has put us to no test of Inconvenience. He has lost all

Compassion & suffered imprisonment for the debts he has contracted. I believe he will give no further Trouble.²

I am &c,

Jas. Duane

FC (NHi: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

¹ The New York "declaration" concerning cession of its western land claims was not presented to Congress until March 1, 1781. *JCC*, 19:208-13.

² For the "Inconvenience" the New York delegates had been put to by Joseph Bulkley, see Duane to Joseph Reed, November 30 and December 16, 1780.

Samuel Huntington to Frederick Paschke

Sir,

Philada February 3. 1781

Enclosed is a Copy of a resolve of Congress of the 2d Instant, by which you will be informed that the request contained in your Letter of the 22d Ulto to be allowed Depreciation & half Pay cannot be complied with.¹

I am farther to inform you that the Board of Treasury are ordered to grant a Warrant to pay for your Services as a Volunteer the last Campaign.

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 17:430-31, 433, 19:86, 106-7. Paschke, a native of Prussia and formerly captain in the legion of the late Casimir Pulaski, represented that he needed money to return to Europe, but remained with the Continental Army to the end of the war, appealing to Congress on several occasions for additional compensation. See PCC, item 41, 8:194-203, item 42, 6:282-85, item 43, fols. 213-17, item 78, 18:345-48, 369-75; and *JCC*, 19:347, 518, 26:36-37, 42, 121, 28:78, 101.

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed

Sir,

[February 3, 1781]¹

The board of war having represented to Congress that there are more than 400 prisoners in goal in this city who have on several occasions manifested a mutinous disposition; and that there are at this time several circumstances which would favour any attempts which they might make to escape, Congress have passed a resolution of which I enclose a certified copy. Your Excellency & the honble Council will see the necessity of taking immediate measures for carrying it into execution to prevent the evil consequences that may ensue.

I have the honor to be, your excellency's obed. humble Servt,
Sam. Huntington, Presd.

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 8:723.

¹ The resolve enclosed with this undated letter, requesting Pennsylvania to provide "one hundred rank and file of the militia, properly officered," for extra security at the Philadelphia jail, was adopted on February 3d and was received by the Pennsylvania Council the same day. See *JCC*, 19:109; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 12:615.

Thomas McKean to Thomas Collins

Sir, Philadelphia. Feby. 3d. 1781.

The General Assembly of Maryland have at length acceded to the Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America; and the Delegates of that State, which has been unrepresented in Congress for two months, are expected here every day with ample powers to compleat this business. Virginia has ceded to the United States all their pretensions to the lands on the West side of the Ohio: Cessions of the like kind have been made by New-York and Connecticut, and are expected from other States.

On this occasion a new Era will commence, and it is now become necessary that Delaware should have *two* Delegates at least in Congress,¹ otherwise after the arrival of the Maryland Delegates it will have no voice there; and there never was a period when a Representation was more essential to it; from that time, by the 8th Article, all the expences of the war & for the general welfare are to be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of the improved, granted or surveyed lands within each, which value is to be estimated & fixed by the United States in Congress assembled.

I most heartily congratulate the General Assembly on this auspicious event. Our Enemies can no longer say, we are but a rope of sand. Our whole Government is now established, but it will require considerable improvements to bring it to perfection: however our State has no reason to complain of it's weight in the scale of Confederation, and I flatter myself its Inhabitants will yet be as happy as any society of people under the Heavens.

Permit me Sir, to observe, that by a clause in the 6th Article of the Confederation we have covenanted with the other States "always to keep up a well regulated and disciplined Militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and that we shall provide & have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces & tents, and a [proper] quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage." On the faithful performance of this, our being free not only from invasions, but even from conquest; nay upon this, not only our reputation as a State, but our political salvation and Independence, will in a great degree depend. The utility of this will appear manifest on a comparative view of the States of New-Jersey and Virginia; in

the former the Enemy dare not shew themselves, in the latter, about fifteen hundred Refugees & Traitors, with the Arch-Traitor & Parricide Arnold, at their head, can traverse, plunder & lay waste a large country almost with impunity. I should be wretched indeed, if these Dregs of the British Army, they the Dregs of all Mankind, could truly boast of the like, even in the small State of Delaware. Need I enforce what I have so much at heart, and what appears to be almost self-evident, by informing the General Assembly, that the King of Great Britain has got a Parliament entirely to his mind, that every resource of his Dominions are & probably for seven years will be at his absolute disposal, & that his own determination is to reduce us to unconditional submission, even at the risque of his crown; that therefore no peace is to be expected until his Fleets and Armies shall be expelled our Country & Coasts; and that when this is accomplished (which, with the assistance of our great & good Ally and his Associates in the same cause, may and will be effected the ensuing Campaign under the favor of God, unless we are wanting to ourselves) we have reason to suppose, from the example of the late Mutinies of the Pennsylvania and New-Jersey troops, that attempts may be made on our liberties by some Oliver Cromwell, tho' not a General, nor even a commissioned Officer in our Army. All these Evils will be overcome if not entirely prevented, if we have a good Militia.

Congress have agreed to make a requisition of the several States to grant them a duty not exceeding five per Centum from the first of May next on all imports, Prizes and Prize goods, ad valorem at the time & place of Importation, which they are to levy & collect in such manner as experience from time to time shall be found most beneficial, or tend least to the discouragement of trade. This resembles the poundage-duty in England, France, Spain, Holland &c. but will be vastly short of the like duties imposed in any of those Countries. Any additional duties on Imports, as well as all duties on exports must be referred to the respective States. The credit which Congress may derive from this Grant, having the exclusive collection & appropriation of it, and also from the Confederation being compleated, added to the lands ceded to them, it is to be hoped will in a great degree retrieve the character of & give new confidence & importance [to] the United States. You may expect to receive this requisition in form in a few days. This Letter, I know, will of course be communicated to the honble. House of Assembly, and therefore I shall not write a Duplicate to them.

I am, Sir, with the utmost regard, Your most obedient & devoted humble servant

FC (PHi: McKean Papers). In the hand of Thomas McKean. Addressed: "The Honble. Thomas Collins Esquire Speaker of the Council of Delaware."

¹ McKean was joined by Thomas Rodney in Congress on February 27, 1781. *JCC*, 19:199. Nicholas Van Dyke, who had also been elected a delegate from Delaware, explained his reasons for not attending Congress at this time in letters to McKean of February 14 and to Thomas Rodney of February 23, 1781, which are in the McKean Papers and the Jenkins Old Congress Collection, PHi.

James Madison's Motion on an Impost

[February 3, 1781]¹

That it be earnestly recommended to the Estates, as indispensably necessary to the support of public credit and the prosecution of the war, immediately to pass laws laying an impost of 5 PerCt. ad valorem on all goods, wares & merchandises imported into them respectively after the 1st day of May next from any foreign port Island or plantation, & to vest Congress with full power to collect & to appropriate the same to the discharge of the principal & interest of all debts already contracted or which may be contracted on the faith of the United States during the present war, and to give to the officers which shall be appointed by Congress to collect the said impost all the legal authorities necessary to the execution of his duty.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 36). In the hand of James Madison and endorsed by him: "Motion for Amendment." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:303.

¹ Congress had been considering various proposals for financial reform since December 18, 1780. This day debate resumed on a proposal amended February 1 requesting the states to vest Congress with specific authority to levy a five percent duty on imported goods. Thereupon John Witherspoon made a far more radical and general proposal that Congress be vested "with a right of superintending the commercial regulations of every State," and "the exclusive right of laying duties upon all imported articles;" an innovation which must have occasioned vigorous debate before it was defeated. Although the journals are silent, at some point Madison apparently introduced this variation, recommending that the states themselves levy the five percent duty, but permit Congress to appoint the officers who would collect it—a safeguard, he later pointed out, that would prevent the states from diverting revenues destined for the Continental treasury. Madison's motion was apparently defeated although the latter provision appears to have been incorporated into the language of the initial proposal only to be struck out before final passage later this day. See *JCC*, 19:105–6, 110–13; Samuel Huntington to the States, February 8; and Madison to Edmund Pendleton, May 29, 1781.

James M. Varnum to John Innes Clark

Sir¹ Philadelphia February 3d. 1781

This evening gives me leisure to write to you freely; and as far as I am able to judge, fully, of the more important concerns of the United States. As many were of opinion that my Predecessor was too communicative, my letters to the Governor have been dictated

by Caution, tho' containing general Truths. I lament, with the most Serious inquietude, the contents of this letter; but as they are dictated by the clearest conviction, you have my cordial approbation in making them Known, either to a Select circle, or the Legislature, as your discretion may direct.

From the first period of the depreciation of the continental Currency, the Cords of Government were relaxed; and with the rapidity of the former, the latter has Kept pace. All expedients, such as fixing prices, making Tender Laws, laying Embargoes &c, instead of alleviating, naturally increased the Evil. Congress, in order to make one great Effort towards reducing the public Debt and restoring public Credit, on the 18th of March last made their Resolve for Sinking the old, & emitting new Bills. Their Intentions, I mean the intentions of the Majority, were undoubtedly good; But, if a plan can be judged of by its Effects, they could not have adopted one more fatal to the great Objects they had in Contemplation. Its operations have been various in the different States. Some accepted it readily; some with delay; And others not at all. The consequences were that there was no Money in the Treasury. Creditors grew uneasy; Credit was Stretched upon vague promises; without the possibility of a performance. The Army unpaid, as it has been for more than a year; unclothed & unfed; & therefore mutinous. The requisitions upon the States for Specific Supplies were owing to the want of money; & these supplies have been as uncertain as the Measure was impolitic, and unjust; as it would necessarily make Some States Lenders to others without the consent of the former. Indeed Sir, we have neither Money to pay the interest of our Debts, nor credit enough to contract new ones. We are destitute of every requisite for the ensuing Campaign, and have it not in our power to extricate ourselves from Such an alarming Situation, while we Know from the surest Information, that Great Britain is exerting every Nerve to make the most decisive Operations. Notwithstanding these really distressing Circumstances, the Country abounds with Resources. Every article of Provision is in the greatest Plenty; Dry Goods are by no means Scarce, and West India Produce is very cheap. Pennsylvania alone has more Grain & Flour this moment, exclusive of what would suffice the Inhabitants, than is Sufficient for an Army of Fifty thousand men the Term of a Year. Money is by no means Scarce. Its true, the fluctuating circumstances of the Paper Currency may have made its circulation unequal, but still it is in the Country: And if there is not a Sufficiency of Specie, there is Plate enough to make up every deficiency. Our Perplexities do not arise from Poverty or the want of Men, but from the absolute want of Government. It is a fact as demonstrable as any Proposition in Euclid, that where a Number of Sovereign, Independant States are mutually engaged in War, neither of them is adequate to any of its conclusive Purposes: Hence

the necessity of a federal Union, by which the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Strength & Resources of the whole may be Conjointly centered & exerted. In this fundamental principle however we fail. For it is notorious that Congress have not the power of calling forth the Resources of the country. It is probable, I confess, that the Confederation will Soon be concluded; But then, we shall be just where we are now, in a perfect state of Imbecility. By the Act of Confederation Congress are not vested with the Powers requisite in Time of War. They are authorized to make War or Peace; but they are not competent to the means of Supporting Either.

Suppose they call upon the States for money or supplies, and some of them neglect or refuse, as they invariably do, where is the Power of Compulsion? And without that it is evident, the best Measures may be frustrated. We have stumbled upon Expedients too long; We have too long trifled with Objects of the greatest Magnitude; We have trusted to Heaven for Success to our Arms, while we have neglected to improve the Means with which the God of Nature has blessed us. Among confederated States there must be a Supreme Controul, equally effective upon all. I am confident, from Observation, History and Reflection that the present War never will be carried on with Success, till Congress, or some other Body, are invested by the States with all the Powers necessary to command the Resources of the Country. Trade & Commerce, those great Sources of National Wealth, should undoubtedly be Subject to exact Regulation; but if each State should undertake the Matter Separately, every Gentleman of common Understanding will readily perceive the Confusion & innumerable Frauds, relatively to each other & to Individuals, that must result. Congress therefore should be intrusted with this Power, & of laying Duties; by which the United States would derive a considerable Revenue. If they could once command a certain, permanent Revenue, National Credit would be restored, and large Sums could be borrowed on the faith of a Bank which might easily be established. Those modes only of drawing money into the National Treasury, which are least felt, & of consequence most satisfactory to the People at large, should be adopted.

Industry is the most obvious Source of Wealth; and indeed without its being generally encouraged, Commerce itself must cease; Taxes must cease and War must cease by terminating in Conquest. The fewer the Embarrassments therefore which are thrown upon the people the better. They should always have a Sure market for the produce of their Labour, and certain pay. To this end Embargoes should never be tolerated but upon the most pressing occasion; Such as at the Investiture of a Place, where the Siege may probably be turned into a Blockade. Of the necessity of which the General Congress, or the Commander in Chief upon the Spot should be the judge in Time of War. In Peace perhaps the Case might be different.

Hence exportations of every Kind, excepting articles wherein there is a real scarcity should be encouraged. From Policy like this, we should find all discontents removed; The citizens would feel reiterated Spirit and Vigour, Wealth would be diffused in abundance, & the Means of Government rendered familiar & by no means burdensome. I will suppose for a moment that the Expenses of the current Year will amount to Twenty Millions of Dollars including the Arrearages of the army's pay & the Interest upon Loan Office Certificates & foreign Debts, exclusive of the expenses of each particular State for supporting its own Internal Police. Where is this sum to come from? The New Money, supposing it to be productive, which I don't believe but in part, is equal to only half its nominal value in Specie. The Continent therefore would gain only five Millions of Dollars. Little is to be expected from Requisitions upon the States; For some collect their Taxes slowly, & some not at all.

If we rely upon a Loan from France, we shall be deceived; For the Minister of France will reason in this way—France & the United States are jointly engaged in a War with Great Britain; It is necessary for the good of both the Allies that as Great Force as possible should be exerted against the common Enemy; but the quantity of this Force depends upon the Ways & Means of both Countries, and the manner in which they are applied; Now it is evident that with the same sum of money France can exert treble the Force that America can, under her present impolitic Systems; Therefore, the minister will very rationally conclude that to lend the United States Money will equally injure them & France. From whence then are we to obtain the fifteen millions? I acknowledge that such an immense Sum can not be collected in the course of a year. No Country is able to carry on War by Taxation, or any other mode of collecting Money from Individuals in an equal Ratio. But there is easy way of making Six millions represent Twenty, which turns ultimately into an internal Debt. That is, when a Bank is well formed, Notes may Issue to a large Amount; & when the Holders find that they can receive their real money by applying to the Bank they will soon give over the trouble of exchanging, as they become fully confident in the Security, and find paper of a light carriage. Whenever Paper represents Money, it is valued nearly in proportion to the Substance; but the misfortune of our paper has been, that it represented Real Estate & all the articles of living without being funded upon any thing Substantial. It is well known that the real cash of Great Britain amounts to no more than Eight Millions Sterling; Yet their circulating medium in Notes, Inland Bills &c is immense. The same takes place in France, Holland & all the trading Nations. We certainly can effect the Same; But different councils will ever produce different Systems, and these Systems will of course destroy each other. Therefore the powers of revenue must be in one body throughout the Union. I hope Congress will Send

to the States, in a very Short time, Some plan, by which they may be invested with proper Authority. But in this Idea I am exceedingly mortified, & indeed vexed to the last degree. A plan of revenue has been before them and dwelt upon nearly three weeks; & upon my honour they have made no greater progress than a man of Sense would have done in three Hours. But you will say the delays of deliberative Counsels are a Natural Sacrifice that civil Society must make to obtain an excellent political Form of Government; True; But our delays are infinitely greater than they need be. There are a certain number of Members who have been in Congress a long time, & think themselves possessed of all Knowledge. A question can't be started however trivial but they make formal speeches, for fear the young members should misconceive the subject. And if the matter, as that just mentioned, should be of amazing consequence much the more time is thought necessary to properly enforce it. But if it requires immediate despatch, then great deliberation is essentially requisite. There are Some who make their ideas the standard of all Judgments; And if a particular Word in a Report should not exactly suit their mechanical genius's a long Debate ensues. I assure you Sir, they often make me think of Neals History of the Puritans,² in which the Speeches made in the Long Parliament are recorded at Length. And I have not failed to tell them upon the Floor that their Fate will be Similar to that of the former, unless they pursue different modes & measures. In matters of this consequence, I mean while the Revenue is in Serious Question, the Duke de Sully tells us every moment taken up in Debate is lost; & possibly may never be recalled. A Titus could weep that he had lost a Day; but we, I am almost constrained to Say it, have lost years. I now come to the conclusion; If Congress are not speedily vested with adequate powers for commanding the means to carry on the War with Energy; and if they do not exert those properly, a few months will put an end to their Existence. What kind of Administration will Succeed, God alone Knows. I have one consolation however, that we shall not be conquered by Great Britain; The people wo'nt Suffer it, But our calamities may be inexpressibly augmented by such a change. While I continue here I shall Spare no pains of Body or Mind to serve my Country; but I am determined to acquit myself in the eyes of God & Man of any fatal consequences that may attend our Public Measures. I might write Governor Bowen & several other Gentlemen; but I can say no more to them than this Letter contains; and I believe you will be sufficiently fatigued in reading it. My best respects to all Friends.

I am Sir, with every Sentiment of Esteem, your Very Obedient
& most humble Servt.

J M Varnum

Tr (RHi: Wilkins Updike Papers). Addressed: "The Honble. John Innes Clark Esq., Providence, Rhode Island."

¹ John Innes Clark, a Providence, R.I. merchant, was an assistant in the upper house of the Rhode Island Assembly. Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*, 9:58, 382.

² Varnum was probably referring to Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans . . .*; 4 vols. (London: 1747-52).

John Witherspoon to William Livingston

Sir Philadelphia Feb. 3. 1781

Your Excellencys favour of the 29 of January I receivd on the 31st & that Day had it read in Congress & referred to the Board of War whose Opinion upon it Which they did not return till this Day that I called for it You have enclosed.¹

I gave Yesterday to Mr Stevens our Treasurer a Copy of the Act of the Virginia Assembly ceding the Lands to the N.W. of the Ohio to be sent to you. The New York Delegates are furnished with Powers to Settle their western limits & Connecticut has made an Act with a Kind of Cession but more ambiguous than any of them. Probably when Mr Stevens returns he will carry you a Copy of this also. They are all referred to a Committee but it will be some Time before we can determine what Measures shall be taken in Consequence of them. Virginia has also departed from their Order to their Delegates to insist upon the free Navigation of the Mississippi in order to pave the Way for bringing Spain completely into that Alliance. No Step is yet taken in Consequence of this. We wait for Mr Jay's next Letter.

I have the Honour to be Your Excellencys most obedt hum,
Jno Witherspoon

P.S. Being apprehensive that my Letters to the North Country have not gone forward I have again written by what I suppose is a safe Conveyance.²

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers).

¹ The enclosed February 3 Board of War letter to Witherspoon explained that Lt. Col. Livingston Klein had been separated from the Continental Army on June 21, 1779, and given "one year's pay and subsistance, to enable him to return to Europe," since the plan for raising a corps of German deserters had been abandoned. See *JCC*, 14:754-55, 19:103.

² See the following entry. These "letters to the North Country" [i.e., Bennington, Vt.] have not been found, but they were probably letters of December 4 to Thomas Chittenden and Matthew Lyon, which the two Vermont leaders acknowledged in their responses of January 30 and March 13 which were intercepted and printed in the April 21, 1781, issue of James Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette*.

Livingston, who had been granted the 30,000 acre township of Royalton by New York in 1766, was seeking confirmation of his title from Vermont, a subject that Witherspoon had apparently pursued when on a congressional mission to the New Hampshire Grants in June 1779 (see these *Letters*, 13:102-3). In his January 30

intercepted letter to Witherspoon, Governor Chittenden responded optimistically on the "solicitation in favor of Governor Livingston," concluding with an expression of goodwill for Samuel J. Atlee, Witherspoon's colleague on the 1779 Vermont mission. And in his March 13 response to Witherspoon, Lyon echoed Chittenden's optimism over Livingston's prospects, while advising Witherspoon against selling his own lands in Cavendish, Vt., as land prices were temporarily depressed. "I am very glad to find that you are in Congress," Lyon also went on to explain, "and hope through your means (who know the situation and people of this country) that honourable body will be made to see and act what shall be most for the interest of America with regard to Vermont, before it be too late."

For Livingston's and Witherspoon's interests in Vermont lands, see also Witherspoon to Livingston, May 8 and 15, 1781.

John Witherspoon to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir.

Philadelphia Feb. 3, 1781.

Having some Business of consequence to transact in the North Country & the Conveyance of Letters being at present so uncertain, I have taken the Liberty, on the Suggestion of a Friend of yours here, to request the favor of you to transmit the inclosed,¹ by the first safe Opportunity that occurs, to Bennington. I need send no News as your Delegates will doubtless acquaint you with every thing here worth communicating. Please to accept my Thanks for your great and vigorous exertions in the Common Cause, with which I have been long acquainted, & believe me to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedt. humble Servant,

Jno. Witherspoon.

Tr (DLC: Force Collection).

¹ Not found. See the preceding entry, note two.

Joseph Jones to Theodorick Bland

Dr. Sr.

4th. Febr'y 1781

This being a leisure day Mr. Madison and myself were [out] when your Servant came wanting the remainder of the £22750 pensa. Currency intending in consequence of what you mentioned to us of your present wants to take out what woud. serve us till the next payment came round and send you the remainder. We have been as sparing as we well could that you might receive such a proportion of it as might ease you of those disagreeable applications you mention. The bundle now sent contains 17240 dols. which with what you had the other day will amount to thirty eight thousand two hundred and thirty three dollars for wch. you will please to give me a receipt also a duplicate that the original may when I have an opportunity be transmitted to the auditors office and my acct. credited for the Sum—

the duplicate I reserve for fear of accidents. I shall I expect receive in a fortnight from this time a like Sum of £22750 from Turnbull and Company¹ and thirty thousand pounds more in next month if Mr. Braxtons drafts are paid the remainder of the Warrant the first of May, of these Sums you shall have as large a portion as it will be in our power to spare knowing that your expences necessarily greatly exceed ours. I am, Yr obed. Servt, Jos. Jones

[P.S.] I return the former receipt, those inclosed to be signed you may deliver me Tomorrow or at yr. leisure. The day does not suit our trip to the Country.

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Folders).

¹ That is, William Turnbull & Co., a Philadelphia firm established in the spring of 1780 by Turnbull, Jean Holker, and Robert Morris. See Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier* (1954: reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1972), p. 33.

Thomas Bee to William Jackson

Dear Sir¹

Philadelphia 5 Feby. 1781

I this day called upon the Treasury Mr Hillegas and he has promised me in the course of a few days either to procure an Order on Boston for Ten Thousand Dollars or to furnish me with that amount in Massachusetts money of the new Emissions to be sent by a Mr. Brown who carries money backwards & forwards between this & the Eastern States.² The remainder of your Warrant for 48000 Dollars he will pay as soon as he is in Cash which at present is a scarce Article in our Treasury. We have no late Accounts from the Southward, but I expect Genl Duportail who is Exchanged, & was a few days ago in Maryland on his way hither, will be able to give us a great deal of information respecting matters in that quarter, if so I will let you know it. I beg you will present my respects to Genl. Lincoln, also to Burrows & McCall. Kinlock has been near George Town to endeavour to get off some of his Negroes, without success. Old Gibbes has gone in to the Enemy. I shall be glad to hear from you when you have leisure & am Sir, your very hum Servt,
Tho Bee

RC (NcU: Preston Davie Collection).

¹ Maj. William Jackson (1759-1828), former aide-de-camp to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, was in Boston preparing to sail to France aboard the *Alliance* as secretary to special envoy John Laurens. *DAB*. For a discussion of his memoirs of the mission, written at an advanced age, see David D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 479-84.

² Jackson's undated memorial had been read in Congress on October 23, 1780, and referred to the Board of Treasury, which reported on November 17 that he

should be reimbursed \$48,707 $\frac{2}{3}$ which he had advanced to Continental agent Abraham Livingston. *JCC*, 18:964, 1066.

James Lovell to Timothy Pickering

Dear Sir

Philada. Feb. 5th. 1781

Your Favor of Janry. 31st reached me this Morning. I shall see Col. Miles, and will deliver to him what Journals he has not already recd. for your own Use. I will also endeavour to fulfil yr. Wish in regard to Col. Hughes, remarking, however that the weekly Publications of 1779 are broken to Peices by the Spirit of those Times, some Members sending away Dozens of one Week while they cared not what became of the next.

Particular Classes are marked out by Congress to the Secretary, to whom he is to transmit the Journals. I do not think he can thereby send them to yr. Deputies, but I will endeavor to accommodate the matter.

I am particularly touched where you say you found at Hd. Quarters that the General had been *not a little agitated* with the paragraph of my Letter published by Rivington in which I speak of *Genl. W.*¹ You add, "*He mentioned Col. Laurens's Explanation of it as given by you, but, thought it seemed far-fetched.*"

Can such a Temper as mine prevaricate? I am perhaps too little disposed to a near fetched Explanation where Offence is unjustly or lightly taken against Me.

I cannot give you the *Print*; but *you* will believe I give an *honest* Copy as herein inclosed.²

Present my affectionate Compliments to your Family as your and their Friend.

James Lovell

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

¹ That is, James Warren. For the agitation caused by Washington's mistaken assumption that Lovell's reference to "Genl. W" was to him rather than to Warren, see Lovell to Elbridge Gerry, November 20, 1780, note 6.

² The enclosed extract of Elbridge Gerry's November 6 letter to Lovell is printed at *ibid.*

John Sullivan to Meshech Weare

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Feby 5th 1781

I am honored with your favor of the 20th of Jany with Governor Wentworth's Commission Inclosed.¹ I find you Send it without requisition at which I am much Surprized as repeated requisitions ought to have reached you months Since for I wrote you repeatedly

on the Subjects but my Letters (it Seems) did not Come to hand. I am rejoiced to hear that you have Chosen two other Delegates² & beg you will notify them both to Come on as I wish to be relieved immediately.

You know with how much reluctance I accepted the office, you Entrusted me with: I assigned many reasons; I had many more which I did not think proper to Communicate at that time.

I find your People have been amused by a Colo Olcott³ to whom I paid very Little attention when here as I found, by a Secret Channel, he was much in favor of New York; & you may rely on his being Deeply in their Interest; but this time will Discover. I find that I am or have been Charged in your House of assembly; with not getting a Decisive answer respecting Vermont; that I said I was Sorry to Differ in opinion from those who Instructed me, & that I had much rather it Should be a Seperate State than not; & that I had taken a Grant of Land from Vermont as a Bribe.⁴ To all these I reply with that Spirit which "injured innocence Inspires": that they are all False & malicious. I rejoice Sir that no part of my Publick Conduct can Cause a Guilty Blushe to possess my Cheek, nor have I Ever wished to Conceal my Publick Sentiments as to getting a Decisive answer respecting Vermont, I Ever Endeavored to do it; but in the way pointed out in the Confederation viz by appointing Commissioners, New York urged Congress to Decide upon it themselves. The Least attention to the Confederation will Show you whether I was right. I moved repeatedly for the Commissioners to be appointed, but did not then prevail. In the Course of the Argumt I urged the inconvenience of Congress undertaking Such a Lengthy tryal, at a time when the army was Dissolving, the Enemy making rapid Conquests & the Independence of America tottering to its Base & Even when a Decision was given it could not be binding as it would be Contrary to the Confederation & not warranted by the Acts of New Hampe or N. York. Instead of Saying That I was Sorry to Differ from my Constituents, I Said that New Hampshire did not Expect Congress to Decide on it as a Body; & Even if they did I should Differ from them in Sentiment. You must remember Sir that the Committee of Safety Informed me that they did not Expect any thing further would be Done This time than to appoint Commissioners; So that I Did not Differ in Sentiment from them, as to the mode of Tryal. With respect to Saying That I would rather it Should be a State than not; I Deny it Totally in words I often Said I had much rather it Should be a Seperate State than Joined to New York. I also when Conversing with People who were intimate with Col Allen and others who were in power threw out Sentiments to Show that New Hampshire did not wish to persecute the people of the Grants with that violence, that the People of New York had done. You cannot forget Sir that in Conversing upon the matter The Committe

Instructed me to Conduct myself with Such address, as not to appear violent agt the People of the Grants, that they might when they found themselves unable to obtain their Claim of being an Independt State throw their weight in the Scale in favor of N Hampe & that if it could not be Secured to New Hampshire, to use my Influence for its being a Seperate State, in preference to its being annexed to New York. How Injurious then must it be to receive a Censure for Complying with the Verbal Instructions I received. As To my receiving a Grant of Land from Vermont as a Bribe; I am happy in the reflection that no bribe of any kind Ever was received by me upon any occasions, I never Spoke to a man who belonged to the Grants Except Olcutt & a man that was in Company with him, Since I Left New Hampshire nor did I Ever hear of any grant of Land being made to me by them. I will venture to assert that there is not a man on Earth, villian Enough to say that I had Ever the most Distant hint of Such a Thing. Allen & others when here avoided coming near me, or Speaking to me, & I thinking I had no Business to intrude on their Delicacy or unnecessary Caution never Spoke a word to Either of them. I Shall now follow the Instructions you Inclosed me,⁵ one part of them I See is agreable to the Sentiments of Colo Olcutt which he Borrowed from the Delegate of New York. This has been urged by them with violence namely for Congress to Determine first whether it Shall be an Independent State. I am Surprized that no man in the assembly has Discoverd the Design of this. If this is first Determined, the Decision of the King & Council Takes place immediately & the Grants fall under the Same jurisdiction they were by the Edict of 1764. They will then Delay a final Decision by Every possible artifice till they get the mind of the people reconciled to their Government. Permit me Sir to ask you: if this Question was Determined tomorrow, & Vermont Should Submit; under whose Jurisdiction would they be previous to a final Determination? would they be at Liberty to Chuse for themselves? or come under the Jurisdiction that held them previous to the Decision of the King & Council? or would they be under the Jurisdiction which held them by the Last Judgement given between the Contending States? If the former was to take place the Judgement would have no Effect, Except that of producing Endless Confusion; if the Second it would be to Annul the Judgment of the King & Council without a Tryal & this cannot be Expected; then Sir the Latter must take place of Course, & the wish of New York will be Completed; This they have been Aiming at from the beginning & I am Sorry to find that Colo Olcutt has brought the assembly of New Hampshire to assist them. I never Supposed it could or ought to be made a Serious Question whether this Tract of Country had a right to be a Seperate State. Now Let us Suppose for a moment that Congress were to try this Question & Determine it to be a Seperate State, are not New Hampre or New York or both Striped

of their right by this Decision? Then Sir Examine the Confederation & See whether Congress have any Such power; you will find that they have no authority to Determine or to try but by Commissioner.

The regular mode in my opinion is this; as the Lands are Claimed by two States (to one of which it most assuredly belongs) Congress are to appoint Commissioners & if they Determine it to be within the Limits of Either There never can be a Question whether it is an Independant State.

I only mention those things for the Consideration of the assembly before whom I wish this Letter to be Laid for their information. I shall follow the Instructions I have received, Let the Consequences be as they may.

Sir you cannot Suppose me Chagrind at being recalled from Congress as I Petitioned for it Long Since; but I feel myself hurt at being almost pressed to undertake in behalf of the State, & then to have a Tryal upon me & a Condemnation to take place without my being heard. I have now given the motives of my Conduct to my Constituents; & I am assured they will approve them. I wish the Gentlemen appointed may Serve you with more abilities; but with more Integrity I am Sure they cannot. I Shall not however repine at the Effects of Art or Malice; I am not the first Man who has Suffered for being a faithful Servant to the Publick. I Shall (however Severely used or indelicately Treated) attend to its true Interests with that Disinterested openness, which I have Ever Done. Though my feelings may be wounded, my Integrity cannot be Shaken; & whenever my Country in General or New Hampshire in particular call for the Exercise of those inconsiderable abilities which I possess they Shall be Exercised with uprightness & Integrity. I want no posts. I Solicit no office. I never did & am Convinced I never Shall. When my Country Demand my Services they Shall not be withheld, when they are not wanted I Shall be happy in retirement.

I Inclose you the opinion of Congress respecting Mr. Delatour⁶—& am with much Esteem & respect Your most obedt Servt.

Jno Sullivan

P.S. I will forward the Commissions, as Soon as possible.

Feby 6th 8 oC A.M. The Secratary has this moment Informed me that he recd your Letter & will forward the Commissions by this Days Post.⁷

RC (Nh-Ar: Weare Papers).

¹ Weare's January 20 letter is in Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:266-67.

² That is, Benjamin Bellows and Samuel Livermore. See Sullivan to Weare, January 29, 1781, note.

³ Peter Olcott, who had been lobbying Congress on behalf of the Vermont government. See Sullivan to Weare, September 16, 1780, note 2; and Sullivan, *Letters* (Hammond), 3:185-87.

⁴ For Sullivan's denial of these charges, see Sullivan to John Wendell, January 21, 1781.

⁵ Weare had enclosed a copy of the New Hampshire Assembly's January 13 "instructions" directing the state's delegates to move in Congress for a "speedy decision respecting the claim of this State to the New Hampshire Grants" and to seek a resolution of the question "Whether the Grants shall be allowed to be a separate State." *N.H. State Papers*, 8:884-85.

⁶ Congress had this day resolved that taxes could be levied on the goods of Monsieur de La Tour, a French merchant residing in Portsmouth, N.H., despite his claim to exemption by virtue of the Franco-American treaty of 1778. See *JCC*, 19:116-17; and Sullivan to Weare, December 11 and 25 (1st letter), 1780.

⁷ Weare's January 20 letter to Secretary Charles Thomson requesting additional privateer commissions is in *PCC*, item 64, fols. 170-71. See also Thomson to Thomas Johnson, January 20, 1781, note 3.

Theodorick Bland to Richard Henry Lee

My dear Sr.

Philadelphia Feby. 6th 1780 [1781]

Yours of the 26th I received last night with a Postscript informing me of Arnolds having bent his force towards your River.¹ If his intentions are really what he has declared them, and he executes them it will heighten the Black of his Character and make it approach to Miltons discription of that of Hell a Darkness Visible. But, my dr Sr., are we to be surprized at these things? have we not been told by the British Commrs. as early as ——— '78, that they wd. ravage and lay waste our Towns and Coasts, and have we made any one preparation for defending ourselves? have we good, strong and well Constructed forts at the entrance of all our Rivers, or at least in the most commanding and narrow passes of them, with a good Galley or two mounting 36 pounders to flank them? have we proper boats arranged in case of necessity for throwing men rapidly from one Side of the River to the other? have we waggons, Carts, & draught Cattle enrolld to be calld out in Classes as the militia are, in case of alarm to enable an army to take the field and move with speed and conveniency? have we a regularly organized militia of Infantry, Cavalry & artillery, arranged under experienced Genl. officers with the Superintendence of Arsenals and Magazines erected in convenient Places, sufficient to arm and equip one tenth part of the Militia at a moments warning and march them to a given Point? These preparations I had the honor to propose to the Assembly in May last, through Col. Innis then a Member, they were then thought unnecessary; I have now repeated them to you with the most ardent wish that you wd use your Influence with the next assembly to have them or something effectual adopted. No stone has been left unturned to procure the aid you speak of; and I have some (tho faint) hopes that it is now executing—but I much fear that we must be much more weakened before we have effectual aid from that Quarter.

The Revolt of the Pennsylvania line is at length finally terminated, about 1,200 remain in service but the whole are either discharged or furloughed for a short time, that their tumultuary disposition may subside, and some preventatives be applied to a future measure of that sort.

The Jersey line followed their Example, but were nipd in the Bud of Revolt, a large detachment march against them, and they were instantly brought to unconditional Submission, their leaders hangd on the Spot, by their followers and a thorough contrition and return to duty was the immediate consequence. I hope mutiny has had its course and will now subside—but does not these events strongly impress on the minds of every well wisher to his Country that it is necessary the Citizens of America shd. turn their thoughts from Party animosity and Private gain to replenishing the Public Coffers with the Sinews of War and opposition. I can hardly here help repeating two lines of a severe Satire that has lately appeard agt. our Publick measures.

“An army naked, and unpaid,
The Public lean on foreign Aid.”

No news Authentic from Europe, but that Portugal has acceded to the armd Confederacy; England determind to push the War in America, spight of every other Consideration—its Minister has a Garbled House of Commons completely to his mind. Count Vergennes has had some communications with Mr. A. to whom he made advances, passing over Dr. F—— for an explanation of our Act of 40 for one (18 March last) in behalf as he said of the Subjects of his master trading to America. Mr. A. fully answered (but did not Satisfy) him in a Manly, firm and rational manner—the Arguments of the latter were so close and conclusive in vindication of the Justice and Judicious proceedings of the Councils of America that the former beat the Charrades, and returnd again to the *Usual* Channel of his Communication, not without some marks of displeasure at being so unexpectedly foild. This is all the European news; Congress have come to a resolution to demand of the States, power to lay Duties not exceeding 5 per Ct. on all foreign Imports, to raise a fund for a loan for carrying on the war, the necessity of which is apparent, and that it be general is not less so. Tis for this reason Congress desire to have the power vested in them, to avoid procrastination & partial impositions. Genl. Parsons has lately (25th ult) attacked the Enemies lines at N.Y., Burnt the Huts of Delancys Corps, killd about 100, taken between fifty & Sixty Prisoners, destroyd their Bridges of Communication over Harlaem River, burnt their Magazines of forage, and taken two or three Hundred Cattle and Horses with the loss of about 13 killd and as many Wounded. I have the Honr. to be with my best respects to my Friend Yr Brother

Arthur who with yr Son is I expect by this time with you Yr. most
obedt Sert, Theok. Bland

[P.S.]The above is a fact and may be relied on, as the report has
been made to Congress by the Genl.²

P.S. I have sent a full detail of a Plan of defense on the Principles
mentiond within in a letter to Genl. Nelson³ with a request that you
wd Join yr forces for having it carried into Execution if it meets your
approbation.

RC (ViU: Lee Family Papers).

¹ For Lee's January 26 letter imploring Bland to "press every motive and strain
every nerve, to procure an adequate naval aid" for the capture of the forces under
Gen. Benedict Arnold, see Campbell, *The Bland Papers*, 2:57-58.

² For "the report [concerning Parson's New York attack] . . . made to Congress
by the Genl.," see Samuel Huntington's first letter to Washington, February 9,
1781, note.

³ Not found.

Thomas Burke to William Bingham

Dr Sir

[February 6? 1781]¹

I find upon making My observations that the Election of A Minister
for foreign affairs will probably fall upon Mr. Madison from Virginia.
He is a Young Gentleman of Industry and abilities, but I fear a little
deficient in the Experience Necessary for rendering immediate Service
in that department. However his local Situation makes him more
desireable to the Southern Gentlemen, and every one to whom I have
Spoken of you have expressed themselves handsomly, but objected
to the chusing So many Officers in One State of the Union. This
is the only objection, and in a New Jealous republic it is impossible
to Surmount Such objections. I would not venture to Nominate you
unless upon knowing My Opinion of your Success you may desire
it. For tho it is my own wish that it might fall upon you yet I would
not venture to make the experiment unless I had pretty clear ground
to hope that you might be appointed. If you wish to be Nominated
let me hear from you in the morning.

I am D Sr, your obet Set,

Tho Burke

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection).

¹ This letter was undoubtedly written after Burke had made inquiries concerning
the feasibility of nominating Bingham for the office of secretary for foreign affairs
but before Richard Law was placed in nomination on February 7. See Burke to
Bingham, January 30, 1781. Burke anticipated that further nominations would be
accepted on the 7th and therefore asked for Bingham's response "in the morning."

Bickering in Congress, however, prevented the immediate election of a secretary and Robert R. Livingston was not chosen until August 10.

Joseph Jones to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sr.

Phila. 6th Feby 1781

We yesterday recd. information that General Parsons with a party of our Troops had passed over to Morrisana, attacked the Enemies Post there burnt ab. 40 barracks, a quantity of Forage and brot. off 52 prisoners. The bridge of Boats wch. the Enemy had over Harlem River was also destroyed. A late New York paper mentions the sailing of three Ships of the line of the French Squadron at R. Island and that part of Graves Fleet had put to Sea in pursuit of them. If this intelligence be true it is probable you have already or will soon hear of them in the Chesepeake. Mr. Dunlap informed me this morning he had not heard from Mr. Hays these five weeks and that every thing necessary for prosecuting the business under the latter upon his coming up with some Cash to bear the expence of transporting them to Virga. shod. be forwarded in a week after his arrival and that He was surprised Mr. Hays was not come and that he had been so long withot hearing from him. I mention this to your Excellency that if any thing on the part of the Executive is necessary to be done towards forwarding this matter it may be attended to and the Press got as soon to work as possible.¹ Respectfully I am Yr. Exlys. obed Servt.

Jos. Jones

P.S. Maryland has certainly acceded to the Confederation.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

¹ For the efforts of the Virginia government to establish a press in Richmond, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 3:579-80, 4:396, 431-32; the Virginia Delegates to Jefferson, February 20; and Jones to Virginia Auditors, March 16, 1781.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

Philada. Feb 6. 1781

I have, this Post, recd your Favors of Janry. 9th, 23d, 24th wth. one for Miss Dalley & another for Major Ryan. You mention one for Mr. Lee as accompanying the first Date, but it was not inclosed. He is gone to Virginia. I shall send him a few Lines,¹ and will at the same Time relate this Circumstance. I think, however that he must have recd. the very Letter and written you an Answer. I have an Idea that I forwarded one, in such Season.

I have not enquired minutely into Hopkinson's Case, but can say in general that he suspended the Marshal for malpractices and was in turn accused but acquitted.²

I am rejoiced if any Good is to come out of the Penylvania Revolt. I foresee Evil *in the Army* from it; may that be more than balanced *in the States!*

I wish the Bill you mention may have the Governor's Assent. If the People of our State are left to themselves as to Exchange and are properly taxed we shall be the best off of any of our Neighbours; the old called in, and one 6th of the new Bills also, you will find the whole work perfectionated. Genl. McDougal³ honest McDougal lodges here and prays you to go on with the "blessed Bill." Maryland is doing Something of the Kind, but it is between Force & Freedom. 2/3 of the Depreciation is a Tender, I am told.

As nearly as I can find, the following are yr. Dates
To the Delegates

June 10, 26

Sepr. 1

To J[ames] L[ovell]

July 10

Aug 7, 14

Sepr. 1, 18, 21, 25

Oct 5, 10, 27

Nov 2, 6, 28

Jan 5, 9, 23, 24

L[ovell] to G[erry]

June 17

July 23

Aug. 2, 22

Sep. 5, 9, 12, 26

Oct 3, 17, 24, 31

Nov. 2, 20, 30

Dec. 9, 16, 19, 26

Jan 1 and I find no other in my Almanac

Feb 1 by Mr. Otis, not yet gone⁴

You relate some Peculiarities respecting the Post Office. They would not make a *deep* Impression on me at any *other* Time than this.

Mr. Otis will supply all Deficiencies of Post Letters.

Yrs. affectionately,

J L

RC (MHi: Gerry Collection).

¹ If Lovell wrote a "few Lines" to Arthur Lee, they have not been found.

² In November 1780 Francis Hopkinson, Pennsylvania judge of admiralty, had succeeded in having the Pennsylvania Council relieve Matthew Clarkson, a state marshal, whom he charged with contempt of court and neglect of duty. Hopkinson

was in turn accused by Clarkson of numbers of violations of his admiralty office, and was subsequently impeached, tried, and acquitted by the Pennsylvania Council and Assembly. See George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 258-62.

³ Alexander McDougall, recently arrived delegate from New York, wrote a letter to Col. Richard Varick on February 5, of which only the following brief extract has been found. "There is a report of a Committee before Congress to make up the depreciation to the Civil Staff of the Army but the intention of Congress is so much engrossed by Plans for establishing funds for Public credit that no time is devoted to any other subject. When the report is taken up, I shall endeavor to get the mustering department included." *The Collector* 79 (1966), item J316.

⁴ Of these, the following have been printed in these *Letters*: August 2, September 5, 12, 26, October 3, 24, 31, November 20, 30, December 19, 26, 1780, and February 1, 1781. (Those of September 26 and October 31 are merely brief notes that have been footnoted at Lovell to Gerry, September 12, and John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee, October 31, 1780.) In addition, letters of the following dates have also been printed above, although not listed here by Lovell: June 30, July 24, September 10, 1780, and January 15, 1781.

Alexander McDougall to Hugh Shiell

Thursday morning 7 Feby —81

M. Genl McDougall returns his Compliments to Mr. Shiell and is Sorrey he had not the pleasure of seeing him, when he was pleased to wait on him. The General wishes to meet Mr. Shiell on Monday, rather than Saturday next, at any hour & place (after 5 P.M.) he shall appoint. He will Send for an answer this afternoon.¹

RC (NH: McDougall Papers). In the hand of McDougall, though not signed.

¹ Alexander McDougall and Hugh Shiell were acting as seconds in a dispute between John Sullivan and Thomas Burke, for which see Sullivan to McDougall, January 27, 1781, note 1.

William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, Feby 8th, 1781.

I do myself the pleasure to enclose to your Excellency the particulars of very agreeable intelligence this day rec'd from South Carolina.¹ I think we have reason to expect many good consequences will result from this Success.

Congress have, from a conviction of the impossibility of their doing the whole of the business of this Continent within themselves, agreed to appoint a person at the head of each great department; that is, a Financier at the head of all matters that relate to the Treasury, a Secretary of Foreign Affairs, a Secretary of War, and a Secretary of Marine; these officers are each to take the charge of their respective departments, and to be accountable.² I expect we shall in a few days

proceed to the appointment of men to fill these offices, and I fear we shall not be able to get persons who are properly qualified for the purposes. Those are all very important appointments, and require men of great abilities, great integrity, and great industry, and they should be men who possess the fullest confidence of the people.

Such characters are not very plenty in America, and if we should be able to find any such, perhaps they may be engaged in business that is more lucrative, or they may love their ease and peace of mind too well, to be concerned with any of those appointments, and the risk that a man must run of losing his reputation will be a great obstacle to their accepting any of the offices.

I am in hopes that the cession of the Western Country made by Virginia to the United States, and the Confederation being agreed to by Maryland, will now give us a proper opportunity of fixing with Congress our western bounds agreeable to the sense of our Legislature and their instructions to their delegates last year. As [to] Vermont it remains in the Same Situation the Chancellor left it.

The letter we rec'd lately from the President of Senate and Speaker of the Assembly is with a committee who are endeavoring to devise ways and means for the relief of our State; and I am convinced that Congress, as they are fully sensible of our distressed circumstances will afford any relief in their power.³

Enclosed herewith is the King of Britain's speech to his two houses of parliament.⁴ But as we have it from New York, 'tis probable you will have it before this reaches you, from, Sir, your very humble Servt.
Wm. Floyd.

Tr (MH-H: Sparks Collection).

¹ That is, of the victory of the troops of Gen. Daniel Morgan over those of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton at the Battle of Cowpens in South Carolina on January 17, which had been enclosed in a letter from Gen. Nathanael Greene read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 19:129.

The same account is also undoubtedly the subject of the following brief note written this day by Samuel Adams to "Caleb Davis Esqr, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston." "The inclosed Account published by Authority will give our friends great Pleasure, for which Reason I send it to you." Davis Papers, MH*i*.

² After lengthy debate, Congress had finally, on February 7, approved a plan to create executive departments for finance, war, and marine, each to be headed by a secretary or superintendent. A decision to create a department for foreign affairs had previously been reached on January 10. See *JCC*, 19:43-44, 125-28; and Jennings B. Sanders, *Evolution of Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 98-100, 109-11, 128-29, 135n.27.

³ See James Duane to Evert Bancker and Pierre Van Cortlandt, February 3, 1781.

⁴ Floyd undoubtedly enclosed a copy of the following broadside of the King's speech opening Parliament: *Philadelphia, Wednesday Evening, February 7, 1781. A gentleman Just Arrived from New-York, Has Favored Us With a Paper, Printed There, Containing the Following Intelligence* (Philadelphia: David C. Claypoole, 1781). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, No. 17,176.

Samuel Huntington to the States

Sir, Circular. Philada. February 8. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, two important resolves of Congress of the 3d & 7th Instant

Recommending to the several States, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a Power in Congress to levy, for the Use of the United States, a Duty of five per cent, ad Valorem at the Time & Place of Importation, upon all Goods, Wares & Merchandize of foreign Growth & Manufacture, which may be imported into any of the said States, from any foreign Port, Island or Plantation after the first Day of May 1781, except Arms &c as therein expressed. Also a like Duty on all Prizes & Prize Goods.¹

The Monies arising from the said Duties to be appropriated to the Discharge of the Principal & Interest of the Debts already contracted or which may be contracted on the Faith of the United States for supporting the present War; and the Duties continued until the said Debts are finally discharged.

You will observe from the Tenor of the resolves, that if any one or more of the States immediately pass a Law vesting in Congress the Powers requested, it cannot take Effect or operate to any Purpose until all the States, that are not prevented by the Events of the War, shall have passed similar Laws.² That is, at present, all the States except South Carolina & Georgia, and when all the states have passed the necessary Laws, the Monies arising from the Duties are to be applied to their Benefit, exclusive of the remaining States unless such States shall pass similar Laws the first Session after the Events of the War will admit of the assembling their Legislatures, and Congress have not the least Doubt of their Compliance as soon as Circumstances shall put it in their Power.

The Necessity of the Duties & Imposts being raised under one general & uniform Direction, is an Idea that will readily suggest itself.

I am specially directed to urge the Necessity of immediately calling the Assembly, if not already convened, for the Purpose of vesting Congress with the Powers mentioned in the enclosed resolutions.

Although it may be improbable any Person not particularly acquainted with the daily Business in Congress should have an adequate Conception of the Difficulties & Embarrassments that arise for Want of some certain & permanent Fund to support the national Credit and cement more effectually the common Interest of the United States; yet, I doubt not, the Wisdom, Knowledge & Penetration of the respective Legislatures will view those Embarrassments as very great.

It ought to be remembered that Loans are not to be obtained without some certain & permanent Fund established at least to discharge the

annual Interest punctually. That, in the present State of our Finances the Army must be in a great Measure supported by the States separately, in a precarious Manner & perhaps very unequally: and a Train of Embarrassments, too tedious to need Enumeration, must ensue which have already been felt in a Degree & must greatly increase.

I have only to add, that it will be of Importance to transmit to Congress the Acts that may be passed in Consequence of the enclosed resolves as soon as possible.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See *JCC*, 19:112-13. A motion for recommending "That the states be requested to pass laws enabling Congress to levy an impost" had been offered in Congress as early as March 18, 1780 (*JCC*, 16:261), and since October had been repeatedly mentioned as a possible solution to restoring Continental finances. For a discussion of congressional interest in the issue and the views of a number of delegates on such an augmentation of congressional power, see Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), pp. 475-81. See also John Sullivan's Committee Notes, November 7-23? 1780; and James Madison's Motion, February 3, 1781.

² For this February 7 resolve, designed to avoid the embarrassment of failing to obtain assent for this recommendation because states occupied by the enemy would be unable to convene their legislatures, see *JCC*, 19:124-25.

James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

Feb. 8th, 1781

I have received your Favor of January 18th. and have delivered the one inclosed to Doctor Duffield.

The Speech of the King of Engla'd to his Parliament and the narrative of Brigadier Morgan's Success shall be inclosed for your Information.¹ At the latter you must rejoice with Fear. It was *in itself* the most compleat Action of this War: but I do not force [foresee?] adequate *Consequences*. Our Army there is no match for Cornwallis, and if he pushed suddenly he will ruin Genl. Greene, who from dire necessity has been obliged to conduct himself by Detachment one of which being ruined, the whole will probably be involved in the Fortune: But if he had the 6000 he wants he could not feed them *together*, as to the King of England's Speech it may be construed for War or Peace, for, the only thing that can be gathered from it is that he thinks he had got a Parliament absolutely devoted to his Will. It is that which gives him more *than Ordinary Satisfaction*.

Our Prospects as to Money do not brighten. You may be assured that 115 were yesterday given for 1 and this at a time when every Body complains of the Want of Old Bills.

I think much of this Harm arises from the Tender Acts of this

State. It is supposed that the next Publication of Exchange will be at 100 this is the story propagated as the foundation of demanding upwards of 100 for 1. But, why should I say any Thing on this Head. You well know the People here and their vile Practices.

I am Affectionately Yours,

J. L.

Tr (DLC: Burnett Collection). Copied for Edmund C. Burnett, "from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

¹ See William Floyd to George Clinton, this date, notes 1 and 4.

Jesse Root to Oliver Ellsworth

Dr Sir

Philadelphia Feby 8th 1781

Your favour of 15th ulto. I recd. per last post. I am glad to hear that the Collecting & recruiting business goes on So well in Connecticut. Genl de Portail arrived in Town a day or two ago from the Southward but brings no News more than is in the paper. Virginia has made a Cession of their Claim lying Northwest of the Ohio to the united States with Some Savings. Maryland we are very Credibly Informed has acceded to the Confederation. No official papers have yet come to hand but I beleive the fact is unquestionable. Congress have asked the States to empower them to lay duties & Imposts on imported articles to the amount of five per Cent.¹ The necessity of a revenue—the ease of raising a Small Sum in this way—& the utter impracticability of its being effected in any other manner must Strike every person with Conviction of the propriety of the measure. I dont think the rule proposed for laying on the duties is the best but it is the best Congress would do at present. I think the duties ought to be varied according to the nature & usefulness of the articles. Some articles will bear a very high duty while others will bear but little or none—but it is to be observed, that the duties of 5 per Cent will rise higher upon articles of luxury than others in proportion as they are dearer. Congress have been newly arranging their Executive departments, have established an office of Secretary for foreign affairs—a minister of finance who is to Superintend & order All matters of revenue & Expenditure—a Minister of war—& a minister of marine.²

Genl Leslie has arrived to the Southward with about 2,500 Troops. The new bills get out but Slowly, labours under the disadvantages of State emissions & have various Credits which greatly embarrasses business. I Shall leave Congress about the Middle of April So as to get home by 1st of May at furthest. The President & Genl Woolcot design to go home about the Same time. The legal Exchange here is 75 but the real Exchange is 110—which produces this ill effect that every thing is raised that proportion in hard money. Please to give

FEBRUARY 8, 1781

my Compliments to Mrs Ellsworth, with much Esteem & respect,
your most Obedt., humble Servt., Jesse Root

P.S. I Congratulate you on the Excellent Success of our arms to the Southward under Genl Morgan the particulars of which I enclose with the Kings Speech.

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 623).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to the States, this date.

² See William Floyd to George Clinton, this date, note 2.

Jesse Root to Benjamin Huntington

Dr Sir

Pensylvania Feby 8th 1781

Your favour per Brown I was honoured with—am obliged to you for the Communication.

Virginia has Ceeded to the united States their Claim of territory lying northwest of the river Ohio with Some Savings—& Maryland has acceded to the Confederation, Tho, the official acct., has not yet arrived to Congress. Congress have requested the States to envest Congress with a power of laying Imposts & duties on foreign goods &c imported into the States for raising a revenue—to the amount of five per Ct. The necessity & propriety of this must be obvious on a moments reflection. Congress have newly arranged their Executive departments, have established the following Offices—Superintendent of finance—Secretary for foreign affairs—at war—and Marine. Genl Parsons Successfull Expedition to Morrisania you have doubtless heard. The enclosed paper Contains an account of Some important Successes obtained by Genl Morgan over a detachment of the Enemy under Lt Colo. Tarlton at the Southward. With esteem & respect, your most obedt. humble Servt, Jesse Root

RC (NRom: Bright Collection).

Artemas Ward to Unknown

Sir

Philadelphia Feby. 8. 1781.

Your favor of the twenty fifth came to hand by the last post;¹ I am much obliged to you for your information. I wish I could see the act you mention. You say the principles of it are Just and Righteous and that a few months practice upon it will restore our lost Credit. If it does that, it will be exceedingly fortunate for us that it was passed. Its being opposed by the three mighty men mentioned does not surprise me, for their conduct may be accounted for without any difficulty. Although the conduct of one of them in one certain

instance is not to be accounted for by me by any rule of honesty and Justice I mean the greatest of the three (in the first particular).

I am sorry the resolve ever passed giving the gratuity mentioned. I see no reason for giving gratuities to persons you owe, when the same sum given in part of the debt would have been as well received by the Creditor as if it had been given as a gratuity. In the one case you discharge part of your debt which you owe; in the other you part with your money and get nothing for it. I would wish as their is a call for six months pay of —, that the resolve was reconsidered so far as to appropriate the money raised by it to the purpose of paying the debt due to them.

I am no more fond of calling on the states for specific supplies than you are, I can assure you it took place from necessity & not from choice. If manovre could be hit upon to place our finances upon a sure footing so as that the Public Treasury might be properly supplied with money; we should have one half the expense if we furnished them by Contract. Untill that is done they must be supplied in the way now practised.

I am told this state have been laying up magazines of flower in various parts of the State, and one of the members said in publick assembly the executive Authority had given orders for forwarding the same to the Army. If they do their duty as I hope they will, I trust the Army will not want bread suddenly. But to tell the truth there is want of energy in this Government, and always will unless the form of it is new modeled and the people know more than they do at present.

There has been a mutiny in the Jersey line, since that in the Pennsylvania but it is Quelled. Some of the Massachusetts line were detached for that purpose under General Howe. He hanged two of the leaders & the line returned to their duty and remain quiet.

As to the Presidency you mention It is not a fact and cannot be a fact agreeably to the ordinance establishing the board, a member I am and that is all I have to say on that head.

Sir I sincerely congratulate you on the following agreeable & very Interesting intelligence from the Southward by express this day arived from Major General Green viz on the 17th of January last Brigadier General Morgan with a detachment from the army gained a compleat victory over Liut. Colo Talton at a place called the Cowpens in South Carolina. The action lasted 80 minutes. Our loss was not more than 12 killed & 60 wounded. The Enemy lost 10 Commission officers & upwards of 100 Rank & file killed, 200 wounded, 29 Commission officers and above 500 Privates made Prisoners, two pieces of Artillery, two Standards, 800 Musquets, one traveling forge, 36 Baggage Waggons, 70 negroes & upwards of 100 dragoon horses, with all the musical Instruments belonging to the corps. The Enemy consisted of upwards of a thousand chosen British Troops, Morgan

of 800, 530 of which were Militia. They pursued the Enemy upwards of twenty miles. This Genl. Morgan was a Captain at Roxbury in 1775. Sincerely wish this may prove a prelude to future success in the South, as the Bennington victory did to the North in 1777. *<I should have sent you the whole account at>*

FC (MHi: Ward Papers). In the hand of Artemas Ward.

¹ Not in the Ward Papers.

Thomas Bee to William Jackson

Dr Sir, [February 9, 1781]¹

The Express just setting off, I have only time to inclose you a hand Bill of Intelligence received yesterday,² it needs no Comments but will speak for itself. Pray communicate it to Genl Lincoln with my compliments. Genl Duportail arrived here yesterday—but brings no late Intelligence from our Friends in Carolina but that they are suffering much, & anxious for an Exchange, which I hope will soon take place, I am in haste, Dr. Sir, yours, Tho Bee

RC (OCIWHi: MSS 3305). Endorsed: "From Thomas Bee Esq., Feby 9th 1781."

¹ See endorsement.

² Undoubtedly "Intelligence" of the victory at the Cowpens, S.C.

Thomas Bee to John Laurens

Dear Sir, Philadelphia 9th February 1781

As I thought there was a probability of this reaching you before you Sailed, I could not omit the opportunity of inclosing you the good News we received yesterday from Carolina which I do by sending a hand Bill published by Order of Congress, & also Gov. Rutledge's Account of the same affair,¹ which is somewhat fuller, this is a great Stroke, but still our affairs in that quarter are far from being in so good a Train as I wish—our Troop's are in want of Equipments of different sorts. Leslie has joined Cornwallis with his force about 2000 Men. Virginia by Arnolds Expedition, (who has taken post at Portsmouth by the last accounts) prevented from sending on either Supplies or reinforcements as she ought. North Carolina seemingly asleep—& although our Militia & those of Georgia are daily coming out to Join their Frinds, yet Genl Green if Cornwallis advances must retire before him. Lee's Corps has joined the Southern Army, & when the last Accts. came away—Genl. Green had detached Col Marion, (now a Militia Brigadier) with 300 Infantry & Lee's Horse to attack the British Post at George Town. Col. Pickins who

commanded all the Militia in Morgans affair, had but lately come out & brought 70 men with him, they were part of those who formerly submitted when Williamson made his Terms for that District. Govr. Rutledge sent Pickins a Brigadiers Commission 2 days after the Action. Genl. Duportail arrived here a few days ago, he left Haddrel's Point the begining of January—our Friends in Carolina suffering much, & all that will not agree to take Arms are sending on board Prison Ships. The inclosed is Genl Moultrie's remonstrance on that head,² & you see how they treat him—they are wanton in their Cruelties throughout that Country, and I believe there are very few of the old Inhabitants, that will not be good Whigs, & join heartily in driving them out, whenever they can have an opportunity. The whole Garrison of Chas. Town is about 500 Hessians, and the Militia of the Town who do constant duty—between 300 & 400 Sail of Vessels were in the Harbour collecting every thing of produce to carry off—a fine opportunity for a French Fleet & army to secure the whole, but alas when will they Arrive. I am called on to close this Letter & can only add that I am with great regard D Sir, yours sincerely,

Tho Bee

RC (MiDbEI). Endorsed by Laurens: "From Thos Bee Esquire, Philadelphia Feby. 9. 1781, containing a Letter from Gen. Moultrie to Col. Balfour and the Colonel's Answer."

¹ Gov. John Rutledge had sent an account of the defeat of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's troops at the Cowpens, S.C., in his letter to the South Carolina delegates of January 24, 1781, for which see the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 18 (July 1917): 131-33.

² Gen. William Moultrie's "remonstrance" may have been his letter of October 16, 1780, to Col. Nisbet Balfour, British commandant at Charleston, a copy of which had been read in Congress, together with Balfour's reply, the preceding day. See *JCC*, 19:130. The letter is not in *PCC*. The exchange between Moultrie and Balfour, however, was preceded by Moultrie's September 1 letter demanding the release of prominent South Carolinians held aboard the prison ship *Sandwich* for alleged parole violations and Balfour's rejection of Moultrie's letter for its "exceptionable & unwarrantable" language, for which see the Cornwallis Paper, PRO, P.R.O. 30/11, 64:7-8.

Theodorick Bland to Thomas Jefferson

Sir.

Philadelphia Feby. 9th 1781

The Delegates some time ago transmitted to your Excellency officially an acct. of their application to the Minister of France to interpose his interest with Monsr. de Ternay to induce him to detach a frigate of the Fr. Squadron at Rhode Island, to convey the Arms belonging to our State which came in the Comite, thither in safety.¹ Since which my Personal application, singly, has been unremitted to prevail by the same Channel, to have a line of Battle Ship and

one or two frigates sent into our Bay, but I have redoubled these applications and enforced them with the strongest Arguments I could address ever since the Sailing of Arnold from New York, having been always apprehensive that his design was on our Country. I am now happy to inform your Excellency, that in Consequence of our Joint application the Arms are on board a frigate intended to be sent as above mentiond; and of inclosing you a Copy of a letter from the Count De Rochambeau, which was this day received by Congress,² through Genl. Washington; besides which the Minister of France has communicated to me, and Charged me with Secrecy to every Soul, but your Excellency, with whom he wishes it to remain inviolate untill executed—that Mr. Des Touches the Present Commr in Chief of the French Fleet, has determined to put to Sea (in consequence of the disaster that has happend to the British Fleet, which gives him a Superiority) and either Give Battle to, or Block up the British fleet in Gardner's Bay in either of which cases he is determined to send one or two Ships of the line and two frigates into our Bay, an Express being about to set off tomorrow I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this Intelligence that every preparation might be made by land, as well as that Pilots might be orderd with the Utmost secrecy and dispatch to attend at the Capes for their arrival, should fortune favor us in this Critical and interesting affair as we expect. Your Excellency will be not less aware of the importance of being prepared on land to cooperate with these vessels shd. they arrive, than of sending on board proper pilots and Conductors, with every necessary intelligence of the Situation, state and strength of the Enemy by land and Sea as also the most convenient stations and Harbors for the Ships of our Ally in Case of necessity. I cannot conclude my letter without takeing notice how much we are indebted to his Excellency the Chevalr. de La Lucerne for the frankness with which he has Concurred and the cordiality with which he is enclined to promote every measure that we have Jointly, and I have individually had the honor to propose to him for the good of the common Cause, and for the particular benefit and relief of our State. I have the honor to be with the greatest Sincerity Dr. Sr. Yrs. most affectionately,
Theok. Bland

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:567-68.

¹ For the delegates' application to the chevalier de La Luzerne for transportation by sea of "the Arms belonging to our state which came in the Comite," see Virginia Delegates to Samuel Nightingale, Jr., December 30, 1780, note 2.

² Bland's copy of Rochambeau's letter to Washington of January 29 informing him that two British ships of the line and a frigate had run aground in a storm and that the chevalier Destouches hoped to send a ship of the line and two frigates to cruise the Chesapeake and interrupt British communication between New York and the South is in the Executive Papers, Vi. See also Joseph Jones to Jefferson, February 10; and Virginia Delegates to Jefferson, February 13, 1781.

Abraham Clark to the Board of War

Gentlemen,

Philada. Feby. 9. 1781.

A Number of Applications for a Jail keeper are referred to you to report upon; any report you make need not in my Opinion be confined to the Petitioners in Case you can find a person more Suitable.¹ I am just informed Mr. Byers would gladly Accept that employment and I cannot think of one more fit under every point of view & such an Appointment would extinguish his Contract.²

I am, Gentlemen, your Obdt. Humble Servt.

Abra. Clark

RC (DNA: PCC, item 42).

¹ With this letter, Clark enclosed the petitions of seven candidates seeking appointment as "keeper of the state prison in the room of R[obert] Jewell, deceased," which were referred to the board of war by resolution of Congress this day. *JCC*, 19:133.

In addition to the petitions for these candidates—Benjamin Armitage, Thomas Felten, Joseph Jewell, William Lawrence, Francis Proctor, Joseph Van Dyke, and Elijah Weed—others were submitted to the board during the next few days in behalf of John Harrison, Henry Murfits, George Nagel, John White, and Philip Will. See PCC, item 42, 4:229-77, 5:225-28. The petition of John White was also endorsed by delegates Samuel Huntington and Alexander McDougall; and Rhode Island delegate James Varnum wrote a brief letter of recommendation in behalf of Francis Proctor. *Ibid.*, 4:232-33, 264-67.

Elijah Weed was appointed to the post on February 26. *JCC*, 19:197.

² Although James Byers failed to secure this appointment, Congress did release him from his contract as Continental cannon founder in August, which he had requested in a petition submitted to Congress on January 2. See *JCC*, 19:9, 21:902; and PCC, item 41, 1:323-25.

Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Philadelphia Feby 9th 1781

Your favour of the 18th ult with the inclosures we have been honour'd with, The States quota of Journals for the year 1778 are in Mr Shermans Chest at Mrs. Cheesmans. The vols. for 79 are not out of the press—the monthly Journals for Novr last we inclose to your Excellency—we Shall pay particular attention to the resolve of Assembly respecting the Journals—& forward them by the earliest Opportunity.

Congress have Considered it to be indispensibly necessary, that they have Some established funds on which to depend, and among the ways & Means of effecting this, none appeared more natural, easy & equitable than Imposts & duties on articles imported into the Country—provided they are imposed by one rule & take effect at the Same time in all the States—and the avails are appropriated for

a revenue to the united States. This will prevent any Jealousy from arising between the States—all will be Subjected to the duties alike—none will pay ultimately any more than they Consume of the articles—& each will receive its quota of the avails—wherefore Congress have requested the States to invest them with a power of laying a duty of five per Cent, ad valorem, on all prize goods & other articles imported for the purpose of revenue—to be exercised as Soon as all the States, who are in a Capacity, Shall Consent to the Same.¹ The reasons which Shew the necessity & propriety of this measure are so Obvious, we need not trouble your Excellency with a recapitulation of them for a moments reflection will evince that this is the only way in which the united States Can derive any revenue from Imposts & duties. This will be in Aid of the Taxes & a means of rendering the burden of the war more equal. We Shall be happy to find that the Measure meets with the approbation & ready Concurrence of your Excellency & the General Assembly.

Virginia has Ceded her Claim of territory lying northwest of the river Ohio with Some Savings & Extracts of which have been transmitted to your Excellency.

Maryland has acceded to the Confederation although no official accts. are recd; yet the fact is unquestionable.²

Congress have newly arranged their Executive departments & established the following offices (viz) Minister of Foreign affairs—Superintendan[t] of finance—Secretary of War—& Secretary of Marine.

We Congratulate your Excellency on the brilliant Success of our arms to the Southward under B Genl. Morgan the particulars we in Close in a hand bill and also the king's Speech at the Opening of his New parliament. An Estimate of the national debt & Expenditures is making out & other matters respecting finance & revenue are under the Consideration of Congress both of which as Soon as Completed will be transmitted.

With highest esteem & respect, your Excellency's most Obedt. humble Servants.

Sam. Huntington

Oliver Wolcott

Jesse Root

P. S. It might be Suggested that those States which import most largely will take the benefit of the duties to the prejudice of other States if the above measure Should not be adopted. Pensylvania has already begun to lay duties on Imports—for her own emolument.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Root, and signed by Root, Huntington and Wolcott.

¹ See Samuel Huntington to the States, February 8, 1781.

² The authenticity of this report was made clearer in the following passage from a letter of this date from Board of War commissioner Ezekiel Cornell to Rhode Island governor William Greene.

"Maryland have passed a Law directing their deligates to sign the Confederation. Mr. Carrol one of their deligates came into the City last evening & was so kind as to shew me the Act of assembly. Mr Hanson is expected every Hour when the Confederation will be compleated." Letters to Governors, R-Ar.

William Floyd to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir Philadelphia Feby. 9th. 1781.

I have Just time to Inclose to You the particulars of a very Important action that has happened to the Southward, in which our Troops has gained a Compleat Victory over Superiour Numbers of Chosen best British Troops. Tho good Consequencs [. . .] will Result from this Success, I hope will put our Affairs to the Southward on a Better footing than they have Been. I will be much Obligated to you to forward the Inclosed Letter¹ as Soon as you have an Opportunity.

From Sir your humble Servt. Wm. Floyd

RC (NNPM: Signers of the Declaration).

¹ Not identified.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 9. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, a resolve of Congress of the 5th Instant, directing that the Thanks of Congress be given to Major General Parsons and the Officers & Men under his Command, for the judicious Arrangement, spirited & military Conduct displayed by them in the successful Enterprize against the Enemy's Post at Morrissania.¹

The Transmission of this resolve, through a Multiplicity of Business, hath accidentally been delayed until the Proceedings on this Subject appear in the public Papers, which I must beg your Excellency to excuse.

I have the Honor to be, with very high respect & Esteem, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ JCC, 19:114-15. Congress adopted this resolve upon receipt of Washington's January 31 letter to Congress praising Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons and his men for this recent victory. For this letter and its enclosures (two January 25 letters from

Lt. Col. William Hull to Parsons, and from Parsons to Maj. Gen. William Heath, describing the January 22 attack on Lt. Col. James DeLancey's post three miles within enemy lines in Westchester County, N.Y.), see PCC, item 152, 9:517-18, 525-40, and the following entry, note 1.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 9. 1781

I have been honored with your Excellency's Despatches of the 31st January & 3d Instant.¹

Am much obliged by the Intelligence received from Le Compt de Rochambeau. If the Situation of the British Fleet at Gardners Bay should render it prudent for the French to send some naval Force in to the Chesapeake at this Juncture, I have no Doubt your Excellency will use every proper Endeavour to improve the Opportunity.

From the best Accounts I have received, the Enemy's Naval Force in the Bay consists of one 44, three Frigates & some smaller armed Vessels.

I sincerely congratulate your Excellency on the Success of our Arms under Brigadier Morgan. Enclosed is a short Description of the Country at & near the Scene of Action & Places occupied by our Troops; presented to your Excellency by the Honble William Sharpe Delegate from North Carolina.²

Give me Leave to acknowledge my Obligations for the polite Manner in which you have been pleased to introduce to my Acquaintance the Chevalier de Chatelleux and other french Officers who appear to be accomplished & meritorious Gentlemen.

I have the Honor to be with very great Respect, your Excellencys most obedient humble Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ These letters, read in Congress on February 5 and 9 respectively, are in PCC, item 152, 9:517-18, 541-44, and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:165-66, 178-80. *JCC*, 19:114, 132.

² For the "short Description" of the Carolina backcountry enclosed with this letter, see the following entry.

William Sharpe to George Washington

[February 9, 1781]¹

Winsborough is about 45 miles from Cambden nearly in a line from Cambden to Ninety Six.

The cross roads where Lord Cornwallis detached Lieut. Colo. Tarleton to beat up Morgans quarters is near the head of Fishing Creek & about 20 miles west of Winsborough.

Grindels ford on Packelet where Genl. Morgan had encamped several days is about 30 miles distant, and a little to the west of south from the cross roads and about a mile below the junction of Lawsons fork with the north fork of Packelet.

The Cowpens is about 15 miles from Grindels ford on the high lands between Packelet and Broad river at the sources of Bush Creek, of Packelet & Suck Creek, of Broad river and within 3 miles of the boundary line between No. and So Carolina.

The Cowpens is about 25 miles distant and a little to the east of south from Kings Mountain. Wm. Sharpe

[P.S.] From Genl. Greene's head quarters to the Cowpens, at least 120 miles—So. Wt. direction.

Genl. Morgans Camp near Cain Creek is about eight miles west of Kings Mountain.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ This brief undated description of the Carolina backcountry was enclosed this day in President Huntington's letter to Washington, for which see the preceding entry, note 2. For a continuation of this description and further intelligence about the area, see Sharpe to Washington, February 27, 1781.

Samuel J. Atlee to George Washington

Sir, Philada. Feby. 10th. 1781.

Your Excellency will receive by this Opportunity, an Address from a Number of the Officers in behalf of themselves and others, captured in 76.¹

They are preparing a Remonstrance to the Assembly of this State at their present sitting, but wou'd wish your Excellencys countenance in the Measure.

To you, Sir, as the Father of the Soldiery they look up, not doubting ample Redress from their Country, shou'd their Representation be back'd by your powerfull Influence.

I cant help joining the Petitioners, being in the same Predicament with them, notwithstanding my Claim laid in to the Commissioners at White Plains for settling the Arrangement of the Army.

The early period of the War, and the powerfull Armaments your Excellency had to contend with, must imphattically plead in favour of the Few who then composed your comparatively small Force.

Numbers, less unfortunate, tho' I trust not more deserving, have been provided for, whilst your unfortunate Sons, after nobly contending in the first Stage of the War, and suffering a long and

rigorous Captivity, are denied the Rewards they apprehended they were justly intitled to.

The Arrangment of the Line being now finished and no Prospect of a provision therein, they mean to pray the Allowance of retiring Officers &ca, and have therefore requested me to back their address to your Excellency, fearing without your Paternal Aid, their Application will not meet with the desired Success.²

I have therefore taken the Liberty to introduce to your Excellency's Notice the Addressors, amongst whom I beg your Excellency to consider, Your Most Obedient and very Hble Servt.,

Sam. J. Atlee

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ This "Address," dated February 6 and bearing the signatures of Cpts. Daniel Brodhead, Jr., Robert Caldwell, John Helm, John Laurence, John Morgan, John Richardson, Daniel Topham, Bernard Ward, and Matthias Wiederman, all former prisoners of war and now supernumerary officers of the Pennsylvania line, is in the Washington Papers, DLC. The petitioners, who along with Atlee had been exchanged in 1778, believed that Congress' January 1 resolve on the status of former prisoners discriminated against them in favor of officers exchanged since "the new arrangement of the army [*i.e.*, October 3, 1780]," inasmuch as the latter were now "entitled to the same Rank, Pay and Emoluments as if they had been in actual service, thereby making an invidious distinction between those officers exchanged previous to the last arrangement & those since exchanged." See *JCC*, 18:893-97, 19:1.

² For Washington's February 28 reply to Atlee declining to become involved in their petition to the Pennsylvania Assembly, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:317-18.

Samuel Johnston to James Iredell

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia, February 10th, 1781.

As nothing new has happened since I wrote to my brother, which letter I desired him to communicate to you,¹ and having wrote by this conveyance to R. Smith, I should not now have wrote to you, but having understood that my friends were alarmed on account of my health, this will enable you to assure them that I am now quite well, and attend Congress every day when the weather is good.

I congratulate you on Gen. Morgan's success; it is considered by the Military gentlemen here, as one of the most gallant and well conducted actions of this war. I have sent Willie Jones the last papers, which I have desired him to forward to Mr. Smith. I would have sent duplicates, but it would have made my packet too large. Present my love to my sisters, Nelly, and the children. I congratulate my sister Blair on Billy's return. I hope the sea agrees with him. I wrote some time ago to Mrs. Dawson, and likewise to Mr. Pollock. I hope they received my letters—be pleased to present my proper respect

to them. I long very much to be at home again. I have no relish for politics. Though the weather has been so remarkably temperate, that there has been no appearance of ice in the river, yet it has been very wet and disagreeable. I hope you will by some means let me hear from you; present my compliments to Mr. Barker in particular, and all my other friends, and believe me with every sentiment of affection and esteem, Dear sir, yours, Sam. Johnston.

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell*, 1:486.

¹ Johnston's letter to his brother, John, has not been found.

Joseph Jones to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sr.

Phila. 10th. February 1781

Since my Letter by the Post¹ we are informed more particularly of the intelligence published by Rivington respecting the sailing of the French Ships from R. Island and the Detachment of Graves's Fleet in search of them. The fact was three or four Frigates left Newport before the Storm of the 22d ult. and two 74's and a Frigate were dispatched from the British Fleet to intercept them on their return. These as well as the French Frigates were exposed to the Storm and our accounts now are that the two British Ships of the line have suffered, one stranded on Montauk point, the other returned to Gardners Bay dismasted, the Frigate also ret'd. with little injury. The French Frigates we are informed are safe at Newport. It is probable this disaster if the fact is as represented (and there is little room for doubt) will give our ally the command of the water and *De touche* in that Case will make use of the advantage. Whether *We* shall receive any assistance in consequence of this Event will be soon manifested. I could not avoid giving *you* this information that measures may be concerted on *our* part for cooperation if an opportunity shall be offered *us*. I very sincerely rejoice with you on the important success of Genl. Morgan, respectfully I am, Yr Excels. obed Servt.

Jos. Jones

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

¹ That is, Jones to Jefferson, February 6, 1781.

John Mathews to Nathanael Greene

Dear sir,

Philadelphia Feby. 10th. 1781.

I received your favor of the 23d ulto. by Majr. Giles,¹ for which I acknowledge myself very much obliged to you. The intelligence it contained, was a most healing cordial to our drooping spirits. It was

doubly welcome, as it was so very unexpected. It seems to have had a very sensible effect on *some folks*, for as this is a convincing proof that something is to be done, in that department, which for some time past had appeared to be almost annihilated, & forgot. They seem at present to be well disposed to give it every possible aid, in order to restore it to re-existence, & vigour; and give it a fair chance to distinguish itself. I can assure you, that, could we command the means, to put you in the most respectable situation you could desire, it would be done. But alas! the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. Indeed the distresses of *every department* is at present past discription. A want of money totally unhinges every thing.

In the committee's letter² you will see what is sent, & sending forward, And this day Congress passed an order for £10,000 specie, for a variety of necessaries for your department,³ which I can assure you is stretching a point, the state of our coffers considered.

Congress have lately passed an act for establishing a permanent revenue, to be at their entire command which if agreed to by the states, will certainly give us a tolerable credit, however, this will be a work of time. The act is transmitted of Govr. Rutledge,⁴ & as he is with you, I thought it unnecessary to send it, as he will of course communicate it to you.

I am very happy to find, you are not disappointed in the character I gave you of Mr. Rutledge, and I am convinced, the more you know of him, the greater reasons you will have, for admiring his many amiable qualities, & extensive abilities. Both his heart, & his head are sound, & you will find him one of those characters, who improve on acquaintance.

The Minister communi[c]ated to me this day *in confidence*, & in the same manner I convey it to you, that a part of the french fleet will soon make their appearance in your quarter. They will first make an attempt on Gardners bay, if nothing is to be done there, the next object will be, the fleet in Virginia & then to make a feint on Chs. Town. I give you the hint you know how to improve it. That is to say, if you shd. be in capacity to take advantage of it. At any rate it will most probably draw of a part of Cornwallis force towards C.T—which will give you a breathing spel.

Rest assured My Dear sir, that nothing, which can be done for your support, will be neglected.

I am sensible that your time must be very much occupied, by the important caus which have devolved on you; but whenever a leisure moment offers, believe me, none of your friends will receive most satisfaction in hearing of your welfare, than, yr. most affect. & Obed. Hmbe. servt,

Jno. Mathews

January 9, 23, and 24, with their numerous enclosures relating to the victory at the Cowpens, S.C., plus a letter from Gen. Daniel Morgan of January 20. They were read February 8 and referred to a committee of three, chaired by Thomas Burke, which received additional instructions the following day to consider "the state and condition of the southern army and ways and means of supplying their wants." The committee reported on March 8 and the following day Congress commended Morgan and his officers and his troops for their conduct the preceding January 17, but took no action in regard to supplying the southern army. That responsibility had been assumed by a committee appointed February 13 that reported on the 20th. See *JCC*, 19:129-30, 133, 142, 176-79, 245, 246-48; *PCC*, item 155, 1:505-16, 533-48; and Samuel Huntington to Greene, February 20, note 1, and March 10, 1781.

² Mathews is apparently referring to a letter, which has not been found, sent by the committee appointed to correspond with the commander of the southern department, of which he was a member.

³ See *JCC*, 19:137.

⁴ See Samuel Huntington to the States, February 8, 1781.

James M. Varnum to Catharine Greene

Madam,¹

Philadelphia 10th February 1781.

Your very polite Letter, recognizing my Billet from E Greenwich, I had the Honor of receiving some days since, For which you will be pleased to accept my sincerest Acknowledgements. Inclosed, I have the Pleasure of transmitting the real Account of a most interesting & important Action in South Carolina. An Event so splendid, I think has not its Parellall in the Annals of the present War. While we feel our Hearts warmed with the most lively Emotions at the Success of a Measure, dictated by an Husband and a Friend, (for this Action was the necessary Consequence of a Predisposition in the Cantonments) we shall not, I trust, loose Sight of those Ills of Fortune, that ever attend the brightest Prospects, to snatch an illfated Hour, into wch. they may pour the Cup of Inquietude. I have just received a Letter from the General,² and am perfectly acquainted with his Situation. My unremitted Attention shall not be wanting to place him upon a more equal Footing with Lord Cornwallis; But from our Baseless Circumstance, I am morally certain he must retire before the Enemy for a Time.

Expresses frequently go from hence to Genl. Greene's Head Quarters. Any Letters you may be pleased to honor me with the Care of, shall be most religiously sent forward.

This City abounds with agreeable Circles, of wch. the fair Sex do honor to h[uman] Nature. I find myself respected with every kind of polite and friendly Attention, & feel all the Felicity than can be enjoyed seperate from domestic Endearments.

I have the Honor of being, Madam, with the greatest Esteem, your most obedient devoted & humble Servt. J M Varnum

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers, photostat).

¹ Catharine Littlefield Greene (1755–1814), wife of Gen. Nathanael Greene and niece of Rhode Island governor William Greene, for whom see John F. and Janet A. Stegeman, *Caty. A Biography of Catharine Littlefield Greene* (Providence: Rhode Island Bicentennial Foundation, 1977).

² That is, Nathanael Greene.

Samuel J. Atlee to Joseph Reed

Dr Sir,

Philada. Feby. 11th. 1781.

Every exersion in my Power has been employed in the important office Council was pleased to intrust with me,¹ I flatter myself with full Satisfaction to that Honble Board. It will give me infinite pleasure to find any Gentlemen Council shall please to appoint as my Successor in office, shall perform the Duties with greatest Satisfaction to the Publick and to the Board for whence he derives his Powers.

Since receiving your Excellency's Letter I have been looking round for a person to execute that important office. I fear for it's performance.

Col. Hubly I believe to be a Worthy Man and good Soldier. I have not sufficient Knowledge of him to judge whether he will be enable to rule so great and so divided a people as the County of Lancaster—he ought to be a person will known in the County, and of sufficient Interest there.²

Mr Cunningham I presume is better acquainted with him than I am.

I am Sir with great regard, Your very Hble Servt.

Sam J Atlee³

RC (InU-Li: Lafayette Collection).

¹ That is, as the Lieutenant of Lancaster County, Pa.

² For the Pennsylvania Council's appointment on February 14 of Col. Adam Hubley "to be Lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, in the stead of Colonel Samuel J. Atlee," See *Pa. Council Minutes*, 12:628.

³ Atlee also sent Reed the following letter on behalf of Lt. John H. Finley of the 5th Pennsylvania Regiment the following day.

"I cannot possibly avoid interesting myself in Favour of a poor unfortunate person the son of a late worthy man—the late President Finley of New Jersey.

"The young man was a Lieut in Col. McGaws Regt. and taken prisoner at Fort Washington, about 2 months since he was exchanged, he is now in a pitious situation having neither Friends, Cloathing or Cash.

"I hardly knew him this morning when he waited upon me, I must therefore in behalf this distressed officer beg of Council to inquire into his situation and provide him some immediate relief." Provincial Delegates Collection, PHi.

For the exchange of Finley in October 1780 and the concern of General Washington that he and a number of fellow prisoners be provided for until able to return home, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:291–92.

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia February 11. 1781

I have received your several Despatches accompanying your Letters of the 28th of December, 9, 23 & 24 of January.¹

The Action at the Cowpens was conducted in such a Manner as does the highest Honor to Genl Morgan and the brave Officers & Soldiers under his Command.

The Standards taken from the Enemy will be very acceptable to Congress.

Every Exertion will be made to furnish the southern Army with the Necessaries they are so much in Want of.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient Servant,
Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Greene Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ *JCC*, 19:70, 129. These four letters, which were read in Congress on January 18 and February 8, are in PCC, item 155, 1:497-536.

Committee of Congress to Charles Pettit

Sir, Philad. 12 Feby 1781.

Congress have appointed a Committee to State the publick debts. Those which are due in your Department and especially on Certificates for Supplies ought to be provided for, as the last are a great Obstruction in collecting the Taxes.

I am directed to apply to you for a general Estimate founded on the best Materials & Information in your power, distinguishing the debts due on Certificates & to request it may be furnished as soon as possible. If you should be unable to comply you will be pleased to assign the Reasons for the Satisfaction of Congress.¹

I am Sir, Your most Obedt Servt,

Jas. Duane, for the Committee

RC (NN: Emmet Collection). Written and signed by James Duane. Addressed: "Col. Pettit A.Q.M.G."

¹ This committee, consisting of Duane, William Sharpe, and Oliver Wolcott, had been appointed on February 7. The committee's report (in Duane's hand), with extensive supporting documentation, was submitted to Congress on February 19 and "referred to the Committee of the Whole." See *JCC*, 19:125, 160-73; and PCC, item 34, fols. 19-257. Pettit's February 17 response, which was incorporated into the report, and an enclosed "Estimate of the debts supposed to be due from the Quarter Master's department contracted under Major General Green, Quarter Master General," are in PCC, item 34, fols. 201-6.

John Mathews to William Livingston

Sir,

Philadelphia Feby. 12. 1781

I received your favor of the 2d Inst. but for want of an opportunity, have been prevented answering it sooner. I shall embrace the first good conveyance for your letter to Mr. Dumas. None at present offers.

The inclosed papers will give you an acct. of the action of the 17th ulto. in So. Carolina. I think it does honor to the American army. Out of our 800 men, 537 of them were militia, which renders the victory still more extraordinary, & important. The enemys force were 280 cavalry, & 870 infantry, all pick'd men. Notwithstanding this piece of good fortune, our army there is in a most deplorable condition, wanting almost every thing & we have it not in our power to furnish them with scarcely anything. The states must soon do great things for us, or the insuing campaign will pass away, as did the last.

The President of Congress will by this oppority convey to you the act of Congress mentioned in my last (since when they have reconsidered and rejected the duty on tonnage). If it is agreed to by the States a considerable time must elapse before it can be productive. Something must in the mean time be done to relief our immediate & pressing necessities. Further means are now under consideration for this purpose. The two principal ones, are, a certain specific tax, to be appropriated only to the payment of the interest of a certain sum to be borrowed. The other is, to ask for a monthly tax, to support the expences of the campaign Vizt. 2,000,000 of specie dollars per month. We are very much divided upon the two plans, therefore it is impossible to say which will be agreed to.

The disaster of the British, & the movement of the French fleet in consequence thereof, you must be earlier informed of than we are here, therefore it is unnecessary to say any thing further on that subject.

I recollect nothing else worthy yr. Excellencys notice, in the news way.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most sincere Esteem & regard, Yr. Excys. most Obedt. servt. Jno. Mathews

P.S. I should be much obliged to you Sir, to forward the inclosed. It contains the news of the action of the 17 Ulto. which I thought would be acceptable.

[February] 14. Congress yesterday passed a resolve calling on the states for 3,000,000 specie dollars quarterly, to commence the first of June.¹ I missed the oppty by the express yesterday, therefore am obliged to send this by the post to day.

RC (NN: William Livingston Papers).

¹ Perhaps Mathews is referring to a motion adopted "yesterday" in committee of the whole, which he was chairing at this time. According to the order of the day on February 12, Congress was to continue discussion of the reports on finance in committee of the whole on the 13th, but there is no record in the journals of their having done so or of adopting a \$3,000,000 specie quarterly requisition. See *JCC*, 19:141-45.

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir,

Philadelphia Feby. 13th. 1781

I did myself the honor yesterday to address a few lines to you by M. de Marbois, & the Counts Cha[r]lus & Dillon.¹ A Vessel from Cadiz arrivd here the day before yesterday. The president receivd by this opportunity letters from Mr. Carmichael, the last dated the 24th of Decr.², none from Mr. Jay. The Combind fleets had seperated, the French under the Command of D'Estaing suppos'd to have saild for Brest, but no intelligence had been receivd of his arrival there, tho' there had been full time to have heard it. The Empress Queen dead, the Dutch had acceded to the arm'd neutrality. The difficulty about the Navigation of the Mississippi remaind; It will I believe be remov'd on our part in a few days. Preparations were making in England to send more troops, suppos'd to be destin'd to fix a Post at Portsmouth, and a post for Charles Town. He hopes our Ally will frustrate their designs. I will endeavour to be more particular on this head by Col. Forrest who will leave us in a day or two.³ Intellience has been receiv'd, that two Ships of the line, & a frigate put out from Gardiners Bay to intercept two French Frigates from Boston to Newport; they were in the Storm about the 20th Ultio. The French frigates had got into Newport with little damage, one of the British Ships returnd dismasted, & very Considerably damagd, the other beleivd to be cast away on Montuck point. The frigate returnd.

The mutiny which arose in part of the Jersey line has been properly setteld—two of them executed, which I hope will put a Stop to that dangerous Spirit.

Please to present my Comps. to yr Lady & to the Gentlemen of the Council. I will endeavour to comply with my promise to Messrs Brice, Stone, & Wright by this Post, by next, certainly.⁴ I am, with great esteem, Your Excellencys Mo Ob Servt,

Danl. Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ On February 12 Carroll had prepared brief letters of introduction to Lee for the marquis de Barbé Marbois and the comte de Dillon, which are in the Lee, Horsey and Carroll Papers deposit, MdHi. No letter has been found, however, introducing the comte de Charlus.

² William Carmichael's letters to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of November 28 and December 19 (not December 24), 1780, were read in Congress on February 12 and debated on February 14. *JCC*, 19:140, 146.

³ Lt. Col. Uriah Forrest undoubtedly carried Carroll's February 17 letter to Lee, which continues the information contained in this letter.

⁴ Probably councillors James Brice, John Hoskins Stone, and Samuel Turbutt Wright. See Carroll to Lee, February 20, 1781, note 2.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear sir

[February 13, 1781]

The late arrival of the Post gives me opportunity only to acknowledge the Receipt of your favors of Jan 26 & Feb 1, and to make a *few* remarks. I have forwarded the Letter to Doctr. Lee under cover to his Brother Richd.¹ at whose Seat at Chantilly the Doctr arrived the day of the date of yr. last to me. I will deliver the one to Ryan. I see you are right as to a Surplus 100 Dollrs., my memory did not accord with yr. memorandum which expresses 570 I remitted 690.

The St. Vincents acct.² is highly probable and the Report of D'Estaings Course agrees with some hints from Carmichael.

The Cherokees broke out on the Frontiers of the southern States. Col. Campbel of the Augusta Country has given them a dire Blow, cutt off many, taken some prisoners and burnt 13 of their Towns.

"The Resolve of Novr. is still adhered to." All Versatility in Appearance so far as the Journals of Congress will be avoided if we should be permitted to *suppress altogether* what we have hitherto done out of Regard to the Interest of the State, what Congress will think is an Obligation for 3 to be *present* to vote. I assure you that the State will unavoidably suffer if there is not one at least more at Philada. than are essential for a Voice. There are great Questions now before Congress and the Confederation being compleat there will be continually such for a Time; and I have lately perceived what I judge an Aim to take notice of our mode of voting, The Resolve of Novr. being known to some members; but I had rather be censured by the State for suppressing it than that the State should lose its vote when I have the Cholic or Mr Adams or Mr Ward some other Disorder.

Your affectly,

J L

RC (NN: Gerry-Townsend papers). Endorsed by Elbridge Gerry: "Phil. Lettr. Hon. Mr. Lovell, Feby [13?] and Mar. 1. 1781."

¹ Not found.

² The "St. Vincents acct." was undoubtedly a reference to a report of the French repulse of a British attack on St. Vincent on December 15, 1780. William M. James, *The British Navy in Adversity* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1926), p. 253.

James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Feby. [13]¹ 1781

I have your favor the 5th instant by the post.² Col. Harrison arrived here yesterday,³ and as he mentions no circumstance which indicated an intended departure of the Enemy, I am afraid your intelligence on that subject was not well founded. Immediately on the receipt of your former letter relating to an exchange of C. Taylor⁴ I applied to the Admiralty department, and if such a step can be brought about with propriety, I hope he will be gratified, but considering the tenor of their treatment of naval prisoners, and the resolutions with which it has inspired Congress, I do not think it probable that exchanges will go on easily, and if this were less the case, a mere passenger under the indulgence too of a parole, can scarcely hope to be preferred to such as are suffering the utmost hardships and were made prisoners in public service.

A vessel arrived here a few days ago from Cadiz which brings letters of as late date as the last of Decr. Those that are official tell us that England is making the most strenuous exertions for the current year, & that she is likely to be but too successful in the great article of money. The Parliament have voted 92000 seamen, and a considerable land reinforcement for their Southern Army in America is also sd. to be in preparation. Private letters by the same conveyance mention that the blockage of Gibraltar is going on with alacrity, and that the garrison is in such distress as flatters the hope of a speedy capitulation.

If Mr. Pendleton your nephew⁵ is still with you be pleased to return him my compliments. With great respect I am, Dr Sr, Yr. Obt. servant,

J. Madison Junr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Endorsed by Pendleton: "James Maddison Esq Feb. 13. 1781." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:311.

¹ See Pendleton's endorsement; and his March 5 reply acknowledging Madison's letter of "the 13th past," *ibid.*, 3:5.

² See *ibid.*, 2:306-7.

³ For Benjamin Harrison's mission to Philadelphia, see Madison to Joseph Jones, December 12, 1780, note 3. For Harrison's reports to Gov. Jefferson of February 12 and 19, 1781, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:589-90, 655-57.

⁴ For the exchange of Craddock Taylor, see Madison to Pendleton, December 26, 1780, note 2.

⁵ That is, Henry Pendleton.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir

Philada. Feby. 13th. 1781

By the Speaker Harrison who arrived here the day before yesterday we were honored with your Excellency's favor of the 26th. Ult^o.¹

We shall communicate your answer to the Baron d'Arendt, and if his claim against the State be supported by proper evidence shall take the best steps in our power to discharge it.²

A Vessel just arrived from Cadiz has brought Congress two letters from Mr. Carmichael, from one of which dated Madrid Novr, 28th. 1780, the following is extracted: "From the best information I have been able to collect I am sorry to tell you, that the nation (British) will be able to borrow the sum demanded for the expenditures of 1781, which with the usual vote of credit at the end of the session will amount to 16 Millions Sterling at least. The scheme of the Ministry to effect this is not yet public but I am told it will be on Similar conditions to that of the present year. 92,000 men are voted for the marine, and I have reason to think a considerable reinforcement will be sent early to the Southward and that agreeable to a proposition of Sr. J. Amherst the Enemy means to occupy and fortify strongly a post near the Mouth of Chesapeak from which, with a strong Garrison & naval force, they hope to interrupt the navigation of the bay and by frequent incursions prevent the States of Maryland & Virginia from sending supplies of men &c &c. to the Carolinas. Among the troops mentioned to be embarked there are three regiments of Light Dragoons. Your servants nearer G. B. will however give you more accurate information. I am persuaded that our Ally will take early measures for defeating these designs. This latter information is derived indirectly from conversations with men in a situation to be well informed."³ Private letters by the same conveyance add that the blockade of Gibraltar was continued with great vigor, and that the Garrison began to be severely distressed.

We have the honor to be with great respect & esteem, Yr. Excellency
obd. & hume Servants,

Jos. Jones

James Madison Junr.

Theok. Bland, Jr.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Madison and signed by Madison, Bland, and Jones. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:308-9.

¹ For Jefferson's letter, which he concluded with a request for "Letters of Marque . . . by the first Opportunity," see *ibid.*, pp. 2:298-99; or Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:456-57. This request was actually referred to Secretary Charles Thomson, who accordingly sent Jefferson the following response on February 19. "Enclosed you will receive twenty four blank Commissions with blank bonds and Instructions for private Armed vessels; You will please to give orders that the bonds when Executed be returned into this Office. When more are wanted they shall on the first notice be sent by, Sir, Your obdtd. humble servt. Cha Thomson secy." Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

² For the "claim" of baron d'Arendt, see Virginia Delegates to Jefferson, January 1, 1781, note 3.

³ Not identified.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sr. Philadelphia Feby. 13 1781

We are Just informd from Genl. Varnum a Member now in Congress from Rhode Island that he has receivd Certain Intelligence that the Culloden of 74 Guns is drove on Shore and all her Crew except 17 men Perishd—the London of 90 Guns is driven out to Sea dismasted and two other 64 Gun Men of War Were dismasted entirely and all their Guns thrown over board in the late Storm. Since writing the above We have procured the acct. from Genl. Varnum in his own hand, which We have the Honor to Enclose.¹ It is moreover added that on hearing the above the Enemy at N. York sent orders to Arnold to retreat from Virginia.² Heavenly Storm. We are Yr. Exclys Most obedt. Serts,

Jos. Jones

Theok. Bland

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland and Jones. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:310.

¹ Not found.

² The rumor of orders for Arnold's withdrawal from Virginia proved false.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 14. 1781

By Letters just come to hand from Mr. Carmichael at Madrid, I am informed that the Son of Count de Rochambeau is safe arrived in France.¹

Our last Reports from Virginia say that the British were fortifying at Portsmouth, that their Operations indicated a design to take Post there.

How far Credit ought to be given to the Account contained in the Paper enclosed, that all the Shiping & Troops in the Chesapeake are ordered to leave the Bay & repair to New York, I am unable to determine; but ardently wish that Monsr des Touches might be in Circumstances to make them a Visit before they get out of the Bay.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ William Carmichael had reported this information in his December 19 letter to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, read in Congress on February 12, for which see Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee, February 13, note 2.

Thomas Burke to Hugh Shiell

Dr Sir

[February 15? 1781]¹

I have waited long with patience, but not without uneasiness for the result of the Conference which General Sullivan proposed upon your Communicating to him the Message of which you were so obliging as to take charge. I consented to that proposition, not because I approved it, but because I would not be thought to have a disposition averse to the more amicable mode of deciding our affair. I felt, indeed, the indelicacy of permitting any person to Judge in an affair of honor, but as the proposition came from the party called on, and the deference was only to be to the Seconds, and as I have the highest confidence in your Judgement, and Sense of honor, I got over my reluctance. I expected that the discussion would be liberal, candid and ingenuous, and apprehended nothing like the refinements and Subtleties which you tell me are Insisted on. The Questions Seem to me clear and Simple and the State of the matter Short.

An Officer writes a letter to Congress² reflecting very Injuringly on a member of that assembly who had represented his conduct in the action of Brandywine. Only one Member had made that representation and that member must have been known to the whole assembly, but the Officer might not have known him tho it was highly probable that whoever informed him of the representation that was made, informed him of the Member who made it. The Member in order to put the matter out of doubt wrote to the officer, fully Stating the representations he had given, the opinions he declared and Still entertained, and the motives for both, which could only be a Sense of duty, and not personal ill will, the officer being personally a Stranger to the member. The member, having thus fully informed the officer, requires him to make proper Satisfaction for the Insult offered in the letter to Congress, if it was intended for him who now wrote to the Officer, and assured him that if the Satisfaction was refused a personal Interview must be the Consequence. The officer refused giving the Satisfaction required, in a letter which refers the member to Certificates relative to the officers general Conduct and personal courage and Insinuating, very Indelicately, that the member was prejudiced. The member answered this letter, and having animadverted on the Certificates and other matters, finally Considers the refusal of the Satisfaction required as a declaration of the choice of the other alternative. The officer replied in Terms highly offensive, being no less than that the Member was neither a man of Truth nor a Gentleman. Accidents for along time prevented their meeting, and when they came in reach of each other the member renewed his application, and required the matter to be closed by one Alternative or the other. The officer proposed that the Seconds should decide

what was to be done, to which the member agreed. In short The officer Insulted the member by a public address to the first Assembly in America, and the Insult must remain on their records. The member gave no provocation except in discharging what he deemed his duty, and free from all personal ill will or regard. The member very explicitly declares his Conduct, his opinions and his motives and requires Satisfaction for the affront, the officer afterwards writes several very offensive and injurious letters to member —— and it Seems, it is contended, *that the member's having declared that he still held the Opinions he gave in Congress* is Sufficient to Justify an affront that was given long before such declaration, and also all the Subsequent injurious language of the officer! This appears to be very absurd, and, indeed, I plainly perceive from it, that he who Contends for it, thinks that the member ought not to have felt at all for the affront given by the officer, tho in a letter addressed to the first assembly in America and to be on their records but ought in the most mild and Supplicating language to have requested an Explanation, and that afterwards the officer was not bound to any Such delicacy in expostulating with the member but was at liberty to use the most Reprochful Terms in the language, and it is highly unreasonable in the Member to be offended—in a word it amounts to this, Officers are under No Necessity to observe any delicacy with members of Congress or private Gentlemen and yet members of Congress and private Gentlemen must be extremely delicate and Circumspect even when they demand Satisfaction for injuries.

I assure you Sir I consider this kind of refinement and Subtlety as trifling with the feelings of a man of honor and I feel it as little less than a Second Insult, and I am extremely unwilling to admit of any farther Negotiation. However as I do not wish to be thought desirous of coming to too Serious a decision, unnecessarily, I will agree that one Gentleman be consulted by the Seconds if they cannot themselves agree, and I have no objection to Mr Wilson.³ But I must positively forbid the Communication of it to more than one, and even to that one it must be under the most Sacred injunctions of Secrecy.

To prevent also all pretence for refinements in future I will here State the Questions which alone I will agree to Submit.

Was my Conduct as a member of Congress Sufficient provocation for the affront given by General Sullivan in his letter to Congress?

As this affront was given previous to any letter of mine to General Sullivan I must insist that nothing in my letter can or shall be admitted to extenuate it, except only the representations which it relates to have been made in Congress, this being the Testimony of that Conduct given explicitly by myself.

Were any Asperities in my letters Sufficient to Justify the reproachful language in General Sullivan's answers?

To this Surely Should be referred what ever may be deemed

offensive in my letters, and not to the Letter to Congress which contained an affront to A member who tho not named was, necessarily, known to the whole assembly and which existed long before I wrote any letter.

If the Submission is refused on these Terms, I must entreat you to proceed in the business on the Original grounds. I am Dr Sr. yours.

Tho Burke

FC (NcU: Burke Papers). In the hand of Thomas Burke.

¹ While undated, this letter to Dr. Shiell, who had agreed to act as Burke's second in an affaire d'honneur with John Sullivan, was undoubtedly written sometime after the initial "conference which General Sullivan proposed" between Shiell and Sullivan's second, Alexander McDougall, for which see Sullivan to McDougall, January 27, note 1; and McDougall to Shiell, February 7 and 19, 1781.

² That is, Sullivan's letter to John Hancock of September 27, 1777, for which see these *Letters*, 8:110n.1.

³ Undoubtedly former congressman James Wilson.

Samuel Johnston to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, 15th February, 1781.

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 5th inst., last night. I wrote a line by an express to the Governor, which I hope you will receive. I have very little hope that this will reach you. By a vessel, which arrived last Sunday from Cadiz, we have letters as late as the 19th December. The fleets at that time, as well of France and Spain as Great Britain, were in port; the Dutch had acceded to the armed Neutrality, notwithstanding which, the British continued to take their ships, and it was thought would make some attempts on their settlements in the East Indies. Mr. Cumberland is still permitted to continue at the Court of Madrid—a *very suspicious circumstance*. There is *great reason* to apprehend that the British mean to fortify and support their station at Portsmouth, or some other in that neighborhood, in order to shut up the navigation of the bay, and by making frequent incursions into the country, prevent the State of Virginia from sending aid to the Carolinas. Congress is every day engaged in a variety of matters, but under our present situation, it is probably best to say little as to the particulars. I hope to have some opportunity before long by which I may be more communicative. I have wrote a great number of letters to you and my other friends, particularly C. Johnson and R. Smith, which I fear have miscarried—having lately received a letter from Mr. Smith from Halifax, in which he complains of my not having wrote. I am now quite recovered, except a little remnant of my cold, which is attended with no other inconvenience, but that it makes me cautious of exposing myself. I am very happy to hear that my sister Iredell has quite recovered

her health. I was long under very serious apprehensions for her safety; I shall be very happy if we should all once more meet in health. Present my compliments to Mr. Johnson, and all my other friends; pray don't forget Mr. Barker. My love to my sisters, Nelly and the children, and believe me with the most sincere esteem, My dear sir, Your affectionate brother, and obedient servant,

Sam. Johnston.

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell*, 1:489–90.

Alexander McDougall to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia, 15th Feby 1781.

The times are So critical and the Subjects on which I shall have occasion to write to your Excellency are So important, that I have determined to do it under the Signature of *Marcus*.¹ This will prevent many of the evil effects which have arisen to our Country from the miscarriage of Letters. My Compliments to your Lady. And Believe me to be, Sir, with great respect, your most Humble Servt.

FC (CSmH). In the hand of Alexander McDougall, and endorsed: "by Genl Hand."

¹ In his March 31 acknowledgment of this letter Washington expressed pleasure at McDougall's proposal to correspond "under the signature of Marcus," but no such letters to him have been found. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:400.

John Mathews to George Washington

My Dear sir, Philadelphia Feby. 15th. 1781.

As I observed Genl. Greene had given you a full account of the victory obtained by Genl. Morgan. I did not trouble yr. Excy. with it. Nothing else of any importance has since occurred.

I should be extremely obliged to you Sir, to inform me of the state of the business respecting the exchange of prisoners (particularly those at St. Augustine) by the first convenient opportunity.¹ I hope yr. Excy. will excuse my troubling you with this enquiry, especially when it is considered, that almost every near connexion I have, are now in the power of the enemy.

I am my Dr sir, with the highest respect & most sincere Esteem & regard, yr. Obed. Servt. Jno. Mathews

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Washington's discouraging February 26 reply, in which he explained that he had not even sought to open negotiations with Sir Henry Clinton for an exchange because he was "so totally unacquainted with the State of the southern prisoners," see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:303.

James M. Varnum to Horatio Gates

Sir Philadelphia 15th Feby 1781

I have the honor of inclosing your Letter, which came under Cover to me from Governor Bowen.

It is a very just Observation of the Baron de Montesquieu, that in all democratical Governments the Manners controul the Laws. We find that Observation fully verified in the United States. The Manners are generally corrupt, & the Laws but feebly executed. In Times of War, the Deliberations of Senetorial, or republican Bodies, being influenced by a Variety of Objects, are seldom directed to energetic and decisive Operations. The Result is frequently Disappointment or Disgrace. The public Checks upon the reserved licentiousness of the People are too weak to suppress their Clamors, and their Resentment is commonly satiated by transferring the Odium upon executive Officers. Misfortune is construed into Wickedness or Weakness and the shining Merrits of Years are invloped in the illfated Events of an Hour. How ungenerous is the human Heart when under the Controul of tumultuous Passions! So reluctant are Mankind at the dignified Station of their own Existence, that they assume every kind of Allowance for their own Deviations, while they expect of others the Prescience and Omnipotence of Gods! You, my worthy Friend, have Occasion to realize these Reflections; And while many feel the greatest Inquietude at your present Situation, they expect, with increasing Satisfaction, your full Restitution to the Honor and Confidence of a Country, bound, by every Sentiment Of Gratitude and Affection, to hold you dear.

Permit me Sir, to wish you every possible Felicity in your present domestic Retirement, and a speedy Accession of increasing military Fame!

Be pleased to make my best Respects to your worthy Lady, & accept of the sincerest Acknowledgements of Sir, your most obedient Servant, & sincere Friend.

J.M. Varnum

RC (NH: Gates Papers).

Theodorick Bland to Charles Pettit

Sr. Philada. Feby 16th 1781

I beg leave to inform you that a Motion was made by the Virginia Delegates to Authorize Col. Harrison—A Gent sent by that state for a Particular Purpose—to exchange about four thousand Dollars of Continental Money of that state, of the new Emissions at the treasury, which Congress readily assented to—But being informd

by a Member, that there was a large Sum of money in the Hands of the Qr. Mastr. Genl. now in this City—which was to be sent on to the Southern Army, where the Money above mentiond passes Currently—the motion was withdrawn & the Sense of Congress was taken thereon and it was their opinion that Col. Harrison shd. Exchange, the Continental Money Issued on acct. of the State of Virginia to that Amount for like Bills Issued on acct. of this state.¹ Col. Harrison being in immediate want of money for the purpose of forwarding necessary articles of Military Stores &c. to that State I have no doubt of your Accommodating him with such as will answer his purpose in this City, in persuance to its being the Sense of Congress that you shd do so. I am with great regard, Sr., Yr Most obedt Sevt.

Theok. Bland Delegate from
the State of Virginia

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

¹ This action is not recorded in the journals.

John Sullivan to the American Philosophical Society

Gentlemen, Philadelphia Feby. 16th. 1781

I have the Honor to present your Learned Society with a Fossil lately Discovered in a Mountain about Seventy Miles from Portsmouth in New Hampshire.

The Mountain is exceeding Large & seems to be filled with Quarries of this Natural Concrete.¹

It has some Properties of Common Glass, and possesses others which render it in Some Respects Superior.

It is equally Transparent, does not waste or Consume in Fire, receives any Color or Dye, and will not perceptably diminish in weight or Size by Frequent Attrition.

But is, preferable on account of its not being Frangible, Dissoluble, or Friable.

Though this Fossil has not been before Discovered in America it was Long Since known in other parts of the world; it Appears to have the same Qualities as the Lapis Specularis of the Ancients, and does not materially Differ either from the Venetian or Muscovite *Talc*: It has not the Reddish Color of the former, and is perhaps Exceeded in Whiteness by the Latter: but is in Transparency equal to either. It may be cut out in Large Stones and (Like those) be Easily Separated into Thin Lamina which appear Smooth, Glossy, & Transparent.

It answers the same Purpose of covering Pictures making Lanthorns

& window Lights, & though not Similar in all respects is (in my opinion) Substantially the Same. I do not Therefore, present it as a Concrete hitherto unknown, but to afford an opportunity for the Learned and Curious of your Society to Investigate the Causes of its Connections; & Examine into its usefulness, in the Mechanic Arts.

Mr. Secretary Thomson will be so obliging as To Lay it before you and I perswade myself that through your Influence it will receive a place among the natural and useful Productions of America.

I have the Honor to be with the Most Exalted Sentiments of Esteem and Respect Gentlemen, your most Obedt. and very Humble Servt,
Jno. Sullivan

RC (PPAmP: American Philosophical Society Archives).

¹ That is, mica. For American interest in science at this time, see Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956).

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sr.,

Philadelphia Feby. 17th. 1781

I have only to add to what I wrote your Excellency last,¹ that Mr. Carmichael mentions in his Letter, that the plan for fixing a Post in Chessapeak is said to have been suggested to the Ministry by Sr. Jeffry Amherst, & that 3 Regmts. of Horse are to be among the troops destind for America. A Committee of Congress, have under Consideration the removal of the Convention Troops.² I hope soon to have it [*in*] my power to inform you of the determination of Congress on that subject.

It will give me pleasure to have an opportunity of Executing any commands of yours & your Lady, to whom I present my Comps.

I am, with great esteem, your Excellencys Mo Obt Sert,
Danl. Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ See Carroll to Lee, February 13, 1781.

² One of the proposals submitted by Benjamin Harrison to the committee appointed February 13 to consult with him, for which see *JCC*, 19:142, 193; Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson, February 20; and Samuel Huntington to Jefferson, March 4, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to John Hancock

Sir,

Philadelphia February 17. 1781

By the enclosed resolve of the 15th Instant your Excellency will be informed of the Sentiments of Congress respecting the eastern

Indian Department; and that the Governor & Council of Massachusetts are empowered to compleat the Company of Artillery at the Post of Machias to a Number not exceeding sixty five Men including Officers, to be under the Command of Colonel J. Allen, and to be raised & supported at the Expence of the United States.¹

With the highest respect, I have the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This resolve was adopted to reaffirm a Continental commitment to the work of John Allan as agent to the Eastern Indian Department, which Massachusetts had been supporting for some time. Allan had submitted a plan "for the Military & other Business in the Indian Eastern Department" to Governor Hancock on November 9, 1780, which had been endorsed by the Massachusetts legislature and forwarded to Congress with a December 22 letter from Hancock. Hancock's letter was read on January 8, 1781, and referred to a committee consisting of Samuel Adams, Thomas Burke, and James Duane, whose recommendations were embodied in the resolve adopted by Congress on February 15 and enclosed by Huntington. *JCC*, 19:33, 148. Hancock's December 22 letter with Allan's plan and "sundry" related papers is in *PCC*, item 65, 1:483-517. Two related documents—a return of Allan's troops at Machias and a letter to Gen. William Heath signed "Jas Avery, Secy to Indn. East Dept & agent for Colo Allan," both dated November 8, 1780—are in the Peter Force Miscellany, DLC.

James Lovell to Abigail Adams

Feb. 19. 1781

With This will be delivered to my very amiable Friend a number of Letters and a small Package, both will prove wellcome tho I presume the former are like most I have recd. of old date. You will hear much of very important News having arrived by Jones¹—a Puff. But I cannot *now* be particular. Fearing the Enemy may look out strictly for this day's Post on his Return to the Eastward, I have chosen to send all the Letters; which fall under my Care, by a private Conveyance tho perhaps your Curiosity may thereby be tortured a day or two longer—as the man has to call at his own home in Sutton and see a Wife from whom he has been long absent. To my Prudence and to his domestic Affections your Eveship will sacrifice without murmuring.

Many Difficulties will attend the getting forward what is come for you.² My Devotion shall combat them but I suggest to your Opinion whether in Case of much delay forseen, you would have any opening of the Packages either for Airing, or forwarding in Parts by horse opportunities. My Children hint at a Waggon—Chance which I shall be constantly watching for.

Lee's Corps have, it is said succeeded against George Town to which they were sent when Morgan was detached another way by Genl. Green. Morgan also has rebuffed a Party that pursued him after his Victory with Intent to recover the Prisoners he was bringing off.

Be happy and still, long, long, a Blessing to a Circle of which is fortunately a Part,
JL

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

¹ For the letters brought by John Paul Jones from John Adams and Benjamin Franklin and read in Congress this day, see *JCC*, 19:174-75.

² For the goods from France for Abigail which had recently arrived in the *Ariel*, and which Lovell discussed at length in letters to her of February 27 and March 1, see Adams, *Family Correspondence* (Butterfield), 4:81-83, 85-86.

Alexander McDougall to Hugh Shiell

Monday morning 19th Feby —81

Major General Mc Dougall presents His Compliments to Mr. Shiell; and returns him all the Papers handed to us from bothe Gentlemen.¹ He has perused them with attention in the order in which they were written, and in which they are now filed. He will wait on on Mr. Shiell, at any time & place he shall please to appoint—after Tuesday evening next.

FC (NHi: McDougall Papers). In the hand of Alexander McDougall.

¹ That is, Thomas Burke and John Sullivan, for whom McDougall and Hugh Shiell were acting as seconds, and for which see Sullivan to McDougall, January 27, 1781, note 1.

Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir Philad, Feb 19 1781

The Delegates of Massachusetts in Congress desire your Excellency may be informd that the Resolution of the General Assembly relating to the Officers in the Department of the Quarter Master General &c, inclosed in your Letter of 18 Decr. was laid before Congress early after it was receivd, & a Committee has since made a favorable Report, the Consideration of which will be movd soon as an opportunity offers. Notice would sooner have been given of this, but it was delayd in hopes of a final Decision.¹

The President of Congress will officially inclose to your Excellency a Resolution approving of the Case of the Executive of Massachusetts in furnishing the necessary Supplys for the Eastern Indian Depart-

ment under the Superintendance of Colo Allen & requesting them to continue such Supplys at the Expence of the United States;² and also empowering the Governor & Council to compleat the Company of Artillery at Machias to a Number not exceeding Sixty five, Officers included, to be rati[oned], cloathd, paid & subsisted at the Charge of the United States.

I am in behalf of the Delegates, your Excys most obedient & very hbl Servt.

FC (NN: Adams Papers). In the hand of Samuel Adams.

¹ Hancock had enclosed a December 4 resolution of the Massachusetts Assembly requesting the state's delegates to ascertain what congressional provision was being made for "officers in the Quarter Master Generals, & in the Staff & Commissarys departments, who . . . have suffered greatly by the Depreciation of the Currency." The Massachusetts resolution had been referred to committee on January 5, but there is no record in the journals that the "favorable Report" Adams describes was ever submitted to Congress. Such a report may have been referred to the Board of War, however, since a May 30 report of the board on the subject was taken up on June 27, 1781, but no other indication of congressional action on the Massachusetts Assembly's inquiry has been found. See *JCC*, 19:29, 20:702-4; and *PCC*, item 65, 1:468-69, item 147, 5:437-40. Hancock's December 18 letter to the delegates, on the verso of which Adams drafted this reply, is in the Samuel Adams Papers, NN.

² See Samuel Huntington to John Hancock, February 17, 1781.

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sr., Philadelphia Feby 20th 1781.

I did myself the honor of sending a few lines by Col Forrest, who left this place on Sunday morning. Capt. Paul Jones arivd in this City on Saturday night from L'Orient which he left about the Middle of Decr. We are cruelly disapointed in not receiving any Cloaths or Arms by him. A Vessel with cloaths, which saild with him, when he was oblig'd by a Storm to return to Port, Capt Jones says, was taken, & carried into England. The arms he had on board were damag'd, & Landed, & coud not be put in order against his departure. He has not brought any public Stores that I hear of, excepting abt 400 Barrells of powder, & some lead. Cloathing for ten thousand men ready made up, besides a considerable quantity of Cloth &c & the arms remaind in France for other opportunities.

On the first day of my appearing in Congress, I deliverd the Act empowering the Deligates of Maryland to Subscribe the Articles of Confederation &c.! It was read, & enterd on the Journals. The presence of another Delegate is only wanting to compleat this important business; I find the hopes, & expectations of Congress very sanguine on this event.¹

A Letter receivd by Col. Moylan from his Brother at the 10th Dec. from L'Orient, gives every reason to believe, as far as a Merchants authority will go, that a considerable assistance by Ships, & men may be lookd for Soon from France.

Please to present my Comps to Mrs Lee. I am, with great esteem,
Your Excellency's Most Obt Servt. Danl Carroll²

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ Carroll had taken his seat and "deliverd the Act" to Congress on February 12; "another Delegate," John Hanson, attended on the 22nd. *JCC*, 19:138-40, 185. For the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, see Thomas Rodney's Diary, March 1; and Samuel Huntington to the States, March 2, 1781.

² This day Carroll also wrote the following letter to unidentified correspondents, but probably James Brice, John Hoskins Stone and Samuel Turbutt Wright, for whom see Carroll to Lee, February 13, 1781, note 4. "Gentlemen. I enclose three packets; by next post I will arra[n]ge that business agreeable to yr desire. Many happy years to Col. Stone & his Lady, & wish my other two friends woud give me an opportunity of Saluting them in the Same manner Soon. I beg leave to refer you to mine to his Excellency. Maj. Wright will hear from me by next post abt his Business." Lloyd W. Smith Collection, NjMoHP.

James Duane to Mary Duane

Philad. 20th February 1780 [1781]¹

I wrote to you lately my Dearest Polly, acquainting you of our Health for I have now the pleasure to include our daughter² in my Letters; and I assure you it is a very great pleasure, as I flatter myself she acquires Esteem as well as Improvement. She wanted this Opportunity of polite Company to give her the Accomplishments which tho' inferior to Those of the Mind are essential to her Rank. It will make me happy to return her to your Arms improved. She continues at Mr. Peters's; and Mrs. Peters perswades me that she is an agreeable Friend and Companion and that she will part from her with Reluctance. The Minister is so polite as to invite her to all his Balls & Concerts, and she has so many other Invitations and Engagements that her Time is fully employed.

I believe I have said all this in my former Letters; but I feel a fond Pleasure when our Children are the Subjects of my Reflection, and I am confident that you are affected in the same mannor. When the Roads are settled I shall contrive some method to conduct her home. The Manner of doing it may be perplexing, but I never anticipate difficulties having found them less in Reality than Apprehension.

Believe me I long most anxiously to be with you; and our dear children, and the fateague of the publick business which I have undergone entitles me to Relaxation. Such is my Constitution that my Health and my Spirits are such as you wish them. I refer you to the enclosd papers for the News. Adieu my dearest, Polly.

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

¹ Although Duane clearly dated this letter "1780," he must have written it in 1781. He was not in Philadelphia in February 1780.

² That is, Maria (1761-1813).

Samuel Huntington to Nathanael Greene

Sir, Philadelphia February 20. 1781

The Committee appointed to correspond with you will by this Conveyance transmit you the resolves of Congress of this Day, and give you every other Information of the Measures adopted for reinforcing & supporting the Army under your Command.¹

I have been honored with your Letter of the 13th of January²—And am with Esteem & regard, sir, your most obedt & most hbble Servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (MiU-C: Greene Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ No such letter from the committee for corresponding with the southern department has been found, but for the resolves adopted this day for Greene's southern army, see *JCC*, 19:176-79.

Huntington also sent copies of these resolves this day with the following brief cover letter to the executives of the states "from Delaware to South Carolina inclusive." "Your Excellency will receive enclosed, a resolve of this day relative to compleating the Quota of Troops for the Southern Army, and furnishing them with the necessary Supplies." PCC, item 15, fol. 236.

² No January 13 letter from Greene to Huntington is in PCC, but for his letters of January 9, 23, and 24 which had already been acknowledged, see Huntington to Greene, February 11, 1781, note.

Samuel Huntington to William Greene

Sir, Philada February 20. 1781

I am honored with your Excellency's Letters of the 13th of January & of the 6th Instant,¹ and am somewhat surprized that my Letter of the 9th of November,² enclosing the resolve of Congress of the 4th of that Month should not have come to Hand.

Similar Letters, with a Copy of that resolve, which were forwarded by the same Messenger have been received in due Time by all the northern & other eastern States; how yours should miscarry I cannot account for.

I have herewith enclosed a Duplicate of my Letter of that Date, with the Journals of Congress for that Month, including the resolve of the 4th, by which you will be informed of the requisition upon the States for a Tax equal to six Millions of silver Dollars, to be paid partly in specific Articles at the Prices therein enumerated, and the residue in Gold or Silver, or the new Bills emitted in Pursuance of

the resolution of the 18th of March last, in which you will observe the particular Quota assigned to your State.

It is unhappy that my former Letter miscarried, as Congress must fully depend on a punctual Compliance with this requisition for the Support of the Army.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S. H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ Governor Greene's letter of January 13 is not in PCC, but for his letter of February 6, which was read in Congress on the 23rd, see *JCC*, 19:190; and PCC, item 64, fols. 490-93.

² See *JCC*, 18:1038-40, for this circular letter to the states.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia February 20. 1781

Your Excellency will receive herewith enclosed, a Resolution of Congress of this Day, by which you will be informed that all the Continental Troops, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, are to compose the southern Army, except Moylands Corps and such of the Pennsylvania Line as are on Command on the western Frontiers.¹

Congress deemed themselves under a Necessity of adopting the Measure of ordering the Pennsylvania Line to the Southward without consulting your Excellency, from the late Intelligence received from that Quarter, and supposing you on your Journey to New Port: considering at the same Time that if the Plan suggested in my other Letter which accompanies this, which proposes sending the french Forces to the Southward, should take Effect or any other Circumstances should render it incompatible with the Good of the public Service to send the Pennsylvania Line Southward, your Sentiments might be known and the Orders countermanded before that Line could be put in Motion.²

Your Excellency's two Letters of the 13th have been duly received.³ The Paper you mention, addressed to President Reed, was inclosed through Mistake by my Secretary, but I do not find any Paper that ought to have been enclosed in Lieu of it.

I have the Honor to be, with very high respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ See *JCC*, 19:176-79.

² In his February 26 reply, Washington noted that the decision to order the

Pennsylvania troops southward interfered with "conditional arrangements" being made for the 1781 campaign, but conceded that "in the present exigency of accumulating danger in that quarter, I am intirely of opinion that these troops ought to be detached." Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:301.

³ *JCC*, 19:160. Only one February 13 letter from Washington is in PCC (item 152, 9:549-52), which is also printed in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:219-20. For the second letter of that date, which was merely a cover for returning a letter from Huntington to Joseph Reed that had been sent to Washington by mistake, see *ibid.*, 21:220n.32.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir In Congress Feby 20th. 1781.

You will perceive by the Enclosed copies that a Reinforcement to the british troops in the southern department has arrived in North Carolina.¹ Congress wish you to be well informed of some circumstances which render the situation of that department peculiarly in want of succour which can only be given by the troops of our Ally.

The people of North Carolina in that part last invaded are destitute of arms & military equipments, and so great is the distance of that Country from the only magazines from which they could be supplied and so great and almost insurmountable are the difficulties of transportation that there wants cannot be relieved in time to preserve them from the ravages of the Enemy. The people in the western parts of that country are fully occupied in the arduous Opposition to the forces under lord Cornwallis. The States of Virginia & North Carolina have it not in their power to Cloathe & Equip troops for the field, and the disappointments in receiving supplies from Europe render it impossible for Congress to give them such aid as will be effectual.

Congress wish you Sir, to take into Consideration all those circumstances and many others which are peculiar to that department, and produce such weakness as the public resources are not able to remedy in time for their effectual protection & which are well known to you—And they desire you to urge all those considerations to the Commanders of the fleet & army of our Ally, and if it should not very Materially interfere with the general dispositions designed for those forces to take the spediest measures for their reinforcing the Army in the southern department, or if this be not Eligible to make such dispositions as may Create a diversion.

Congress hope that the damage sustained by the british fleet in the late storm has Occasioned a change of circumstances so favorable to the forces of our Ally as to render them superior to the Enemy, and in condition to perform this Essential service to the United States without danger of being exposed to a superior force. This measure is no less important than that of opposing the Enemy with a well

appointed & well equipped force in place of a force composed of troops perhaps destitute of every thing requisite for keeping the field.

By order of Congress, Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ These enclosures consisted of copies of letters to Huntington from North Carolina governor Abner Nash of February 2 and from Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson of February 12, which are in the Washington Papers, DLC. The originals are in PCC, item 71, 2:31-34, item 72, fols. 119-22. The letter itself was the product of a committee consisting of Thomas Burke, Alexander McDougall, and James Madison, appointed this day to inform Washington of the arrival of British reinforcements at Cape Fear and to request him to confer with General Rochambeau and Admiral Destouches to "urge the necessity of sending the French forces to the southward." *JCC*, 19:179-80.

James Lovell to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

Feb. 20. 1781

I inclose for yr. Information Copies of a Letter & Invoice which Miss Dalley¹ has in original, to whom I shall also deliver the Box when I receive it from Mr. Ross who gave me the Papers with a Promise of sending the Package to my Chamber. I shall with pleasure execute your future Requests in regard to this or any other matter within my Abilities. I shall have to forward some Things for Mrs. Adams and Col. Peabody. But perhaps you only want what may go in parts by horse Opportunities. It is difficult to persuade People on so long a Journey to take even small Things, but I do find some. I shall endeavor to be prepared with a confidential Letter of foreign & domestic matters by the Time an Express goes, at present I can only say that Lee has probably succeeded against George Town. Morgan has rebuffed the British who pursued him to recover the Prisoners he had in Charge after his Victory, and Arnold may be ruined by a french Ship of the Line, two Frigates & a Cutter in Cheseapeak.

Yrs. affectionately

J L

[*P.S.*] I do not know certainly that I have acknowledged yr. Favors of Jany. 26 & Feb 1st recd. the 13. I yesterday recd. by Post two Feby. and one under a Cover from Genl. Knox which is in Mr. T Smith's Hands and the Business of which shall be punctually prosecuted.

I understood from Pickering that the Comder. in Chief had been "much agitated at what I said of *Genl. W.*"² That was silly for it could not be forced to mean Washington. It was a direct Answer to your Request about Genl. Warren's Accounts vizt "I will endeavor to obtain some *decency* for Genl. W—— if it is only *plump* denial of

Justice, but as Mr. Matlac is joined to Mr. Fell perhaps there may be neither denial nor Equivocation."

Your Suggestion is more pardonable "A curious motion the Product of some months *Study in the Jerseys*," The *Mover* had been some months there. The main arguments I used against it were the Indelicacy & Injustice of it as it regarded the Genl. who would either take a mortal Disgust at us for passing it or if he was as weak as the movers would be ruined by his Acceptance of such an uncouth and unproductive a Commission. Indeed, Sir, You are just in your Opinion of me. I have a great Regard for his Excellency But it does not show itself in *all* the Ways of some other Man for I can hear a pious Body say "We have had a *mild Winter Thanks to God*" without putting my addition of "*and to Genl. Washington.*"

I did not find a Line for you from Carmichael, Adams or Dana.

RC (NN: Gerry-Townsend Papers).

¹ Probably the Miss Dally who with her sister, Mrs. Clark, had maintained a lodging house in Philadelphia at which Lovell, Gerry, and other New England delegates had lived in 1778. See these *Letters*, 10:344n.1 and 11:334.

Miss Dally may also be the mysterious "M— D", who was involved in currency speculation with Lovell and Gerry at this time, for which see Lovell's letters to Gerry of March 16, 20, and 27, 1781.

² Gerry had already attempted to explain this misunderstanding in a February 7 letter to General Washington, which is printed in these *Letters* at Lovell to Gerry, November 20, 1780, note 3.

James Lovell to John Jay

Sir, Feb. 20. 1781

The Presidt. sends you Instructions passed in Congress the 15th.¹

Personally I am mortified that no Letters from you since that of Sepr. 16th, have reached us. We have not waited for the minute Information promised in yours of that date, nor have we recd. any notice of your Receipt of our Instructions of Oct 4th before we discuss anew the old Subject.

There has been unfair Dealing with your Dispatches.² I apprehend that we are allowed to see only Sentiments somewhat different from yours. Perhaps the inclosed memorandum may be some Clue to your Scrutiny.³

Upon the 10th. of Jany. Congress resolved to establish an Office for foreign affairs which I hope will make yr. Station more easy & reputable. I wish most earnestly to have a Choice made of the Secretary to whom I may deliver all the Papers in my Possession connected with his Duty.

I am, Sir, your Friend & humb Servt. James Lovell

RC (NNC: Jay Papers). Enclosed in Lovell to Jay, March 31, 1781.

¹ See *JCC*, 19:152-53.

² Jay was well aware of the "unfair Dealing" with his dispatches, but was apparently able to do little about it. See Jay, *Papers* (Morris), 2:41n.1; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 4:174-75, 384, 437.

The saga of this letter from Lovell to Jay is itself illustrative of the problem, which Jay reported in a May 29 letter to Huntington. On May 18, he explained, "I received from the Hon. Mr. Lovell three letters, written on one sheet, viz., 20th of February, 9th and 31st of March last. No other copies of these letters ever reached me. They arrived at Cadiz in the *Virginia*, but the papers and journals said to accompany them never came to my hands, nor have I received any letters from your excellency since January last." *Ibid.*, 4:459.

³ For the "memorandum" enclosed with this letter, a list of letters Congress had received from Jay and William Carmichael from May 1780 to February 1781, see the "enclosure" sent with Lovell to Jay, March 31, 1781.

Jesse Root to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Please your Excellency, Philadelphia Feby. 20th 1781

Last Saturday Capt Paul Jones arrived here from France having been Sixty two days on his Passage. He has brought Some military Stores but no Cloathing. By letters from Doctr Franklin 10,000 Suits of Cloaths, 15000 Stand of arms, a large quantity of powder & a great quantity of Cloths were procured & ready to be Shipped as long ago as last August. One vessel with 130 bales of Cloth is taken & Carried to England the rest of the Cloathing Capt Jones Says is to Come with The Second division of the French fleet which were to Sail this month for America—the delay of Sending over the Cloathing is yet a mistery, but it is put in a train of investigation & by the help of Capt Jones trust it will be effected.¹ Doctr. Franklin writes that Mr Laurence has more liberty & more air than at First²—that the british Court Sent a Copy of the proposed plan of a treaty with the united provinces taken with Mr Laurence to the Stadtholder to be Communicated Which was done & the pensioner, Magistrates &c. of Amsterdam approved the plan—upon which Mr. York was instructed to present a Spirited remonstrance to their high mitynesses requiring that the pensioner & magistrates of Amsterdam Should be taken up & punished. What answer was given to this remonstrance he had not heard—that in order to Support our Credit in Europe & enable him to pay the bills drawn on him he has been obliged to engage that these States will furnish provisions to the army & fleet of his most Christian Majesty in America the ensuing Campaign for Which we are to receive payment in francs to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars.

By the English papers as late as the latter end of Novr.—it appears that on the question respecting the prosecution of the war in America in the House of Commons 212 in favour & 130 against—10,000

Troops are to be Sent to america Early in the Spring, 2000 on the 6th of Novr. were to embark in two or three weeks for Charlestown. By Capt Jones the Seige of Gibralter is Continued & it was Supposed in France that Count de Estang was gone to the West Indies. By letters Just recd from Govr Jefferson & Govr Nash a fleet of Ships have arrived in Cape fear river Supposed to be a reinforcement from Europe—probably the one above mentioned.³

The Enemy build their hopes of Success on the deranged & Supposed exhausted State of our finances, if we disappoint them in this we Shall tottally defeat Their prospects & induce them to reasonable terms of peace. It behoves us therefore to exert ourselves with Spirit at this time, & I think it promises the most happy Consequences, which I never so feelingly realized as I seem to at present. By an Estimate that has been made of our national debt it doth not exceed 30,000,000 of dollars.⁴ The Supplies Called for are all indispensible for the next Campaign—we must Stop drawing bills on Europe, for the present, the loss is too great to be born by any nation, being as 60 to 92. December Journals are not printed. I write in hast as I did not know of Mr. Meers going untill a few hours before he sets out. The President & Genl. Woolcot are well & present their Compliments to your Excellency. The Souther States are much distressed & exhausted—& much depends on the vigorous exertions of the Eastern States. With the highest Esteem & respect, your Excellencys most obedt, most humble Servt,

Jesse Root

P.S. The Pensylvania Line will be Ordered to the Southward.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

¹ The interrogation of Capt. John Paul Jones was actually being conducted by the Board of Admiralty, to whom the “mystery” of “the delay of Sending over the Cloathing” from France had been referred by Congress on February 19. Jones’ arrival with a cargo of clothing had been anticipated for months, and when he reached Philadelphia in the *Ariel* without the long-awaited shipment, an inquiry was immediately called for, although Thomas Bee’s motion for an open-door examination of Jones before the full house was rejected by a vote of six to five. See *JCC*, 19:174–76.

The board’s investigation consisted primarily of 47 written questions, apparently drafted by Alexander McDougall, which were submitted to Jones on February 20 and to which he returned a 20-page list of answers on March 13. Just why McDougall, who was not a member of the Board of Admiralty, had a hand in the inquiry is not clear, although he was an experienced New York merchant and on February 27 would be elected to fill the newly created post of Secretary of Marine, which he eventually declined. McDougall’s draft of the questions for Jones is in the McDougall Papers, NH; the list submitted to Jones and the captain’s answers are in PCC, item 37, fols. 377–99.

Jones’ detailed answers to the board’s questions were apparently satisfactory and quickly dispelled the “mystery” of why the clothing from France had been delayed. They also provided the foundation for the board’s March 28 report on the subject, leading not only to Jones’ exoneration but to a resolution of commendation adopted by Congress on April 14. See *JCC*, 19:316–20, 342n.2, 386, 390–91; Thomas

Rodney's Diary, April 14; and Samuel Huntington to Jones, April 19, 1781.

² Root was commenting on Benjamin Franklin's December 3, 1780, letter to President Huntington, which was one of several letters of Franklin and John Adams read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 19:174-75.

³ See the second letter of Samuel Huntington to George Washington, this date.

⁴ For the estimate of "our national debt," see *JCC*, 19:160-72; and James Duane's Memoranda, January 2-3, 1781.

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sr. Philadelphia Feby. [20?],¹ 1781

Since our last² in which we informd Yr. Excy of the Arrival of Col. Harrison in this City, his Applications to Congress have been referd to a Special Committee—and the necessary Steps are taking to Answer the wishes and wants of the Southern States, and of our State in particular as far [as] is practicable in the present Situation of affairs. We doubt not but that Gentn. will give you full Information of the Progress he has made in the Special Business for which he has been Sent.

We are happy to Inform you of the Arrival of Capt. Paul Jones in the Ariel, from France. This event would have been a much more pleasing one had he brought the cloathing so long and anxiously expected—his Cargo is however by no means useless as it Consists of about thirty Ton of Powder. It is Conjectured that by this time Count D'Estaing is Arrived in the West Indies with twenty two sail of the Line—and we are in great Hopes before this reaches you that a Ship of the Line from the fleet of our Allies in Rhode Island and three frigates will be in our Bay in order to cooperate with our Troops, in taking Ample Vengeance on Mr. Arnold, for his treasons, perjuries, Robberies and depredations—accounts being received in this Town that they saild from Rhode Island *immediately after the Storm & that Monsr. Destouches had taken effectual measures to Block up the Remaining Vessels of the Enemy in Gardners Bay*. We have Sanguine hopes that this Expedition will not be fruitless, and that our Allies will find us in a Condition effectually to cooperate with them, as their aid will enable us to draw our whole force to a point. One of the frigates above mentiond will bring the Arms And Stores which were retaken in the Comite; which will perhaps not be an unseasonable aid. We have enclosed Yr. Excellency two New York Papers for your perusal containing Arnolds account of his Victories and Captures.

Mr. Hays informed us this morning he should be ready to set out for Virginia with the printing material in abt. a week.³ We are with great respect,

Yr. Exceleys obed. Serts.

Jos. Jones.

James Madison Junr.

P.S. Since writing the above we have authentic information that one seventy four with two Frigates & a Cutter sailed from Rhode Island on the eighth for Chesapeake Bay.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Theodorick Bland but signed only by Jones, who added the final paragraph and postscript, and by Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:314–15.

¹ The bulk of this letter was probably written on the 20th because (1) the delegates informed the governor of the February 17 arrival of John Paul Jones, (2) they knew of the content of the report of the committee appointed to confer with Benjamin Harrison which had been delivered on the 19th and was considered this day (*JCC*, 19:160, 176–78), and (3) they had a longstanding habit of preparing their official dispatches on Tuesdays.

² See Virginia Delegates to Jefferson, December 13, 1780.

³ See Joseph Jones to Jefferson, February 6, 1781, note.

Samuel Huntington to Robert Morris

Sir, Philadelphia February 21. 1781¹

By the enclosed Copy you will be informed that Congress have been pleased unanimously to elect you Sir to the important Office of Superintendant of Finance.²

It is hoped that this important Call of your Country will be received by you Sir as irresistible.³

I have the Honor to be, with Sentiments of Esteem & Regard, your most obedient & very humble servant.

Sam Huntington Presidt

RC (PHi: Society Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This letter is dated February 20 in Huntington's presidential letterbook. PCC, item 15, fol. 235.

² For Morris' appointment, which implemented a February 7 resolve creating the office of Superintendant of Finance and other executive departments, see *JCC*, 19:125–28, 180. See also William Floyd to George Clinton, February 8, 1780; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:3–5.

³ Morris did not reply to Huntington until March 13, apparently out of determination to gain a free hand in the appointment and dismissal of his staff and explicit congressional acknowledgment that as superintendant he would remain free to continue his private commercial dealings. Only after Congress responded to these "Stipulations," Morris explained, could he "determine whether to accept or decline the appointment."

Receipt of Morris' letter predictably precipitated bitter congressional debate and led to the appointment of a committee to confer on his announced stipulations. For the protracted negotiations and debates that followed the reading of Morris' letter and his eventual acceptance of the position May 14 after Congress met his essential demands, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:17–25, 31, 60–64.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 21. 1781

Since my Letters of yesterday addressed to your Excellency were forwarded by Express, Despatches from Genl Greene are come to hand, Copies of which are enclosed No 1 & 2.¹ The Intelligence they contain is of Such a Nature that it is deemed expedient to give your Excellency the earliest Information of it.

From the Tenor of General Greenes Letter I am lead to believe, that the Troops landed at Wilmington N. Carolina mentioned in Governor Nash's Letter and Governor Jefferson's enclosed in mine of yesterday, are a Detachment from Charlestown: That Lord Cornwallis, enraged with Disappointment at the Defeat of Tarleton, is pushing an Enterprize at all Hazards.

No farther Intelligence from the Enemy in Virginia is come to hand since my Letter of the 14th Instant.

I have the Honor to be, with every Sentiment of Esteem & regard, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,
Sam. Huntington President

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ These enclosures consisted of a January 25 letter from Lt. Col. Henry Lee to Gen. Nathanael Greene, reporting that his troops had just surprised the enemy post at Georgetown, S.C., and Greene's January 31 letter to Huntington, written from "Sherard's ford on Catawba river." They are in the Washington Papers, DLC; and PCC, item 155, 1:549-59.

Joseph Jones to George Washington

Dear Sr. Phila. 21st February 1781.

I beg leave to mention to you a young Gentleman captured by the Enemy when the Buckskin fell into their hands in Chesapeake Bay and who was put on shore under parole and wishes to be discharged from the Obligation as soon as possible as he conceives it restrains him not only from acting in the Field should the situation of his Country require his Services but even from attending the Hospitals for his instruction wch. he is very desirous of doing. The person I speak of is Dr. Jno. Lewis a Son of the late Mr. Charles Lewis whose name I mentd. to you some years ago while he was in New York and being refused the liberty of coming out was at length obliged to return to Great Britain. His parole is I think singular as it extends only to his not doing or speaking any thing to the prejudice of the Enemy witho[u]t the clause of rendering himself when called for.

You will receive from the president a Copy of a Report which has

passed in Congress in consequence of Col. Harrisons communications. You will also be informed of the arrival of Provost with a reinforcement to the Enemy in the South and of his progress since his arrival. Arnolds position at Portsmouth, Provost in North Carolina, and Cornwallis in South Carolina will I fear effectually obstruct the supplies from our State or so delay them as to render Greenes situation critical. If the French Ships from Rhode Island shall succeed in their enterprise in the Chesapeake the event will be propitious and produce the happiest effects. Our state will be thereby further aided by a supply of 1000 stand Arms and some Stores retaken in the Comité and sent forward in one of the French Frigates. The arrival of Provost and the great want of Arms in the Southern States it must be confessed presents a rather gloomy prospect and under this temper of mind you will receive a Letter reiterating what has I think been several times intimated, a desire that you will pay particular attention to the Southern department.¹ I wish we could but content ourselves with a communication of Facts and any reflections upon them for illustration leaving the combination and execution of the various operations of a Campaign to those whose business it is to project and execute them. P. Jones's arrival gives us no releif in cloathing or Arms, a disappointment the more to be regretted as our wants increase yet we know not whom to blame. Jones will I expect unfold this dark and as yet mysterious business. I presume you must have been informed that Virga. has receded from her former instructions to her Delegates in Congress respecting the claim on her part to the free Navigation of the Mississippi wch. if approved by Congress will probably bring abt. an alliance with Spain and an acknowledgmt. of our Independence. No doubt this event if it takes place will give us more Credit in Europe but we pay dear for it. We are abt. appointing the Officers who are to be at the head of our great departments. Yesterday Mr. Morris witht. a vote agt. him (tho' S A and his Colleague Genl. W. declined to ballot,)² was chosen Financier. I cannot say he will accept, but have some hopes he will. Our Finances want a Necker to arrange and reform them. Morris is I believe the best qualified of any our Country affords for the arduous undertaking. We shall in a day or two appoint the officers for the foreign affairs and the Marine. I wish we had Men in these offices as well qualified to execute them as Morris in the Treasury. Some however that are nominated if they can be chosen will do very well. We are under difficulties abt. the War office, least any person we could now put into it may answer so well as the present Commissrs. This may and I expect will postpone that appointment. With great esteem I am Dr. Sr., yr. aff. servt,

Jos. Jones

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ See Samuel Huntington's second letter to Washington, February 20, 1781.

² That is, Samuel Adams and Artemas Ward. For Robert Morris' appointment as Superintendent of Finance, see Huntington to Morris, this date.

James M. Varnum to William Greene

Sir, Philadelphia 21st. February 1781.

Your Excellency's Letter of the 6th Instant I have been honored with. When the Requisition was made to the States to advance six Months Pay to the Troops, I foresaw the Act which the Legislature of Rhode Island has passed, & mentioned here, its probable Event, with the Reasons that would justify it, but a Discrimination could not be made with Propriety, altho' I am fully persuaded Congress are well pleased with the Measure.¹ It is astonishing to consider the Energy of the small States, compared to the larger ones. If all the States had fully called forth their Resources, as one State has done, the War must have been finished long since. However, where everything dear and sacred is in Question, too much cannot be done by any.

We are certainly informed that a Body of Troops from Great Britain or Ireland, have landed at Cape Fear No. Carolina, said to amount to upward of two Thousand, under Command of General Prevost. This Event is convincing that the Seat of War is transferred to the Southward. Our total Want of Money renders every Attempt to render the Southern or any other Department respectable, inefficacious. But very little of the four Tenths is brot in. None from our State. We have Good private Intelligence that Lt. Colo. Lee with his Legion & a Body of Militia, has surprised Georgetown So. Carolina, & Killed and taken nearly the whole Garrison, being about three hundred. We are informed in the same Way, that Lord Cornwallis made a large Detachment after the Defeat of Tarlton with a View of retaking the Prisoners &c. That Morgan, apprised of the Design, sent off the Prisoners & Baggages crossed a River & formed an Ambuscade. The British attempting to ford the Stream were unexpectedly embarrassed with an heavy Fire, which killed many and caused the Remainder to rejoin his Lordship. I believe these facts, but as they are not official, cannot be too positive. Recruiting goes on very well here; Nothing is wanting but Money, to get as many Soldiers as they please. Arnold is yet in Virginia, & braves the Ancient Dominion with about fifteen hundred Men. I hope a Detachment from Monsieur De Touches Squadron will change the Scene. Capt. Jones has arrivd from France in the Ariel, & brings no Important Dispatches; has Twenty Tuns of Powder, but no Clothing. A strange Fatality seems to attend that Article; I hope the Censure will soon be rightly placed, & that Vengeance may follow upon its Heels. Inquiries of this kind are difficult & where old

Members have their Attachments & Aversions fixed, either through Cabal, party in[trigues] or honest or mistaken Biass, the Obstacles are proportionably increased.

We expect a few days will undoubtedly produce a Ratification of the Act of Confederation.² I must therefore repeat the Necessity of two Members. Estimates are nearly finished of the Debts of the United States, as far as they can be precisely known, of the Expences necessary for the present Year, and the Ways and Means appropriated, or [. . .] Expectancy. I believe Copies will very soon be sent to the respective States. However, Rhode Island shall not want Information in that Respect.³

I am Sir, with every Sentiment of Esteem, your Excellency's most
obdt. Servt. J M Varnum

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

¹ See Samuel Huntington to George Washington, January 16, 1781, note 1.

² See Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee, February, 20, 1781.

³ Congress had received a report on February 19 from the committee appointed to estimate the debt of the United States and propose means for defraying current expenses, but work on this report was not completed until April 18, 1781. See *JCC*, 19:160-73, 402-20.

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear sir,

Philadelphia Feby 24. 1781

Your favor by Col. Livingston, with 2 packets, came to hand this morning. I shall endeavour to execute your orders in a few days. We are under a considerable degree of anxiety about the state of affairs in North Carolina. The latest intelligence from General Greens army was on the 9th instant, he was then at, or about Guildford Court House—Cornwallis at Shallow Ford on the Yadkin, distant from our Army 40 Miles & 250 from Charles Town. He had burnt his Waggons, & it was expected woud cross the Yadkin that day. The prisoners taken by Morgan were out of danger of being retaken. He had pick'd up abt 100 more since the action. This movement of Cornwallis is esteemd exceeding rash by the Southern Gentlemen here, but I believe if he advances, General Green will be forc'd to evacuate North Carolina, or to engage on very unequal terms. Colo. Marian has distroyd some of the Enemies Magazines at Wandaw Landing, & Dorchester, within 20 Miles of Charles Town, & taken 30 British prisoners besides some officers. I shall add no more on this Subject, as it is probable before this reaches you, some important events have been communicated to you from that quarter. The troops Landed at Cape Fear, consist of a detachment from Charles Town, & have taken possession of Wilmington, abt 500.

The Confederation will be subscribed (Mr Hanson being here)

on next Thursday, & Congress having postpond it to that day, in order to announce it properly.¹

I am with great esteem, & regard, Your Excellencys Most Obt
Sert. Danl. Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

¹ Carroll had presented Maryland's certified act of ratification on February 12, but had to wait for the arrival of a second delegate, John Hanson, on the 22nd, when Congress set aside Thursday, March 1, 1781, "for compleating the Confederation" and assigned a committee of three to consider "a mode for announcing the same to the public." See *JCC*, 19:138, 185-86. For the committee's report and the ceremonies and announcements themselves, see *ibid.*, pp. 190-93; Thomas Rodney's *Diary*, March 1; and Samuel Huntington to the States, March 2, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson

Sir, Philadelphia February 25. 1781
I have been honored with your Excellency's Despatches of the 8th & 17th Instant.¹

The Success of the Militia against the Cherokees it is to be hoped may be attended with happy Consequences. Your Letter of the 17th which was received last Evening shall be laid before Congress at their next Meeting. Their Determination respecting Colonel Campbell's Proposition to build a Fort shall be forwarded as soon as may be.

Enclosed, your Excellency will receive a Resolve of the 24th Instant, ordering the Convention Troops to be removed to the Northward, and, if Circumstances continue such as to render it necessary, to send the Prisoners taken at the Cowpens to the Northward. I should think it best they proceed the same route, or at least the most safe & convenient Route through the inland Part of the Country to the Northward, as the Place is not yet affixed for their Cantonement but will be sent forward to the Officers who shall escort the Prisoners on their Way.²

It will be necessary that your Excellency immediately communicate the Movements & Route of the Prisoners, to Congress & the Governor of Maryland.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15). Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 5:5-6.

¹ For these letters, read in Congress on February 20 and 26 respectively, see PCC, item 71, 2:27-30, 35-44; and *ibid.*, 4:559, 638-40.

² The enclosed resolve actually specified that the prisoners be marched "by the way [of] Knowland's ferry, until the farther order of Congress." *JCC*, 19:193. For the "farther order of Congress," see Huntington to Jefferson, March 4, 1781.

Samuel Huntington to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia February 25 1781

Your Excellency's Letter of the 17th Instant with its Enclosures were received last Evening;¹ and I have now the Honor of forwarding the enclosed Despatches from Genl Greene & Copy of a Letter from Governor Jefferson,² which contain the latest Intelligence from the Southward.

The Intelligence is interesting & Situation of Affairs critical. It is however to be hoped that the Spirit of the Inhabitants may afford such Aid to General Greene as shall enable him to give more agreeable Information in a short Time.

I have the Honor to be, with very great respect, your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ Washington's February 17 letter is in PCC, item 152, 9:567-69; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:238-39.

² The "enclosed Despatches from Genl Greene" apparently consisted of Greene's January 28 letter to Washington with its two letters to Greene from Gen. Daniel Morgan of December 31 and January 19, which are in the Washington Papers, DLC. The enclosed February 17 letter from Jefferson to Huntington is also in the Washington Papers, as well as PCC, item 71, 2:35-38, and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:638-40.

Meriwether Smith to Virginia House of Delegates

Sir, Philadelphia, 25h Feb. 1781

I am honored with your official Letter dated at Richmond the 23d of December last, inclosing the Report & Resolutions of a Committee appointed to examine into the Accounts of the Delegates to Congress,¹ & the Expenditure of the publick Money drawn by them from the Continental Treasury; stating a Balance of £8467.14. against me, for which no Credit was given when I settled my Accts. with the Auditors & received a Warrant for £3740.8.7; which Conduct you inform me the House of Delegates look on as unwarrantable & highly reprehensible; and have ordered you to demand of me an immediate Explanation of the whole Matter.

In Obedience to this Order, Sir, I cannot in any other manner, satisfy the House of Delegates so well as by transmitting to them an Exact Account of my Expenditures from Sept. 1778 to Novr. 1780;² during all which Time I have been honoured with the public Confidence in Office. They will see, at one View, the whole of my Conduct, and may from thence form a Judgment respecting my Motives & the Advantages I have received; and, I trust, that to every

unprejudiced Mind, the Rectitude of my Intentions in all things relating to the publick Interest will manifestly appear. At the same Time, I confess that I feel myself but little concerned about the Result of a publick Inquiry into my Conduct, having the fullest Confidence in the Justice & Candor of the House of Delegates; and, whatever may be the Event, I am prepared to meet it with that Fortitude & zealous Perserverance in the Service of the Public which have hitherto distinguish my Conduct, & supported me amidst every Species of Persecution from a Man,³ who, from the *Duplicity of his Conduct*, & the *self-interested Motives by which I discovered him to be actuated*, forfeited the good Opinion I had before entertain'd of him, and ought to have lost the public Confidence. "It is the portion of Humanity to err." I may have erred in this Matter; but ——— nil conscire sibi, ———.

Altho' I did not expect a Meeting, and consequently am not prepared to attend at the Session of March next, I feel myself happy in the Reflection that this Business may be conducted to a final Period, in that Assembly in which it was first agitated; I shall therefore briefly relate the Reasons which have influenced my Conduct, & submit it.

When I had the Honour to be appointed a Delegate to Congress, I expected to find a suitable Provision for the Subsistence of the Delegates of the State, at Philadelphia. In this Expectation I did not think it requisite to make any farther Provision than was sufficient for my private Expenses; which I amply did. I embarked on Board a Vessel with my Servant & Baggage & proceeded by way of the Head of Elk to Philadelphia; intending to provide Means for returning to Virginia by Land, from the Funds I had carried with me. Upon my Arrival I found it necessary to employ the Money I had, for my immediate Subsistence until it was exhausted. When this happened, I had Recourse, in common with the other Delegates, to the Funds created by the Delegation on the Security of the State, by drawing from Congress the Sums agreed on from time to time. This was indiscriminately practised by every Delegation in the Union. The Delegates of Virginia felt the Necessity of it for themselves, & concurred in the Measure. Their funds were appropriated with their Knowledge & by their Consent. No Member was refused the Sum he required, on application. The rapid Depreciation & the consequent Expence of living, rendered money scarce in the Pockets of the Delegates. If I expended more than some of them, I deemed it necessary to enable me to serve the State; and I expected to repay every extra Advance. I could have expended less if I had lived in a Garret, & laid myself under mean obligations for Civilities. It neither accorded with my feelings as a Gentleman, or was consistent with the Honour or Interest of the State I represented. By pursuing a contrary Method, I sought after Information and I found it. I was enabled to detect the Schemes & baffle the Arts of designing Men;⁴ who, under the pretence of serving the public, *I am fully convinced*

had laid the foundation of misapplying the public Money in the Hands of its Servants by secret Connexions in commercial Views, to support which, both Authority & Talents in my Judgment had been prostituted, by those who were beginning to reap the fruits of their Labour.

When I found it necessary to return to Virginia, the Means to enable me became also necessary. The Money I had provided for this Purpose would have been amply sufficient, had it been employed according to my Intention. I represented the Matter to my Colleagues, settled the Accounts of the Delegation, and remained indebted the Sum of £8467.14. by retaining the Balance in Hand; which Sum, if I did not return to Philadelphia (a Circumstance of which I was then doubtful) was to have been remitted to the Delegates as soon as provided, who would have Occasion for the Money, as Congress had resolved to make no further Advances to the Delegates on acct. of the States. With this view therefore upon my Resignation & on settling my Account of Expences in Lieu of Wages, I received a Warrant upon the Treasurer for the Sum of £3740.8.7; that by adding the Balance thereto, Remittance might be made as intended; and a final Discharge recd. from the Delegates against the Sum due on their Books; no Allowance for Depreciation being in my Opinion requisite on either side at that Time. I did not mention this circumstance to the Auditors, because I thought it absolutely foreign to the Business; and I received a Warrant for no more than was due to me from the Treasury of the State. It is impossible to suppose that I could have intended any Injury to the State by a Misapplication of public Money, in a Transaction which was open & regular, and which could not possibly have escaped Detection. My subsequent Conduct, tho' I may be charged with Neglect, proves the contrary, and shews, in the clearest Manner, that I did not reap any Advantage from the Transaction. The Reason of this seeming Neglect I shall explain.

When I returned to my own House on the 23d of December, the extreme Severity of the winter, and the Disorder which my domestic Concerns had been thrown into, put it out of my Power to go abroad and to transact any Business until the latter End of February; at which Time I received Intimation from various Quarters, that the hon. Richard Henry Lee had thrown out some Insinuations to my Prejudice, respecting the greatness of my Expences & the Misapplication of the public Money, as a Delegate to Congress. Knowing his personal Enmity towards me; & that the Money had been depreciated considerably, I determined with myself that the whole Transaction should under go a public Scrutiny, (which I had Reason to beleive was the Design of that Gentleman) and resolved not to settle the Accts. with the Delegates until the precise *Value* of the Debt should be ascertained. For this Reason it was, that the Account was credited by Interest on a Sum which was useless in my

Hands 'till the Time the Debt was transferred to the State, & considered as so much advanced on Acct. of the new Delegation, with the Note subjoined in the Acct. settled with the Auditors; which left it in a point of view proper to be explained; & by which compleat Justice might be rendered both to the public & myself; by paying the Interest which the State might be charged with whilst the Money remained in my Hands, & by returning the just Value of the Sum received, if an Allowance for Depreciation under these Circumstances should be judged requisite; a point which I did not choose to determine, or, by paying the Money into the Hands of the Delegates, subject myself to any Censure for having availed myself of what might be supposed an Advantage to me. For I beleive it would not be difficult to satisfy every one concerned, that I could at any Period during that Time have commanded double the Sum necessary to discharge that Demand.

I did expect that this Matter would have been inquired into, in the *May Session* following by a direct & open Charge; but I then met with one of a different Nature; and became well acquainted with the *Mode* in which *this* Enquiry was to be made. I have been silent; but determined to let the Gentleman who has played behind the Curtain, & who perhaps claims Merit from a Discovery, pursue his own Means for his own Ends. I wish only that he had been more speedy in this Business & that he had made his Charge openly, since he has been so long furnished with the Materials.

I shall now submit, Sir, what I have written to the Consideration of the House of Delegates & to their Determination.⁵ I only beg leave to add what will one day inevitably appear—That I stood among the first in my own Country who defended the Rights of America; that I have been faithfully & attentively engaged in the Service of my Country, ever since the Commencement of the present Dispute with Britain; That my Zeal & Integrity in serving America have led me into Measures destructive of my private Interest; and my Confidence in the public faith hath subjected me to the Loss of several thousand Pounds in Specie. Under all these Circumstances I must finally add, that having never solicited any Appointment whatever, or received any Emoluments equal to my Expences, I shall esteem myself happy whenever my Country shall be pleased to inform me that they have no further Occasion for my Services.

I have the Honor to be with perfect Respect, Sir, Yr. most obedt. & most humble Servant,

M. Smith

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection). Addressed: "The honorable the Speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia."

¹ For the action that the House of Delegates had taken on "the Accounts of the Delegates to Congress," see Cyrus Griffin to Thomas Jefferson, June 13, 1780, note 3.

Smith, who had resigned his seat in Congress on December 13, 1779, because of anti-merchant legislation passed by the House of Delegates, had been re-elected in June 1780 and had made an effort in November to disengage himself from trade in order to attend Congress again. See these *Letters*, 14:226-27. Smith had been delayed en route to Congress by a disabled carriage but finally took his seat on February 20, 1781. See *JCC*, 19:176. For his February 4 letter to Thomas Jefferson from Fredericksburg, Va., which is in the Continental Congress Papers, Vi, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:524-25.

² These accounts are in the Executive Papers, Vi.

³ That is, Richard Henry Lee, for whom see the sixth paragraph of this letter. Lee's interest in Smith's accounts are apparent. A copy of the committee report enclosed in the December 23 letter from the Speaker of the House of Delegates to Smith finding him "guilty of a misapp[rop]riation of the pub. money" followed by a copy of this letter of justification from Smith are in the Lee Family Papers, Vi.

⁴ The animosity between Smith and the Lee family was longstanding and Smith apparently directed these accusations toward Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee who served in Congress with Smith in 1778-79, and their connections in Philadelphia.

⁵ A committee of the House determined in December 1781 that Smith's "conduct throughout the whole transaction has been fair and open and no intention has been manifested to injure the public." The committee required only that Smith repay the sum advanced to him by the Virginia delegates when he left Congress in September 1779 and the interest due on that amount, both to be deducted from his current account as delegate to Congress. A copy of the committee's December 15 report, in the hand of John Beckley, is in the Executive Papers, Vi.

Samuel Huntington to Thomas Sim Lee

Sir, Philadelphia February 26. 1781
Your Excellency will receive enclosed, the Extract of a resolve of the 23d Instant, requesting the State of Maryland to advance to Lt. Colonel Forrest, on Account of the United States, a Sum equal to Seven Years half pay of a Lieut. Colonel, in Lieu of the half pay he might otherwise have been entitled to during his natural Life.

Upon the resignation of this Officer, Congress have thought proper, in Consideration of his past Services, & particular Misfortune of the Loss of a Limb in the public Service, to grant him the Benefits & Emoluments contained in the enclosed resolution.¹

I have the Honor to be, with perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedt & very humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (MdAA: Red Books). In a clerical hand and signed by Huntington.

¹ This resolution providing for the disabled Lt. Col. Uriah Forrest is in *JCC*, 19:189. Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve to Forrest with a brief cover letter of this date. PCC, item 15, fol. 242.

Samuel Huntington to Joseph Reed

Sir,

Philada February 26. 1781

Your Excellency will receive enclosed, a resolution of Congress of the 20th Instant relative to the recruiting & Destination of the Troops that are ordered to compose the southern Army including the Pennsylvania Line, except such as are on Command on the western Frontier.¹

This resolution hath been accidentally mislaid in the Secretary's Office several Days which occasioned a Delay in forwarding the same to your Excellency. It is hoped this Delay will not prove injurious.

I have the Honor to be &c &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ See Huntington to Nathanael Greene, February 20, 1781, note 1.

Thomas Rodney's Diary

[February 26–28, 1781]¹

Philadelphia Munday Feby. 26th 1781.

This day I Took My Seat in Congress for the First Time.² Munday, Tuesday and Wednesday was imploy'd in the usual business.

MS (DLC: Rodney Family Papers). In the hand of Thomas Rodney.

¹ With this composite entry, Rodney opened a diary covering the first nine weeks of his service as a delegate during 1781, to which he appended a retrospective statement explaining his failure to continue the entries beyond April.

The fifteen entries covering this period appear to be a clean copy which he probably put in their present form in 1786, as entries for service in Congress in May 1786 follow those of April 1781, in similar appearance and format. This section of the diary, which ultimately concludes in the summer of 1796, also contains a compilation of "Caractors of Some of the Members of Congress," and a record of "Particular Instances wherein the leading Members of Congress followed My Counsels." Rodney's "Caractor" sketches will be printed in the following volume of these *Letters* with his diary entry of March 8, 1781, where they were inserted.

For the list of "Particular Instances," which are placed at the conclusion of his 1781 term in Congress, see Rodney to Caesar Rodney, July 10, 1781, note 3.

² According to the journals, Rodney "attended and took his seat in Congress" on Tuesday, February 27. *JCC*, 19:199.

The attendance of the Delaware delegates in Philadelphia is also the subject of the following letter to Rodney from his colleague Nicholas Van Dyke, dated February 23, 1781.

"As you propose to go to Congress on Monday next, I herewith enclose you a Copy of our Appointment, which I designed to have inclosed to Mr. McKean, as his Letter will inform him; but conclud it best to committ it to your Hands, least he might be out of the Way, or not in Congress should you go there before you see him, if you choose to call on him, he lives in the House Parson Dushea [Duché] formerly lived in, near St. Peter's Church.

"I design to be up by the Time you Mention, Monday Two Weeks perhaps sooner.

"If you choose to keep your Horse in Town, and to put him in the Continental Stable where he will fare as well as in any Stable in the City, and be less expensive.

"Your Method is to apply to Mr. Jacob Hiltzheimer and give in your Name, and the Number of your Horses; and the Day of sending them there; informing him you are a Delegate from Delaware." Jenkins Collection, PHi.

Oliver Wolcott to Samuel Lyman

Sir Philadelpa. 26th Feby. 1781

I cannot Say wheither I have Acknowledged your Favour of the 16th Ult.—if I have not you will beleive it to be owing to any Cause rather than a Want of respect for you.

Our News from the Southward¹ is that after the Action of Morgan, with Tarlton—Cornwallis in his Rage destroyed his Waggon—double Mounted Six hundred Horses and Set forward to overtake Morgan. By the Sudden rise of a River over which Genl. Morgan had passed—Cornwallis was impeded for five Days which gave Morgan an Oppertunity to Retreat (after having left his heavy Baggage) within the Confines of Virginia—Cornwallis Augmented his Troops with those who had landed at Cape Fear to about Twenty five hundred—And has come forward to Roanoke Genl. Green not having it in his Power to oppose him. This last March of Cornwallis has been about Two hundred Miles thro' a thinly Settled Country. I cannot learn that the People of the Country have either joined or opposed him in his March. This Movement would seem to have been a disperate one. It will be Strange if he shall be able either to continue his Progress or to Return to Cape Fear. Arnold is Blocked in at Portsmouth by a French 64 Gun Ship and some Frigates. The Militia are collected to about 2700. The Event of this Measure will probably be soon Ascertained.

Mr. R. Morrice is appointed Superintendant of Finance. The other officers to the Executive Departments are not yet made. I have Wrote Two Letters to Mr. Ellsworth which I hope he has recd,² in my last I mentioned to him that I should soon Return Home—which I shall expect to do As soon as the Roads are settled. My domestick affairs—And a Regard to my own Health which has suffered considerably since I have been here Altho I am now much better than I have been, render my Return Necessary—at farthest I shall not continue here longer than the first of April.

I receive fewer Letters from my Friends than I ought to expect. But I suppose probably some of them fail by the Post.

Please to deliver the enclosed to Oliver—to whom you will please to present my kindest Regards. I am Sir, with Esteem, Your Most Obedt. Servt.

Oliver Wolcott

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1583). Addressed: "Samuel Lyman Esquire, Hartford, Connecticut."

¹ This latest "News from the Southward" came in Gen. Nathanael Greene's February 10 letter, which was read this day in Congress and is in PCC, item 155, 1:561-62. *JCC*, 19:194.

² Only Wolcott's January 2, 1781, letter to Oliver Ellsworth has been found.

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia Feby 27th. 1781

I wrote your Excellency a few lines by Capt. McClane—he left this place last Sunday; I then acknowledg'd the receipt of yours by Col Livingston;¹ particular attention shall be immediately paid to yr commands. I beg leave to refer you to the enclosd paper for intelligence respecting what Mr Hanson & myself wrote you yesterday by express.²

Cornwallis continues a rapid progress thro' North Carolina, his force from 2500 to 3000. Morgan, & the prisoners with him, escapd by a providential rain which swelled the waters just after he had pass'd the Catawba, this detain'd the other some days. Morgan soon after join'd General Green, & the prisoners had proceeded beyond danger, he had pick'd up abt 100 More prisoners than what is mention'd in the Publish'd acct of the Battle of the Cowpens. General Green was on the 10th at Guilford Court, *his force not more than 1427 Regular infantry & 600 Militia*, & Lees Legion which had join'd him. The General was to retreat the next day, & is determin'd to avoid a general engagement, until he is in sufficient force to ensure Success, & I believe will not depend too much on Militia, notwithstanding the Battle of the Cowpens. Govr Jefferson says in a Letter of the 17th Inst that he was inform'd our Army had got on this Side of the Roanoke, & the Enemies was advanced to Staunton. This is on the Verge of Virginia. The Conventioners in Virginia, & the prisoners taken in Carolina are on their march to the Northward, [and] will probably be Station'd in Lancaster. I hope those in Frederick Town likewise—a Committee will report on that Subject to day, or to morrow.³

I am with great esteem, yr. Excellencys Most Ob Servt.

Danl. Carroll

P.S. When I underscore with a line any words, I mean that I have some reason to desire my authority may not be quoted for them.

You will find something worthy notice in the enclosd N Y. paper.

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Folders).

¹ Carroll is referring to his letters to Lee of February 20 and 24 respectively.

² Letter not found.

³ Following the committee's report on March 3, Congress ordered that the

Convention troops held in Virginia and Fredericktown, Md., be transported to Pennsylvania—the British prisoners to York and the German prisoners to Lancaster. *JCC*, 19:229–30. See also Samuel Huntington to Thomas Jefferson, March 4, 1781.

James Duane to Mary Duane

My dearest Polly Philadelphia 27 Feby. 1781.

I was lately favoured with a Letter from our Brother Walter which assured me of your Health and that of our Family and Friends. It is a pleasure that I feel most sensibly. He informs me that Mr Meiggs has given up the Academy at Claaverack for a place at New Haven Colledge and our Son¹ of course is once more without a Preceptor. I hope the Trustees of that Seminary, however unfortunate hitherto, will have the Spirit to persevere in supporting an Institution so honorable and essential. If not we must be contented to place our Son at a greater distance from us tho considering his youth it will not be very eligible. I can hardly trust myself with giving you an opinion on our Affairs to the Southward. The prospect is fair but the Events of war are so uncertain that we wait for Intelligence with much Sollicitude. Both Cornwallis and Arnold seem to hang upon a Thread and yet they may possibly escape: With a small portion of good fortune on our side they must share the fate of Burgoine. You may be assured that if we had planned their ruin, and could have compelled them to fall in with that plan, it could not have placed them in more desperate Circumstances. I suppose you have Heard the Report of a great Naval Victory obtained by Count d Estaign over Commodore Hood. The English it is said lost seven Ships of the Line and ninety four Transports. If this proves true it must produce very important Consequences.

Our dear daughter writes you by this opportunity.² I have desired her to inform you how she passes her time. Present my dutiful and affectionate Regards where they are due. Kiss and bless for me our dear Children: and believe that I can never cease to be my dearest Polly, your affectionate & faithful Husband, Jas. Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

¹ That is, James Chatham Duane.

² That is, Maria Duane.

Samuel Huntington to John Hancock

Sir, Philada February 27. 1781
Your Excellency will receive enclosed, a resolve of the 26th Instant,

recommending to the State of Massachusetts to make up the Depreciation of Pay to Colonel R. Gridley as Engineer to the first Day of January 1781 and charge the same to the United States.¹

From that Time he is to be considered as a retiring Officer & entitled to an annual Sum in the Manner expressed in the enclosed Act.

I have the Honor to be &c &c,

S.H.²

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ This resolve was adopted in consequence of a memorial from Col. Richard Gridley of October 13, 1778, which had originally been referred to committee in November 1778 and eventually returned without report in July 1780, but only recently referred to the Board of War. See PCC, item 41, 3:387-90, 457-60; and JCC, 12:1094, 21:155, 197. For Colonel Gridley, the commander of Washington's artillery at Cambridge, Mass., in 1775, see these *Letters*, 1:503, 2:65, 235.

Huntington also sent Gridley a copy of this resolve with a brief cover letter of this date. PCC, item 15, fols. 243-44.

² This day Huntington also sent a second letter to Hancock, enclosing a second copy of Congress' November 8, 1779, resolve requesting former presidents of Congress to submit "copies of all public letters by them respectively written during their presidencies," for which see these *Letters*, 14:176. "I am desirous to transmit your Excellency the foregoing Duplicate with the resolve enclosed," Huntington explained, "from an Apprehension that the Original had miscarried having never been honored with any Advice on the Subject." PCC, item 15, fols. 242-43.

Samuel Johnston to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

Philadelphia, 27th February, 1781.

Your letter giving an account of Morgan's victory, I had the pleasure to receive yesterday, but have heard nothing of those sent by the gentlemen to Virginia. Our accounts from General Cornwallis are very alarming, but we hope it will not be long before both he and Arnold will repent of their rashness. Congress are not inattentive to the state of the Southern States, but the unfortunate mutinies in the Army, and other unavoidable accidents have prevented them sending on more Troops, and put it out of their power to make such ample provision for those that were sent as would have been wished. Should the report, which from different quarters has arrived at different towns to the eastward, with regard to Count D'Estaing's having taken seven Ships of the Line, three Frigates and the greatest part of 90 sail of Transports of Sir Samuel Hood's Squadron off the Western Islands, be true, it will be a favorable presage of the success of the ensuing campaign. The French fleet hold the British ships blocked up in Gardiner's Bay, and only wait the arrival of the expected reinforcements to lay hands on. The safety or destruction of the British fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, depends entirely on this circumstance, whether a French or British reinforcement first

arrives. The chances at present appear to me in favor of our Allies. General Washington will not neglect the relief of North Carolina, when circumstances will admit. I dare not be more particular, but hope before this reaches you, Arnold's fate will be decided. I received Mr. Johnson's letter of the 6th January only yesterday. Be so good as to present my compliments to him, and let him know I wrote a long letter to him last week by the way of Halifax.¹ Remember me to all our other friends. My love to my sisters, Nelly and the children: I long very much to see you and them, and am ever, My dear sir, Your affectionate and obedient servant, Sam. Johnston

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell*, 1:490-91.

¹ Not found.

Joseph Jones to George Washington

Dr. Sr.

Phila: 27th. Feby 1781

I missed the opportunity by the Express of sending you the Letter of the 21st which is now inclosed as it contains a request respecting Dr. Lewis and will serve to shew you I meant to pay my Compliments to you as soon as I was certain after my arrival you had declined your visit to R. Island. Ld. Cornwallis has put every thing to the hazard and if the people of Virga. and North Carolina have not the Spirit to turn out and support Genl. Greene under the present fair prospect of totally ruining his Ld. Ship's Army they deserve not the blessings we are contending for. Genl. Greenes Conduct has been judicious indeed from the wise measures concerted by him for the arrangement and support of the southern department and wch. was communicated by him to the assembly while I was at Richmond, I entertained very favourable sentiments of that Gentlemans fitness for the Command of the southern Army and his behavior since has manifested he is equal to the appointment. If he is properly supported He will give us a good account of Cornwallis. I was concerned when I came to Congress to hear so small a favor was refused Genl. Greene then going to his new Command as that of granting his request respecting Dr. McHenry.¹ From my conversation with Gentlemen on the subject many think the Genl. Shod. have been indulged and if it can be done the question will probably be revived. This however the Dr. shod. not be acquainted with, least the attempt shod. be unsuccessfull. Thursday next is appointed for the Maryland Delegates to subscribe the Articles of Confederation, an event that cannot fail articles it is certain are defective and amendments and additional powers are necessary and these will and must be speedily proposed to the States for their concurrence and no time perhaps more

convenient for their meeting the attention and approbation of the States than the present when they are generally convinced of the want of full powers and are disposed to grant them. Any defect that have occurred to you and no doubt many have from your Situation and long service you will oblige me in pointing out when you have leisure to write a few lines on the subject. It is of importance to make the articles of our Union as compleat as may be and adequate to the great objects of the Confederacy or we shall suffer from internal divisions & foreign machinations. I am happy to find a strong reinforcement is going South. If Arnold does not escape before their arrival that abandoned Man will probably meet the fate he deserves. The British affairs to the Southward are now in a critical situation and if we improve the advantages the conjuncture opens to us all will soon be restored there to the power of the States, Charles Town excepted and even that if our Ally can succour us by Water, I have my hopes may be recovered. These are my conjectures, how practicable or well founded you are the best judge.

With great esteem, I am, D. Sr. yr. aff. hum. Servt.

Jos. Jones

[P.S.] The officers to the other departmts. are not yet chosen.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Congress' refusal to honor Nathanael Greene's request of October 30, 1780, to permit Dr. James McHenry to join him as his aide-de-camp in the southern department, see *JCC*, 18:992-93.

Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts General Court

Sir, Philadelphia February 27th. 1781

We beg Leave to communicate to the honorable Senate & House of Representatives a Circumstance which for some Time past has kept us in a State of Anxiety.

The Secretary duely transmitted the Credentials of our Reappointment in the Month of October under the same Regulations for Attendance here and Voting in Congress as were our Rule the last Year. But, he has since forwarded an Act passed November 21st by which not less than three of the Delegates can make a Representation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

As we were informed that œconomy alone originated the latter Act we ventured to suppress it from being entered on the Records of Congress, where it would operate against the Interest of our Constituents, would not help the Reputation of our absent Colleagues, and would cast a comparative Stigma on our own. For, it would put

the Vote of Massachusetts to a trebly-increased Risque from our Sickness and other temporary Incapacity to be present *in* Congress; It would not repeal the former Order for a fourth to be *upon the Business of the Delegation*; and it would put the *whole Three* now here only on a par with *one* from New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Delaware or with *two* from those & other States, when the Accession of Maryland shall be recorded here.¹

We satisfied ourselves with hinting this matter to the Gentlemen who have lately returned Home from joint Duty with Us, and who are now in the General Assembly: But, we apprehend they may find more Difficulty in obtaining a new Act for regulating the Delegation than we shall in obtaining the Sense of the Assembly in a Letter from the Governor, to sanctify our Continuance in the Suppression which began from our Zeal to preserve the Opportunities of being the most-useful to our Constituents.²

With Sentiments of the greatest Respect for the General Assembly we submit ourselves,

Saml Adams

James Lovell

Artemas Ward

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Lovell, and signed by Lovell, Adams, and Ward.

¹ For discussion of this subject, see also Lovell's letters to Samuel Holten of December 19, 1780, and January 2, 1781.

² This letter was assigned to a joint-committee of the Massachusetts Senate and House on April 16 and 17, but there is no indication in the journals that any further action was taken. Massachusetts Senate Journals, April 16 and 17, 1781, p. 204, DLC(ESR).

William Sharpe to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia Feby. 27th. 1781.

Your thanks to me expressed in a letter which was read in Congress yesterday, for a few notes on the geography of the back parts of South and North Carolina was very flattering.¹

For your farther information I shall now take the liberty to add, That after Lord Cornwallis had destroyd his waggons and heavy baggage near the cross roads at the head of fishing creek he advanced in a north west direction, passed the So fork of Catawba river and Cowens ford on the main branch about twenty miles north west of Charlotte, where Davidson unfortunately fell opposing him. Mrs. Terrences [. . .] is about eight miles from that ford, on the road leading to Salisbury which is twenty eight miles from Terrences

Trading ford on the Yadkin is seven miles from Salisbury. The shallow ford is thirty miles above, and fifteen miles from Salem, the lower Moravian town. Guilford Court house is near a place called New Garden on Hutchisons map and twenty six miles from Salem. Boyds ferry on Dan is not many miles above the confluence of that with Stanton river and about sixty miles from Guilford Ct. House.

I suppose Lord Cornwallis's first object was to rescue the prisoners and break up Morgans corps, in which he failed. The second was to disperse Genl. Greenes army, but when his Lordship observes that Genl. Greene has very judiciously retreated to Stanton, I am inclined to think he will file off to the right and endeavour to make his retreat to Wilmington on Cape Fear river, which he may do without much opposition as the inhabitants on the greater part of that river are disposed, at least to neutrality. In such case Genl. Greenes army would not be in condition to pursue him with facility. If on the other hand he continues his pursuit of Genl. Greene into the borders of Virginia, and the Militia fails to improve the advantages they may gain by concurring with Genl. Greene, they will loose those laurels which they have obtained by their former exertions.

You Sir, know very well that when the enemy are advancing so rapidly, militia are not generally disposed to join a retreating army, and that country being very extensive and thinly settled it is therefore several days before any considerable force can be collected to a point, but if his Lordship can be diverted five or six days in any one place in that back country I hope he will catch a Tartar.

Your Excellency may apprehend that the Milit[ia in] the vicinity of Salisbury and Charlotte, who have heretofore distinguished themselves by their firmness, will fly to arms and press on the enemys rear, but you may rely upon it, that the fall of Genl. Davidson has left that people without an head in whom they have confidence as an officer. From my particular knowledge of that part of the country I can venture to say that in the fall of that officer we have lost more than 500 men in the common defence.

Davidson was a native of Rowan County of which Salisbury is the seat, he was Lieut. Colo. in the first No Carolina Regt. under Colo. Clarke, obtained leave of absence from Genl. Hogan in Decr. 1779 to visit his family and join his regt. in Charles Town the first of May, but was prevented by the blockade of the Town. On the capture of Genl. Rutherford at Genl. Gates's defeat, he was appointed by our legislature to command the militia of that district in Rutherfords absence.

I think I may venture to congratulate your Excellency on the news from the West Indias.

Excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you without any introduction, and be assured that the State which I have the honor to represent has the same esteem for and entire confidence in you, that is impressed on the heart of him, who has the honor to be, Sir,
Your Most Obt. Humble Servt. Wm. Sharpe

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

¹ For Washington's letter of February 17, which was read in Congress on the 26th, see *JCC*, 19:194; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 21:238-39. For Sharpe's "notes on the geography" of the Carolinas, see Sharpe to Washington, February 9, 1781.

Meriwether Smith to George Weedon

Dear General, Philadelphia, Feb. 27h. 1781.

I am happy to acknowledge the Recipt of your favour of 20th inst. and shall pay a due Attention to what you mention respecting the Virginia Line of Officers. Not having recd. your Letter until this Morning, the Business of the Day prevents my being very particular, in my Relation of things in the political Line. Morgan's Success leads I think to greater Events, and a Short Time I flatter myself will bring the News that the Virginians, notwithstanding their Difficulties & Supineness, having a little Assistance from our good Ally, have put an End to the Campaign for this Year. Surely Cornwallis & Arnold can never be permitted to escape. The Accounts of the Capture of 6 Ships of the Line, some frigates & Transports of Commodore Hood's Fleet, by Count D'Estaing comes from so many Quarters, that I think it deserves Credit. If it be true, 'tis of the utmost Importance to our Affairs.

I shall be happy to hear from you as often as convenient to you and shall not fail to pay a due Attention to your Letters, being with much Regard & Esteem Yr. most obedt. & Hbe sert.

M. Smith

RC (MnHi: Allyn K. Ford Collection).

Virginia Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sr. Phila. 27 February 1781

We have nothing new to communicate but what is contained in the inclosed paper except that a considerable Reinforcement from the Continental Army under the Command of the Marqs. La Fayette is on its march to join the Southern Army.¹ This Force added to that now under Genl. Greene will we expect enable him to oppose

Ld. Cornwallis or subdue the Traitor Arnold, to whichever object circumstances may direct his attention. Hays the Printer informs us it will be some days yet before he shall be ready to set out for Virga., that it will require he expects three Waggoners to transport the printing materials and some money advanced the Waggoners before they depart—we shall give him what assistance we can to hasten him away. Col. Harrison desires his Compliments and says he woud. have written but as he leaves this City Tomorrow expects to be in Richmond as soon as the post. We are respectfully, Yr. Excely's. obed Servts,

Jos. Jones

Theok. Bland Jr.

[P.S.] Thursday is fixed for the Maryland Delegates to subscribe the Articles of Confederation.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Bland and signed by Bland and Jones.

¹ For Washington's instructions of February 20 assigning Lafayette command of the Chesapeake expedition against Benedict Arnold, see Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 3:334-36.

Samuel Adams to Caleb Davis

Dear Sir,

Philade Feb 28 1781

A Gentleman of the State of Pennsylvania is desirous of importing a small Quantity of Flax Seed from Massachusetts to put into his own Ground, (a Barril might be sufficient) and has engagd me to apply to a Friend in Boston to procure it. If you could send a Barril, by a Vessel that may sail soon for this place, you will much oblige him & me. He will satisfy you for the Expençe. Direct your Letter to Henry Wynkoop Esqr of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to the Care of any one of the Massachusetts Delegates who may then be here. I mention this, because I expect to be at Boston early in the Spring. You will excuse my giving you this Trouble and be assured that I am affectionately, your Friend,

S Adams

[P.S.] Be so good as to let Mrs A know that I am well.

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

William Burnet to Samuel Huntington

Sir,

Philadelphia Feby. 28 1781

As I feel my self much aggrieved by the late Arrangement of the Medical Department, I take the Liberty of stating my Case to your

Excellency, as briefly as I can, & beg you will lay it before the Honble. Congress, who being disposed to do equal Justice to all their Servants, will I persuade my self; seriously consider the disagreeable Situation to which I am reduced, & afford the desired Relief.¹

It is I confess a disagreeable Subject, & peculiarly is to me, to be obliged to speak in my own Behalf, but it appears necessary at present, to vindicate my injured Character, & endeavour to obtain that Justice, which is due to me & my Family & That, is all which I ask, & that I hope & believe will not be denied.

It is well known, that I early engaged in the Cause of Liberty & my Country, & took an active, decided Part. I was Chairman of the Committee of the County, from the Beginning of the Controversy, untill the Constitution of the State of New Jersey, was formed, when the Legislature were pleased to appoint me a Judge of the County, which Office I have executed with Impartiality & Firmness ever since, in the Vicinity of the Enemy, & at the Risque of my Life & Fortune, & I may venture to say that the Weight & Burthen of the Public Affairs of that important County always has & still does in a great Measure rest upon my Shoulders.

In the Spring of 1776 I established a Hospital in Newark, at my own Expence, in which my Son & I carefully & successfully attended a great Number of Continental Patients, for which I have not received any Recompence.

In the Beginning of September 1776, I was appointed by Dr Morgan the then Director General as senior Surgeon in the General Hospital, & when the Sick were brought from New York to Newark by Order of the Commander in Chief & other Hospitals were erected there, I not only furnished all the Medicines, which my Son & I used, but all the other Gentlemen employed went to my Shop with as much Freedom, as they would have done to a Continental Store & made Use of the Medicines for the Continental Sick without Weight or Measure.

In the Retreat through Jersey I lost my all within Power of the Enemy & moved my Family to Baskenridge, where I established & maintained all Winter three Hospitals & chiefly at my own Expence.

When the Arrangement of the Medical Department was made in April 1777, I had the Honor of being appointed Physican & Surgeon General of the Army by Congress, in which Station I served faithfully untill the new Arrangement took Place, when I had the Mortification of being degraded in the Journals of Congress & held up to View in General Orders & in the Public Papers, as a common Surgeon of the Hospital, when it was known that I had for so long a Time been Physican & Surgeon Generl. of the Army while others were as publicly preferred to the Rank of chief Physicians & Surgeons.

It would be needless to observe that it must greatly hurt the Feelings of any Person of the least Sensibility or Delicacy of Sentiment to be

reduced while others are promoted & made subject to the Orders of an inferior Officer as I have been.

The Office of Chief Physician & Surgeon of the Army is vacant by the Promotion of Dr Cockran. It is the same Office, tho' under a somewhat different Title which I have held ever since Aprl. 1777 & no Person in your Service can pretend equal Claim to it.

I will only add that at the Beginning of this Controversy I was possessed of what was to me an Independent Fortune & in a Situation as easy & happy as I could wish & that is far otherwise with me now, owing to my engaging in the Cause & Service of my Country. I am with great Respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

Wm. Burnet

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78).

¹ Burnet's complaint was read in Congress this day and referred to a committee, which brought in an ambiguous report on March 2 recognizing that he had indeed been a physician and surgeon general of the hospital from April 11, 1777, to October 6, 1780, as herein set forth, but recommending only that a new appointment be made to fill the vacant position of chief physician and surgeon of the Continental Army, without recommending Burnet or any other candidate for the post. On March 3 Dr. James Craik was appointed to that vacancy instead of Burnet, who was subsequently appointed "chief physician and surgeon of the hospital" on March 5. Burnet accepted the post on March 24 and relinquished his seat in Congress. See *JCC*, 19:203, 226, 230, 233, 321; and *PCC*, item 78, 4:153-56.

John Hanson to Philip Thomas

Dear Doctr.

Philadelphia February 28th 1781

I received yours by Mr Faw. I hope before this time you have Settled your affair with Keplinger to your Satisfaction or at least you have got it in such a way, as that you Will have it in your power to do yourself Justice.

I Congratulate you on the important blow given by C D Estang to the British Fleet of the Western Islands, an Account of which you have in the inclosed paper. The same Intelligence Comes by a Vessel Just Arrived here from the Havanna and I believe the truth of it may be depended on. Our affairs to the southward brighten fast. It is to be hoped a good Account will be Shortly given of Master Cornwallis. If general Green Can avoid Coming to a general Action for a few days, I think Cornwallis's Army must be destroyed. The English Ships are blocked up at Portsmouth, by a 64 and 2 french frigates. A detachment from the Main Army of about 1500 men are on their March, Commanded by the Marquis D Fyatt destined for Portsmouth. Their rout by way of the head of Elk, and from thence by Water. It is to be hoped that the State of Maryland will give all the assistance they Can in this enterprise. They have Some Armed

Vessels at Baltimore and Annapolis, And men Surely may be had. The Expedition has been endeavoured to be Kept a secret, but I believe to no purpose—however you Will be Caution to whom you mention it, I would not Chuse it Should be Known that you have it from me.

The Extravagant price of Goods here especially White Broad Cloth, made me hessitate for some time, whether you would be Willing to have them on Such terms or not—but as there is no probability of their being Cheaper And Considering the necessity you may Conceive your Self under of having the Cloath I have Sent it With the other Articles for Janey. An Account of which you have below. My love to Janey and the little ones. My Complements to Mrs. Price & the Colo. yrs &c,

J H

2 1/2 yards Superfine White Broad Cloath		
	@ 1200 Dolls.	3000
1/2 yd. blue Keiseimer		300
1 double Shik twist		56
2 1/4 yds. blue durants	@ 110	247 1/2
1 1/2 yards Gauge (Scotch)	@ 60	90
1 yard Silk Gauze		120
		<hr/>
		3813 1/2
1 hat		1200
		<hr/>
		5013 1/2
By 30 new dollars	@ 75	2250

RC (MdHi: Hanson Letters).

Samuel Huntington to John Paul Jones

Sir, Philada Feby. 28 1781

I have the Pleasure to transmit you the enclosed resolve of Congress of the 27 Instant, expressing their Satisfaction received through the Information of Monsr de Sartine, of your Conduct & gallant Behaviour, and also their Approbation of the Honor his most Christian Majesty has been pleased to confer upon you.¹

I am Sir &c &c,

S.H.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 15).

¹ *JCC*, 19:200. For the glowing letter of commendation from Sartine, French minister of marine, which was read and referred to committee on February 22, see PCC, item 168, 2:363–66; and *JCC*, 19:185.

Huntington also sent a copy of this resolve on March 2 to Benjamin Franklin with the following additional instruction.

“Conformable to the enclosed Resolve, you will please to communicate to his

most Christian Majesty, the high Satisfaction Congress have received from the Information of M. de Sartine, that the Conduct and gallant Behaviour of Captain Jones have merited the Attention of his most Christian Majesty; and that his Majesty's Offer of adorning Captain Jones with the Cross of military Merit is highly acceptable to Congress." PCC, item 15, fols. 283-84.

John Sullivan's and James M. Varnum's Memorial to Congress

Philadelphia Feby 28th. 1781.¹

To the honorable the Congress of the United States

The subscribers being the only delegates from the States of Newhampshire and Rhode Island, beg leave to represent that untill the ratification of the confederation their States will be constitutionally represented; that by the same being ratified agreeably to the late determination of Congress those States will be unrepresented. That foreseeing this they moved in Congress to postpone the ratification in order that their States might be notified to complete their representation but did not prevail. They cannot however justify themselves to their constituents without representing to Congress the injury which will be done to their States by depriving them of a representation without giving them an opportunity of furnishing one agreeable to the articles of confederation. These things remaining in the power of Congress. They in behalf of their States request that one of them may be adopted to prevent the injustice which will otherwise take place viz. postponing the ratification of the confederation, adjourning Congress and appointing a committee consisting of one member from each State to sit in the recess of Congress, or to resolve that time shall be given to their States to complete their representation, the articles of confederation notwithstanding.

Jno Sullivan

J. M. Varnum

MS (DNA: PCC, item 43). In a clerical hand, and signed by John Sullivan and James Varnum.

¹ Sullivan and Varnum actually presented this memorial to Congress on March 1, immediately before Congress ratified the Articles of Confederation, but no action was taken on it.

The following day Sullivan moved that Congress adjourn to the first day of June and "that a comee of one member from each State be appointed to form a Comee of the United States," but the motion was rejected. As a result New Hampshire and Rhode Island were officially unrepresented, although Sullivan and Varnum continued to attend Congress and sat on committees. New Hampshire remained unrepresented until Samuel Livermore arrived on May 14, and Rhode Island continued without a vote until Daniel Mowry arrived on July 20. See *JCC*, 19:208, 229, 20:498, 786; and Thomas Rodney's *Diary*, March 2, 1781.

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